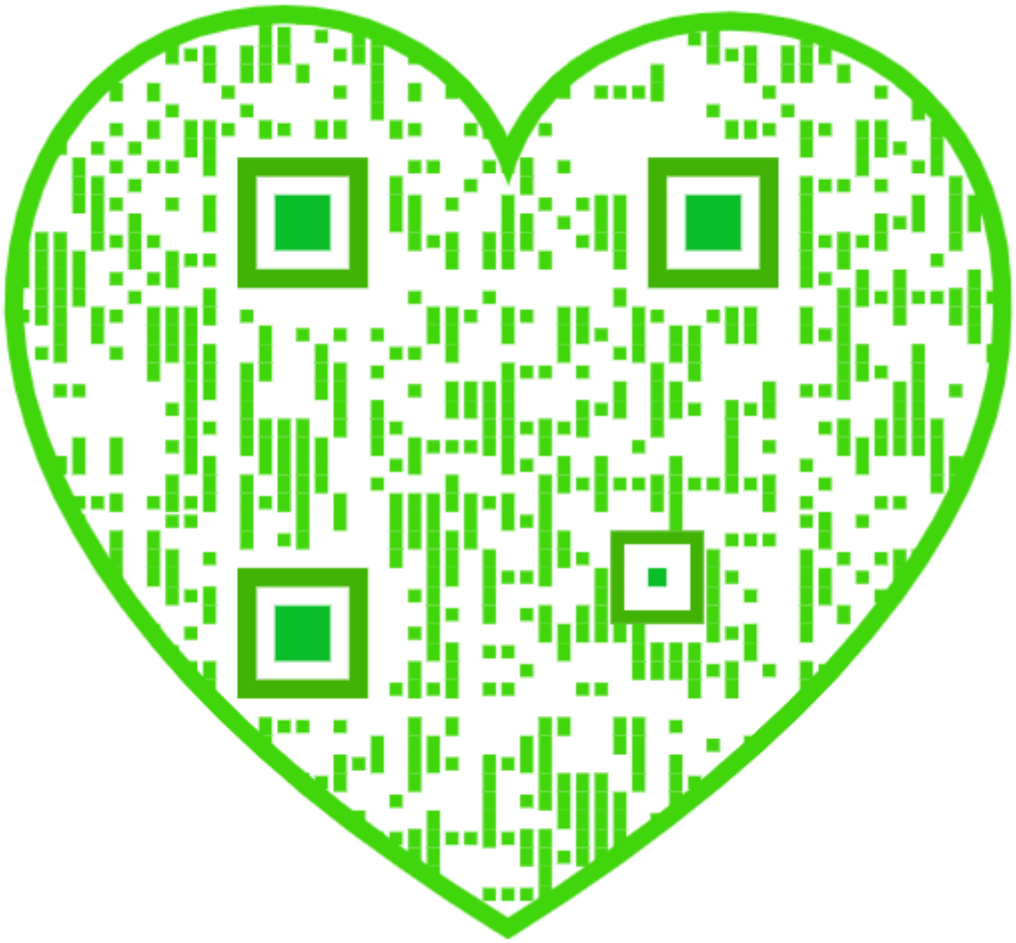

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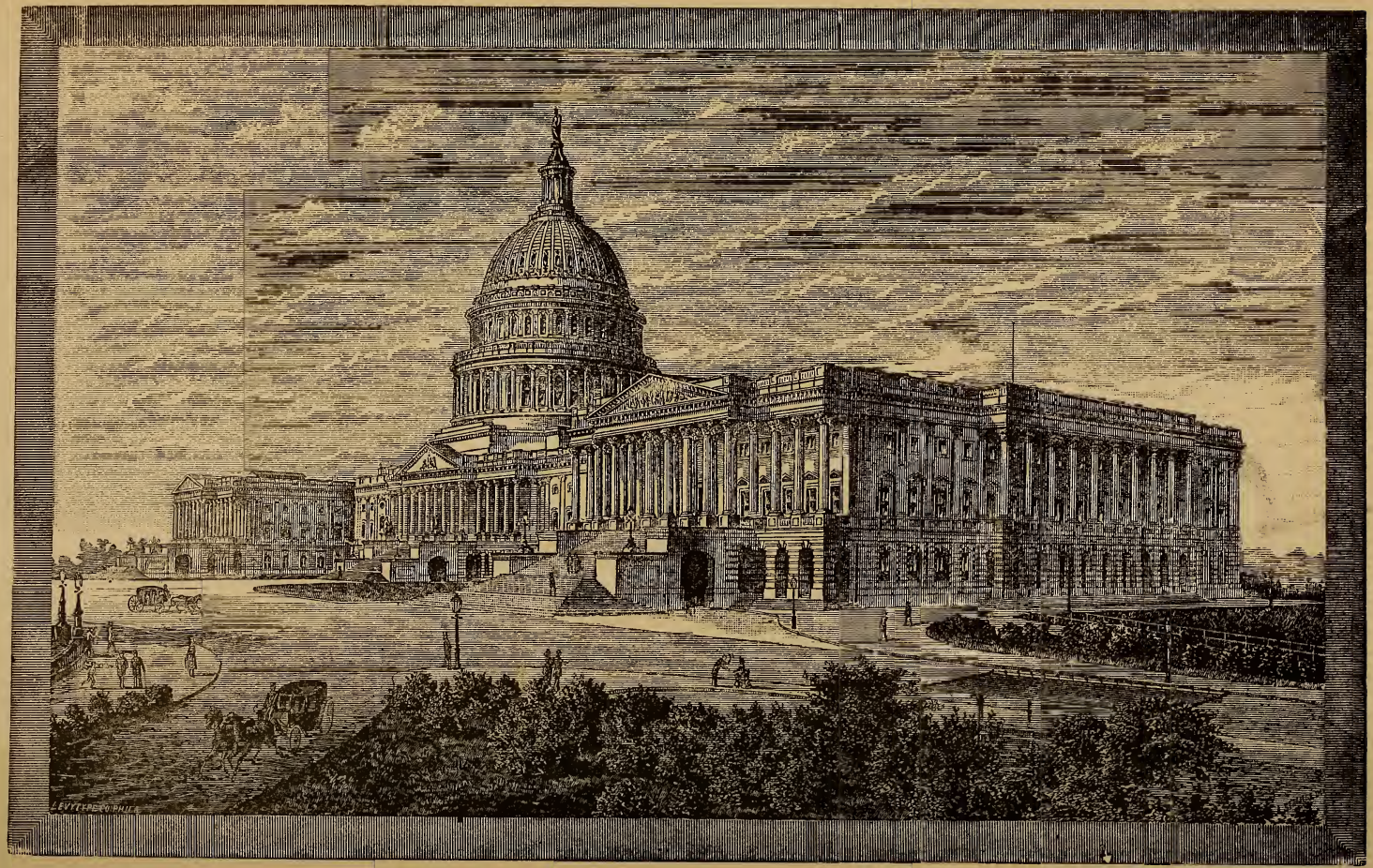

CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON.

BUILDING AND RULING

THE

REPUBLIC.

PART I.	PART II.
BUILDING: Geographically. Politically. Industrially.	RULING: Nationally. By States. Through Parties.

PART III.	PART IV.
LIVING QUESTIONS: Civil Service Reform. Polygamy. Prohibition. Protection and Free Trade. Surplus Revenue.	LIVES OF THE CANDIDATES For President and Vice-President, 1884.

BY JAMES P. BOYD, A. M.

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PREFACE.

IN this book the author seeks to present correct and desirable information respecting the beginning, growth and management of our government. Conscious of the impossibility of crowding into a single volume half that ought to be known of our institutions, he still thinks that enough may be presented in one book, if properly arranged and closely digested, to make it a welcome and useful companion, and to thereby meet his object.

The plan adopted is to first set the reader to thinking about the nature of our Republic, and his duty as a citizen under it. Prepared for further inquiry, if not impressed with higher notions of his privileges, he is asked to look at those little colonial pictures which dotted the Atlantic coast, and were the starting-points of our national existence. With a fair conception of them he will have a key to many subsequent political mysteries. Especially will he know why the drift set in toward a Great American Republic and the manner of men into whose hands its destiny was to fall. He will thence follow naturally the building of the same in its geographic or territorial sense, till it spanned the continent. This was acquisition.

But it must be built politically. Here then he is introduced to a brief history of the events which led to the formation of the Constitution and to its adoption by the old thirteen States. This is followed by a division of our vast areas into Territories and their introduction into the Union as States.

In building industrially a view is had of our wonderful progress in population, agriculture, commerce, manufacture, education, the arts and sciences, and of our still more wonderful wealth of native resource, whose development is being encouraged by freedom of action and urged by the enterprise of our people.

Passing from a built Republic to its ruling or governing, the first consideration is that of Federal Machinery or Method—how Presidents, Congresses, Cabinets, Courts and Department Officers are made, what they are all for, and what they do. The next considera-

tion is the States—how they are governed, where they stand in the midst of the central fabric, and what each contributes in the way of population, industry and wealth to the National whole. Not the least important feature of ruling is that which is in great part political. Here is given, in a brief, impartial manner, a history of all the political parties, together with the measures which divided them in Administrations, Congresses and Campaigns. The author has thought this would be refreshing to elderly people, a source of valuable information to the young, and especially desirable to those of any age who wished to prime themselves for debate or fortify their personal convictions by reference to public men and measures. This branch of the subject really gets to be a history of the Administrations and Congresses.

To complete the plan, a view is taken of the leading vital questions of the day. They are up for discussion now, and will be for some time. Knowledge respecting them is desirable and proper. They are not discussed from any party or personal standpoint, but are treated historically. Only the facts connected with each are presented, and these the reader may deal with as he pleases. This is also true of the history of the respective candidates for President and Vice-President, with which it has been deemed proper to close the volume. Their prominence at this juncture, the influence they exert on parties, and, through them, on the government, make acquaintance with their lives a matter of duty.

While the plan, thus outlined, is such as seemed most helpful to the writer in gathering and grouping his facts, and to the reader in making his study an orderly progress, the effort has been constant to use only the most reliable and unprejudiced data at command. The historic and legal authorities consulted and used are the recognized standards. As to debates in Congress, statistics, and kindred facts, the author has, in general, gone to original sources, using freely National and State records and reports. Ofttimes for close arrangement of matter he has followed some one of our many annuals, among the best of which is reckoned Spofford's "Treasury of Facts."

Trusting that his plan will meet with popular approval and that his treatment of the various and interesting subjects will serve to convey in a pleasant and instructive way the information gathered and printed in the book, he ceases a labor begun and ended in a conviction that no higher nor better knowledge can get abroad than that which qualifies a man for the duties of active, wise and patriotic citizenship.

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PART I.

THE BUILDING OF THE REPUBLIC.

A FEW FOUNDATION THOUGHTS.

IN a democracy, where the right of making laws resides in the people at large, public virtue, or goodness of intention, is more likely to be found than either of the other qualities of government. Popular assemblies are frequently foolish in their contrivance and weak in their execution, but generally mean to do the thing that is right and just and have always a degree of patriotism and public spirit. . . . . Democracies are usually the best calculated to direct the end of law; aristocracies to invent the means by which that end shall be obtained; and monarchies to carry these means into execution.—*Blackstone*, Vol. i., p. 49.

This division of government into three forms is almost as old as the oldest writings on politics and law. It is only a general division, for there are other kinds of government besides these, but all kinds were, and are, regarded as reducible to one or the other of these heads.

Though it is not Blackstone's division, yet what he says of the merits of each kind of government is pretty generally accepted as true, and is taught in law and political schools. While his comparative view is brief, apt and suggestive, it is nevertheless the view of one who drew on his then historic past for the material out of which to weave opinions. In that past were many

democratic experiments, some of them pure democracies, others modified democracies called republics, whose rapid rise, bright meteoric career and swift decline, warranted his view.*

He did not teach that there was anything solid and enduring about a democracy. Had he written but yesterday he would have written amid greater light and perhaps not so much in sympathy with the notion which is so largely abroad in monarchies and aristocracies that our grand American experiment is but a "Great Republican Bubble." †

You hear the words "democracy" and "republic" used indiscriminately. Perhaps you so use them yourself. If so, your ideas may be clear respecting them, but such use is liable to lead to confusion in the minds of others, unless their full meaning be understood.

DEMOCRACY.—The democracy to which Blackstone refers is doubtless a pure democracy; that is, the democracy in which the *demos*, or people, met in periodic assembly, talked over their public affairs, passed their laws and elected their rulers, very much as we meet at our annual, or other, elections to record our wishes, except that their assembly was a deliberative body like our legislatures or congress, as well as a voting body.

A better idea of it may be gotten by supposing that all the

*The popular assembly of Athens could not consist of less than 6,000 citizens. The general assembly of Sparta was attended by all the freemen of Laconia. The republic of Venice, and the short-lived republics of Genoa and Pisa, were only republics in name. The people ultimately lost their power to ambitious doges and councils. The truest democracy was that of the ancient German tribes, where affairs of government were discussed and settled at their festal gatherings. That these were "foolish in their contrivance and weak in their execution," may be accepted as true, for all hands were encouraged to get gloriously drunk on the principle that they would then let out the true secrets of their mind.

† Boynton in his "Four Great Powers" says: "It (the rebellion) has proved that a popular government is not necessarily a weak one, and that a free unwarlike people, unused to the restraints of thorough organization and discipline, can yet assume almost at once the highest forms of national life, can reshape, without confusion, their whole industrial energy to meet the demands of sudden war, can bring forth, organize and hold in hand all their resources, and with all the skill and science of the age, can wield a thoroughly compacted national strength, greater in proportion to population than has been exhibited by any other power on earth."

voters of a state * should say to themselves, "We will not go to the trouble and expense of voting for members to represent us in the legislature, but we will all go to the capitol, or place of assemblage, and in popular meeting pass the laws ourselves." This would be the true and original general assembly of the *demos*, or people, and such a government would be a pure democracy. It is quite plain that such a form of government would be fitted for only a very primitive people and a very small state.

There is no such thing as a democracy in this sense now. It would be too heavy and too unwieldy a piece of machinery to work, or if it went at all, it would be very noisy and uncertain in its motion. The democracy which is meant by an every-day use of the word, or by the word when left unexplained, is democracy in its secondary or modified sense; that is, democracy in a representative form.

We do not all go to the general assembly to make laws, but we go to the polls and vote for some one to go in our stead, to represent us there, as the saying is. We still preserve the name "general assembly"—though largely substituted by the word "legislature"—to designate the place of meeting, not of the people at large, or of such of them as are called voters, but of the people through and by means of their chosen representatives. We are not in the general assembly directly, but we are there indirectly. We do not speak there with our own mouths but through our chosen mouth-pieces. We do not vote directly for our laws, but our representatives, who are supposed to know our wishes and who are responsible to us, vote for us. This is a

* Or rather all the *people* of a state, for the Declaration of Independence says "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed;" and the preamble to the Constitution reads, "We the people do ordain and establish, etc.;" upon which Judge Sharswood remarks, "that in the freest nations—even in the republics which compose the United States—the consent of the entire people has never been expressly obtained. The people comprehend all the men, women and children of every class and age. A certain number of men have assumed to act in the name of all the community. The qualification of electors or voters was in general settled by the colonial charters, as well as the principle that the acts of a majority of such electors were binding on the whole."

much cheaper and handier kind of democracy than that first spoken of. It is the kind which must be understood when the term "democracy" is used without explanation, or in connection with our form of government. This government then is not a pure democracy, but a modified, or representative democracy; nevertheless it is a democracy.

REPUBLIC.—And as a democracy, it is equally a republic, for "republic" is very well defined as a form of government in which the sovereign, or law-making, power is exercised by means of representatives chosen by the people. The two terms, "democracy" and "republic," here come together in their meaning, and one may be used for the other without fear of confusion.

COMMONWEALTH.—You find in your reading other terms used to convey the same idea as "democracy" or "republic." The word "commonwealth" is one of them. And a very good word it is, too. Commonwealth is the common weal, health or happiness. It was not the democracy or republic of Cromwell,* but the commonwealth of Cromwell, though strictly it was all three, using democracy in its secondary sense as above explained. And this word "commonwealth" is much used by the respective States of our Union, as the "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," "Commonwealth of Virginia," etc. Indeed, so popular and well fixed has this usage of the word become that it may be said to distinguish the smaller or fractional republic, otherwise called a State, from the Federal Republic, otherwise called the United States.

POPULAR GOVERNMENT.—The phrase "popular government," or "popular form of government," is common among speakers and writers when they refer to a democracy or republic. It is a pleasing phrase and hath much meaning. Every government which is endured, liked and sustained is in one sense "popular." In another sense every government which is par-

* The word "commonwealth" has got a meaning in English history as the form of government established on the death of Charles I., in 1649, and which existed under Cromwell and his son Richard, ending with the abdication of the latter in 1659.

tially representative, as a limited monarchy, is popular. But see the different shades of meaning embraced in the word "popular." In the first sense a despotism may be a popular form of government, in that the people may like it, but in the sense that they participate in it, help to carry it on, it is most decidedly unpopular.

In the expression "popular government" the word "popular" has, therefore, its true and original meaning, "of or belonging to the people." Perhaps the expression was never so happily paraphrased as when Mr. Lincoln, referring to our "popular form of government" in his oration at Gettysburg, called it "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people."

Popular is what is of and belongs to the *populus*, the people. The popular voice is the people's voice. The popular vote is the people's vote. Popular elections are the people's elections. Popular institutions are the people's institutions. A popular government is the people's government. And so, by contrast with those forms of government in which the people have no voice at all, and even in contrast with those forms in which they have a partial voice, the phrase "popular government," or "popular form of government," gets a meaning which always points out clearly a democracy, a republic, or a commonwealth. Our government is a popular form of government, or a popular government.

We happily know more about this kind of a government than Mr. Blackstone did. Our national experiment, so wisely started by our fathers, so adequate to every strain, has proved that a popular form of government, one in which the sovereignty is vested in the people, one in which the people are the rulers, is not necessarily weak or perishable, nor illy fitted to secure to the governed the ends for which it was established. Every one who has chosen to make himself acquainted with its history, and who has not? has seen such a government grow in size, strength and importance, in spite of the fierce obstacles of wars without and wars within. He has seen it acquire, populate, cement and give law and order to vast regions it did not own at the start. He has seen it rise from small and not very harmonious beginnings

till it has assumed the highest form of national life and conquered one of the first seats in the great political system which embraces all the civilized nations of the earth.

SOVEREIGNTY.—Amid this splendid growth, these evidences of inherent strength, these promises of durability, who does not feel new pride in our first and greatest axiom, "The sovereignty is in us, the people." Would that this pride were strong enough to impress every citizen with the need of special qualification for his high office, for his is an office—that of sovereign—and one with broader meaning and deeper function than that of the governor or president he helps to create.

In no country of the world does the word "sovereignty," as attached to the individual, have so much significance as in the United States. It is not merely a claim or a boast, but it is an inherent power which he may exercise on all proper occasions and in accordance with his own free will, and which he ought to exercise if he expects to be content with the laws and those who execute them. Knowledge of this supreme endowment ought to inspire every citizen with higher notions of manhood, ought to deepen his interest in the affairs of society and the State, ought to make him feel that there is no education so important as that which will teach him how best to turn the power he wields to the account of himself and those about him. True, he is but one sovereign among many, and he may feel that his voice is weak, his identity lost; but let an attempt be made to rob him of his endowment, and he will feel as if the loss were a mighty one indeed, one which could not well be borne. He would fight against its loss, as if it were the dearest thing on earth to him.

The true majesty and moving effect of individual sovereignty is visible when it is united with that of other individuals all along any line of political action. One soldier does not make an army, nor one man a nation, but many soldiers and many men. So sovereignty gets to be an imposing and effective force, gets to be sovereignty indeed, when it is a thing resident in, or bubbling forth from, a set of men, a society, a people, a nation. In the individual it was a still small voice, in the nation it is

Jove's chariot thundering in the heavens and shaking the earth.* Then, indeed, it means law, presidents and governors, constitutions, states, empires, and in an hour of great public grievance, or of incendiary partisan rage, it may mean the defiance of law, the overthrow of officials, the smashing of constitutions, the upheaval of states, the crashing of empires. It is a power for evil as well as good, a source of danger as well as safety.

WHENCE SOVEREIGNTY SPRANG.—In the after part of this volume there will be many opportunities of learning how the notions of popular liberty and the doctrines of popular sovereignty which are now a part of our national life were planted in our soil and cultivated among our colonial fathers. But the lesson of their importance to us cannot be fully learned, nor can their bearing upon the rest of the world be completely realized till we consider how many and what desperate battles they had to fight in the old world before they commanded any degree of respect. It was not the part of any feudal government to recognize sovereignty as in the people. Yet there never was a time when the people did not feel that all sovereignty was in them. Consequently all political history is marked here and there by volcanic eruptions of popular will, by upheavals of the masses in, too often, vain attempts to assert the power to rule themselves, which they felt was God-given and inherent. The democracies that tossed and writhed and tormented and spent themselves in very excess of agony, were simply the boiling up through hard feudal surfaces of that spirit which we now proudly claim and exercise as freemen. The republics which gave a mouth to every Grecian, bred in every Roman a sense of dignity, imparted a feeling of manhood to every Venetian, taught England that the "divinity which hedges a king" was no more divine than that which

* Some writers prefer not to speak of sovereignty as in the individual. They only recognize sovereignty as something residing in and coming out of an aggregate of individuals, a nation. Thus Brownson: "Sovereignty, under God, inheres in the organic people, or the people as a republic." It is only a question of when to begin to call it sovereignty. As a source of pride to the individual citizen he might as well be made to feel that his exercise of the elective franchise is an evidence of the sovereignty that is within him, as not. The water of each of an hundred springs that make up the river is in the river, whatever you may say.

hedges a mere citizen, were all so many protests on the part of the people against the doctrine of potentates that power does not rise from the masses, but comes down to them through masters. Rulers were always smarter than the uneducated, noisy, incoherent, careless masses. Hence democracies and republics were short lived. A shrewd or unscrupulous ruler was more than a match for brawling assembly, or a jealous and discordant set of electors. The Doges of Venice literally ran away with the power entrusted to them by the people, and royal diplomacy manœuvred England out of Cromwellian republicanism in ten years time. In all these battles for sovereignty the masses were at a decided disadvantage. They were, in general, not educated. If religious, their religion did not admit the freedom of conscience. If freemen, the modern doctrine of personal and civil liberty was not understood by them. If voters, the value of sovereignty was not appreciated. But with the reformation came a flood of daylight upon the lowly. Conscience got loose and shook itself rejoicingly, being free from fetters. Reading and thinking got down to the bases of society, and new notions of personal and civil liberty began to prevail. Subjects began to feel that they were men with rights which even sovereigns must respect, and most of all that they were a source of power which even sovereigns could be made to fear. Great minds got to writing about the sources of power, the responsibilities of citizenship, the relation of rulers to the ruled, the nature of liberty, the value of sovereignty, the duty of the freeman to assert his rights. Parties or sects—you can as yet scarcely distinguish between the two—sprang up, some to fight for their religion through their politics, and some to fight for their politics through their religion. In England the Puritan got to be a stubborn force, so did the Independent, and the Presbyterian, and the Quaker, all discordant, yet all united, in so far as the drift of their thought and influence was toward intellectual moral and political freedom, and the ultimate right of man to choose his own rulers and make his own laws. These were brave souls and they clung to their convictions and indoctrinated their fellows amid social ostracism and state persecution. Ham-

pered on all sides by forms too hard to break through, overshadowed by power too well entrenched to be easily dislodged, feeling that their doctrines were pervading, permanent and vital enough to bear transplanting, and knowing that an open continent lay beyond the ocean, they were ripe for the experiment of American colonization.

WE SHOULD PREPARE OURSELVES.—The propriety of, nay the necessity for, educating statesmen * is not doubted. Yet here we are, old and young, all of us, statesmen by right, and each endowed with a dignity and authority to which your statesman in fact is willing to take off his hat. Nothing is so pleasing and assuring as to see an office-holder well qualified for his office. Yet we are all office-holders, in that personal sovereignty is within each man's keeping. We go about our work or pleasure with what may be called the highest office, at least the highest responsibility, in the land, hanging to our persons, and inseparable from us.

The citizen makes a terrible mistake, one which may any day bring disaster to his country and himself, who supposes that he can properly fill his high office, perform his full duty as sovereign, without any previous thought or qualification. He cannot be a safe repository of power who does not know what power is, and when and how to exercise it. One cannot be a good president maker who has no idea of what a president is for, and what a good one is like. The man who is ignorant of legislation or the quality of a safe legislator is not fit to choose a representative in congress or the general assembly. You could scarcely expect a person without judgment to select a good judge for you. While the principle that every man is a sovereign, or that sovereignty resides in the people, is a glorious and inspiring one, it would be most dangerous to our own peace and to the per-

* What is specially needed in statesmen is public spirit, intelligence, foresight, broad views, manly feelings, wisdom, energy, resolution; and when statesmen with these qualities are placed at the head of affairs, the state, if not already lost, can, however far gone it may be, be recovered, restored, reinvigorated, advanced, and private vice and corruption disappear in the splendor of public virtue.—*Brownson's American Republic.*

petuity of the nation, if we were all as ignorant and brutish as South Sea Islanders, or as indifferent as the free-footed Bedouins of the desert. It is only a safe and tolerable principle here and now because, as a rule, some kind of qualification exists, or because, as a theory, sufficient qualification is presumed; or, to state it in other words, because the result of the ballot is sufficiently on the side of purity and intelligence to answer as a set-off against an impure and ignorant ballot.

A CONTRACT WITH THE STATE.—The ballot is the legal means of giving expression to the will, or sovereignty, that is within us. Ought there ever to be a doubt about its intelligence and safety? Ought government, through and by means of the ballot, to be a sort of political hit or miss game, a thing to make one say, "Oh well, it is all wrong in this or that matter, but we will trust to another turn of the wheel to correct it?" We ought not to forget that despotism, aristocracy, monarchy, and every form of government which does not rank as popular, finds a strong vindication in its distrust of the masses, and in its doctrine that the sovereignty which comes up out of the people is uncertain, gross, and unsafe. The answer to the claim that the masses ought to govern themselves always was, "Let them prove that they are equal to the task." In the face of all the obstacles presented—their own ignorance as well as the superior intelligence and adroitness of their masters—they generally failed to prove it, and the laugh was on the side of the "powers that be." It was only when time had worked great changes in the condition of the common people, and when they began to give some proofs of their ability to master political situations, that the power which emanated from them, the state or government, got to be of any account. And now, under our form of government, does there not exist a secret understanding, an implied contract, a tacit pledge, between the state and the citizen, to the effect that one shall do all he can to qualify himself for his responsibilities, in turn for the protection and comfort the other affords? If such contract does not exist, the citizen is none the less responsible, and he must still face the question, "If ballots are even yet barely safe because those which are qualified outnumber

those which are not qualified, what might we not expect in the shape of stronger government and better institutions, if all were qualified?" The obligation of every sovereign citizen to qualify himself for the intelligent exercise of the power that is within him is deep, impressive, awful. Does he realize it? *

HOW QUALIFY?—Whatever will make the citizen think more seriously of his political obligations, whatever will enable him to give truthful, safe, and telling expression to the sovereignty that is within him, is a schooling of no mean order. Streams cannot rise higher than their source, creatures cannot be superior to their creators, institutions cannot be better than their supporters. Governments, laws, officials are, in general, a fair reflex of the ballots which make them. Before they can be raised to high and safe standards, we must rise to high and safe standards of citizenship. We must never admit that because a majority of us are qualified to exercise sovereignty, therefore things are safe. Things never can be absolutely safe till all are qualified. Our common schooling is a great help to us. But it is not of that special kind which is calculated to acquaint us with political situations, sharpen our wits as rulers, stimulate our pride of citizenship. Few of us ever think about our duty to the government till we are reminded of it by the alarum of a political campaign. Then as a short cut toward qualifying ourselves, we rush pellmell to school to the teachers who appear on the stump and in a declamatory, off-hand way, attempt to prove to us all kinds of impossibilities and demonstrate all undemonstrable things. These very eloquent teachers are seldom clear, dispassionate, or impartial. They may be mere creatures of prejudice or ambition. As a rule they rely more on the arts which captivate than on the logic which persuades, more on the tricks which deceive than on the facts which convince. Their appeals

* Our republic has been reared for immortality, if the work of man may aspire to such title. It may, nevertheless, perish in an hour by the folly, corruption, or negligence of its only keepers, *the people*. Republics are created by the virtue, public spirit, and intelligence of the citizens. They fall when the wise are banished from the public councils, because they dare to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded, because they flatter the people in order to betray them.—*Story on the Constitution*.

are to the passions and not to the solid judgments of men. The most they want is votes, not as winged principles, but as something to be counted in one, two, three order for their favorite candidate. There is but one class of scholar who is truly at home in this ringing, jostling, exciting school. He is the one who will not qualify himself in any other way, who is fond of the hurly-burly, delights in brass bands and ear-splitting hurrahs, loves the delirium of passion, and supports the ticket, no matter who is on it nor what principles it embodies. Conviction goes to the dogs with such an one, sovereignty is a Chinese gong, the franchise a batch of fire-works, and election day a glorification.

You will say, "but better this school than none." Assuredly. We do not design to diminish its importance further than that is effected by showing that it is not the best school, and should not be the only one, in which to learn our duties as citizens, or to get substantial notions of our high privileges. It is very pleasant to hear speeches, delightful to be carried away by oratorical flights and figures, gratifying to see an enemy's scalp raised by the keen knife of sarcasm, inspiring to be appealed to in various pathetic ways, but it is all very much like going to a theatre to dwell for a little time in the midst of sentiments and passions. It is an intoxicating, short-lived schooling, which may tide one over an emergency, but leaves the mind to as sad a reaction as a drink of spirits does the body.

The best qualification of the citizen is that which is always going on. He may quicken it by the usual agencies of the campaign, brush up, as it were, at each call to exercise his sovereignty, but the solid, solemn work of preparation ought to begin with the child and never end till death ends it. The course of study cannot be mapped. Tastes vary, and time is not at the command of all alike. But it is safe to say that all may learn, and should, what will make them prouder of the distinction of sovereign citizen, what will enable them to handle, without danger to themselves or others, the sharp weapon of the ballot, what will give them bigger and broader views of their country and institutions, what will enlarge their manhood and make them

feel their importance as factors in further building and perpetuating this vast temple of government, which is even now overshadowing all others and influencing all others for their good. For the greater encouragement of the young, and for overcoming the indifference of those of riper years, let this fact not escape attention. The people are closer to their rulers and their government now than ever before in its history. Just as they prepare themselves for the duty of personal rulers, they rise in importance with their political rulers. Just as they are able to think accurately for themselves, formulate their thoughts succinctly, and defend them stoutly, in that proportion the political ruler hearkens unto them and takes his cue from them. It is for this reason that reform is twice as speedy now as it was twenty years ago. The better informed, the stronger, the more resolute the constituency, the surer it is of a prompt and certain echo from its representative. And this is as it should be, for the whole theory of sovereignty with us is, that power passes upward from the people, never downward. So, ability to instruct and judge should pass in the same direction. While the responsibility of the people is thus greater, the duty of the legislator is simpler and easier.

BUILDING GEOGRAPHICALLY,

OR

TITLES AND TERRITORIAL SHAPES.

THE FIRST OWNERS.—When America was discovered the title to the soil was in the Indian. He was sovereign proprietor. He acknowledged no obedience, allegiance, nor subordination to any foreign nation. He has never to this day yielded a jot or tittle of his original right of dominion, except when he sold out voluntarily, or was forced by arms into a treaty. His claim was precisely like that of all civilized nations, a claim based on exclusive possession and use for his purposes, for hunting, for trading, for subsistence. If he had no fields, no fixed towns, few of the things which fasten other folks to one spot, it was nobody's business. That did not invalidate his claim in the least.

THE EUROPEAN TITLE.—The discovery of America in 1492 brought across the ocean the doctrine that general title to all the new lands and the right to govern them rested on the fact of discovery. Perhaps it would be better to say, the discovery of America was the date of the invention of this doctrine. The legal doctrine of discovery was, that title to the soil was in the discoverer provided the territory discovered were unoccupied, uninhabited. Why was this doctrine twisted out of all legal shape, or so greatly enlarged? Because the Indian was a heathen. The Christian thought of the time did not draw a line between political and spiritual sovereignty. The right to convert a heathen carried everything with it—right to govern him, right to own his soil. In a word, he was, if unconverted, an encumbrance, and it became a Christian duty and glory to con-

PIONEER DISCOVERERS AND EXPLORERS.

quer him and possess his domains.* This is what made the broad claim of title by discovery defensible, or rather, it is what reconciled it to the European mind, for no lawyer would ever agree, without fee in advance, to establish the righteousness of a title by discovery to an unknown inhabited land, be the inhabitants heathen or not. Imagine the King of the Cannibal Isles sailing out and striking the, to him, unknown coast of America at San Francisco, and, landing and planting his banners in the soil, taking possession and declaring the whole country his by right of first discovery. How many of us would quake at the thought that we, heathen to the great king, would have to give up our titles and pass under a new dynasty?† How many of us would acquiesce in his bold claim, or do other than the Indian has done—deny his right to soil and dominion, and fight to the death against it?

ARE OUR TITLES GOOD?—In law, time is a great curative. We can at least plead that we ought not to be disturbed, because lapse of time has come in to cure the defects of our title by discovery. However indefensible in law or morals the European title to our soil was, the then civilized nations stood committed to it, and we are entitled to the excuse which this general commitment furnishes. It was a policy erroneous and despotic. But even such policy may lead to results which, after a long time, ought not to be questioned or disturbed. Besides,

* It might be curious to inquire how far we are away from this doctrine now. Is not the red man still in the road? Has not our national policy toward him always savored too much of the policy of the pioneer, that because he is in the way and his land is good, therefore it is right to drive him away and take it?

† "The truth is, the European nations paid not the slightest regard to the rights of the native tribes. They treated them as mere barbarians and heathens, whom if they were not at liberty to exterminate, they were entitled to deem as mere temporary occupants of the soil. They might convert them to Christianity, and, if they refused conversion, they might drive them from the soil as unworthy to inhabit it. They affected to be governed by the desire to promote the cause of Christianity, and were aided in this ostensible object by the whole influence of the papal power. But their real object was to extend their own power, and increase their own wealth by acquiring the treasures as well as the territory of the New World. Avarice and ambition were at the bottom of all their original enterprises."—*Story on the Constitution.*

the Indians were much dealt with outside of this policy. In some instances it was modified by the sovereigns themselves in granting charters. In others by the proprietaries in acquiring their lands. In others still by the actual settlers. These, in a more becoming spirit of humanity and with a view to having their titles peaceable and perfect at the start, actually bought the soil of the Indian, and left him free to enjoy his tribal form of government. It need not be assumed that any very clearly or elegantly worded contracts were made, nor that deeds containing exact descriptions of the lands were given, nor even that anything like fair prices were paid, according to our notions of value, yet the fact that the Indian, accustomed to roam a continent, with no attachment to locality, and therefore with no idea of an acre or its equivalent in cash, assented to the terms, gives the transaction validity in law.

FIRST ENGLISH PATENT.—What a grand rush there was for discovery and possession as soon as land was known to exist amid the waters which supposably stretched from Western Europe to Eastern Asia! In this rush, and so far as we are concerned, England got the lead. The Cabots, father and sons, Bristol merchants in long commerce with the fishermen of Iceland who may have told of Greenland, first discovered the continent of America.* With a boldness second only to that of Columbus, and a confidence which almost compels us to think they were familiar with Icelandic traditions, they went into the midst of the unknown waters, bearing a patent from the politic Henry VII., one clause of which read: "Empowering them to search for islands, countries, provinces, or regions, hitherto unseen by Christian people; to affix the banners of England on any city, island or continent they might find, and, as vassals † of the English crown, possess and occupy the territories that might be discovered."

* We readily accept the Icelandic history—it is certainly more than tradition—that their people were in communication with the fishing-grounds of Newfoundland and the eastern coast of America centuries before Columbus sailed. But, so far as national or political results followed, we must speak of Cabot's discovery as the first.

† Observe the feudal word *vassal.* "The first maxim of feudal tenure (title) was

ENGLAND GETS A CONTINENT.—This clause is interesting as part of the most ancient American state paper in England, and, further, it gave to England an entire continent. Its date is March 5, 1496. The Cabots struck the continent in N. lat. 56°, Labrador, in June, 1497, fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came in sight of the mainland off the mouth of the Orinoco. You ask why England didn't hold the continent if she claimed by right of discovery. The answer is she did not know she had one to hold. Again, when she learned that it was really a continent, and was anxious for a title as against some other discoverer or occupant, she always made bold to set up the one founded on this discovery. It always served her when she was the stronger party and nothing was wanting but a pretext to title. And just here it is well to note that this whole matter of title by discovery underwent many changes. Several nations set up claims to the continent because each thought it had discovered it. Ignorant of its geography and of the discoveries of others, each nation had to modify its claims under certain circumstances.

FRENCH CLAIMS.—Not knowing what they had struck, the planting of the English banners on Labrador did not deter other nations from joining in the hunt for possession. Nor did a second voyage (1498), by Sebastian Cabot, which resulted in a profile of the coast from Newfoundland to Albemarle Sound. The French came skirting up the coast * from North Carolina, stopping at New York, at Newport, thence on to Nova Scotia, striking the grand fishing-grounds, a field they never quit till driven off two hundred and forty years afterwards (1763) by the English.† Though ten to twenty years later than the Cabots ‡

that all lands were originally granted by the sovereign and therefore held of the crown. The grantee, who had only a use, according to the terms of the grant, was called the feudatory or *vassal* (tenant)."—*Blackstone*, vol. ii., p. 53.

* The voyage of John Verrazzani, an Italian in the employ of Francis I., of France, in the "Dolphin" (1524), reads like a novel.

† We use the modern names of these places for convenience. The French names, as St. John, St. Lawrence, Cape Breton, are all early.

‡ Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy.—*Bancroft.*

in asserting title, the French took a decided lead in discovery and settlement in their St. Lawrence region, New France. Champlain was anxious to found a state, and he backed up De Monts, who had gotten a patent for the sovereignty of Acadia, extending from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal (1603). It was to be a Huguenot country, but the Jesuits came also. Though they wrangled much, Champlain managed to hold the line of the St. Lawrence for France, and the settlements there became the source of that wonderful Jesuit movement beyond Niagara, out the chain of the great lakes and down the Mississippi to the gulf.*

SPANISH CLAIMS.—For years after 1492, Spain had been working her way through the Caribbean Islands, and in 1512 struck Florida. Ponce de Leon first saw this land on Easter Sunday (*Pascua Florida*). This meant a continent for Spain, as much as the discovery of Labrador by the Cabots meant one for England, though De Leon supposed it only an island. He was to have its government on the condition that he colonized it. Spain did not trust to mere discovery so much as to actual settlement. The natives fought the Spanish off, and wounded De Leon unto death. Thirty years after along came De Soto, an old friend of Pizarro, who desired to rival him in wealth and Cortes in glory. He began his wonderful freebooting march to the Mississippi, beneath whose waters he found a grave.† What was Florida? In Spanish imagination it was everything from the Gulf of Mexico to Newfoundland, and as far west as the "River of Palms" (Mississippi) or as land extended. Canada was in the Spaniard's Florida; so was Louisiana; and so every intermediate mountain chain and waving prairie. The Mississippi rose in Florida and emptied in Florida. Not a nation disputed her claims so far as they embraced the Gulf coast.

* Cartier's voyages (1527 to 1542) planted the French standard in all that indefinite country of Norimbega. He built a fort at Quebec in 1541.

† Narvaez previously made a similar march to the "River of Palms" and on to the Pacific. The story of his exploits is too wild for belief. The Spanish under Gomez had also skirted the coast to New England, calling the country The Land of Gomez.

THE RIVAL CLAIMANTS.—Here then were three rivals, all claiming the same lands as discoverers. England claimed a continent, or would have done so had she known it was a continent. France in mapping her New France claimed from Delaware bay northward. Spain claimed for her Florida, or New Spain, everything from the Gulf of Mexico to Newfoundland. What a chance for future troubles! But as yet these claims were so misty and vague as not to be worth fighting about. Indeed they did not serve even as a bar to other claims on the ground of discovery by these same nations or by others, especially when a permanent settlement followed. Thus when Coligny wanted (1562) to establish a Huguenot colony and found a Protestant French empire in America* he selected Florida as the site, and calling it Carolina, after Charles IX. of France, gave it a limit extending from St. Augustine to Port Royal entrance. His first colony failed (1563). In 1565 he tried another which brought a storm about French ears. Maddened at this audacious attempt to set up a Protestant empire within her Catholic domains, Spain drove the French colonists out and proclaiming Philip II. monarch of all North America hastened to found St. Augustine (1565), the oldest town in the United States by forty years. The fighting period had now arrived, and home jealousies and wars had as much to do with colonial disturbances as anything else. England had broken away from Catholicism: why shouldn't she be jealous of Spanish ascendency in the New World? The century, or thereabouts, since the discovery of America, had fired European rulers with a mania for the enlargement of their empires by discovery. The idea grew more and more popular that titles by discovery, in order to be substantial, should be backed by actual settlement. It was found that no mean trade could be driven with the natives in the shape of furs, etc., and that our coasts furnished favorable fishing-grounds. The thrilling stories of Spanish adventure, conquest and enrichment in Peru and Mexico had gotten abroad and were filling men of every nationality with dreams of El Dorados in all parts of the

* A disastrous attempt, under the special co-operation of Calvin himself, had been made to found a similar empire at Rio Janeiro in Brazil.—*Southey's Brazil.*

New World. Religious enthusiasm built imaginary abiding-places in the wilderness for the faithful, away from persecution, competition and all state interference. Humanitarians, philanthropists, political theorists, saw golden opportunity in the American wilds for great reformed and reforming empires. Bankrupt nobility pictured to itself a renewal of estates and titles amid our splendid virgin areas on a far larger and grander scale than their fathers had ever heard of.

RALEIGH'S SCHEME.—Raleigh had been a pupil of Coligny. He dreamed of an empire for England on the very spot whence the Protestants of France had been expelled. He therefore took up Coligny's failure. Armed with a patent from Queen Elizabeth (1584) he tried his experiment a little farther north and under more favorable auspices. But failure awaited him also. His abandoned "City of Raleigh" on the barren island of Roanoke (1587) was two centuries later (1792), and by solemn act of the legislature of North Carolina, revived in its capital "The City of Raleigh." As Coligny's scheme gave to the Carolinas (the New France of the South) a name, so Raleigh's gave to the indefinite territory of his patent the name of Virginia, after the virgin queen.*

FIRST COLONIAL CHARTER.—Turning the century (1600) England was better prepared than any other country for adventure, or say permanent settlement, in North America. The

* This attempt of Raleigh to found a Huguenot colony under English auspices as a set-off to Spanish Catholic influence on the South did more to spread a correct idea of the soil, climate, inhabitants and resources of the new land than any other thus far. Its historian, Hariot, was a keen observer. He observed the culture of tobacco and accustomed himself to its use, after the Indian fashion. He studied the maize crop and noted its productiveness. He also tried the potato with the natives and found it very good food. The natives were treated as men, and the chief, Manteo, was given a peerage, the first in Anglo-American annals. It ought not to escape attention that Raleigh took possession of this Virginia country, so signal a part of Spanish Florida, and at so late a date, by reason of discovery. He of course knew of Coligny's claim to the same for France. But France and England could afford to pull together in the scheme of a Huguenot (Protestant) colony or empire right down upon and overshadowing Catholic Florida. It was a long-headed, deeply concocted scheme on the part of Raleigh and Elizabeth, and one that England, or rather Protestantism, could afford to take much stock in.

timid policy of King James I. (1603–1625) in throwing out of employment the gallant seamen who had served under Elizabeth left them no option but to engage in the quarrels of strangers or seek employment, wealth and fame in the new world. The vague uncertain title of the first discoverer could now be backed up by actual settlement. That possession which was then as much as even ten points of law could be brought into play. A true colonial scheme could be developed and practised which would not only reduce the wilderness to an inchoate government, but anchor it safely at the foot of the throne.

Now see the hold this spirit of colonization had gotten in England. The influential assigns of Raleigh's patent, the wealthy Gorges, governor of Plymouth (Eng.), the experienced Gosnold who first set English foot on Cape Cod (1602), the enthusiastic Captain Smith, the persevering Hakluyt, historian of all the early voyages, and towering above all, the Lord Chief Justice himself, Sir John Popham—these formed a coterie whose plea "to deduce a colony into Virginia" James I. could not resist. He granted them the first colonial charter under which the English were planted in America, April 10, 1606. Do not forget the date: it is an important one, the beginning of many real things in connection with our government. Do not forget the coterie. They were tenacious men, representative of England's wealth and influence at home and her adventure abroad, and they or their assigns come up continually from this time on to disturb future titles and worry future colonists. Do not fail either to look a little into the charter itself, for its bearings on our history and institutions are direct, and it shows in what shape English monarchy first fastened itself on our soil.

The charter gave twelve degrees, reaching from Cape Fear, N. C., to Halifax, Nova Scotia (34° to 45° N. lat.), to two rival companies, one of London, the other of towns in the west of England.* The London Company (Southern Colony), which

*The first goes, popularly, by the name of the London Company. As its portion of the above grant was the southern part of Virginia and its settlement on the James river, it is known to our history as the Southern Colony. The second company, whose residents were mostly at Plymouth, is called, popularly, the Western Company,

alone succeeded, had right to occupy from 34° to 38°; that is, from Cape Fear to the southern limit of Maryland. The Western or Plymouth Company (Northern Colony) had right to occupy from 41° to 45°; that is, from say New York to Halifax. From 38° to 41° was open to both, with right to the soil fifty miles north or south of any actual settlement they might make therein.* The government was a Council in England appointed by the king. A Local Council had charge of local affairs in the respective colonies. The king reserved the right of supreme legislative authority and supervision. The emigrant and his children should continue to be Englishmen. The original grantees or patentees were to hold the lands and other rights by the tenure of free and common socage, and not *in capite*.† The patentees could of course regrant their lands to actual colonists according to the tenures they held. The hard, impracticable features of the charter were that the emigrant had no elective franchise, no right of self-government. The power was first

or the Plymouth Company, and as their part of the grant was in the north of Virginia, *i. e.*, from New York to Halifax, it is known in our history as the Northern Colony, but chiefly by its failures.

* "The name of 'Virginia' was generally confined to the Southern Colony, and the name of 'Plymouth Company' was assumed by the Northern Colony. From the former the States south of the Potomac may be said to have had their origin, and from the latter the States of New England."—*Story on the Constitution.*

† This is very important as marking a point of decided departure from the feudal tenures based on military service, or tenures *in capite*. However rapidly the process of undermining feudal institutions may have been going on, it must have been a very bitter pill for a sovereign like King James to give such a signal recognition of their decadence, for be it known his signature to this charter not only broke in on all precedent for military (capite) tenure to land in America, but established the most democratic tenure then known in England, tenure by "free and common socage." This tenure existed only in Kent (Eng.) under the title *gavelkind*, "given to all the males alike." Says Blackstone, "It is probable the socage (plow service) tenures were the relics of Saxon liberty, retained by such persons as had neither forfeited them to the king nor been obliged to exchange their tenure for the more honorable though more burdensome tenure of knight service. This is peculiarly remarkable in the tenure which prevails in Kent, called gavelkind, which is acknowledged to be a species of socage tenure, the preservation whereof inviolate from the innovations of the Norman conqueror is a fact universally known, and those who have thus preserved their liberties are said to hold in *free and common socage*."

in a trading company composed of a select few, of which the actual settler was not one; then in a Local Council, in which he had no voice; then in a Supreme Council at home, which could never know him and could never have sympathy with his rights; lastly in the king himself, who not only created and dismissed the Supreme Council at pleasure, but held the power of making or revising their legislation. It was a truly wonderful scheme, and one, in most respects, well calculated to tickle the vanity of a weak prince. What wonder that, under it, the Local Council got to be a pure aristocracy entirely independent of the settlers, the people! What wonder that no element of popular liberty found its way into the government of the colony when its code of laws was completed and received kingly sanction! And what wonder the parliament of England speedily raised the question—a question which would not down until the American revolution—of how far the king was a usurper of their powers in assuming legislative authority abroad! Even the religion of the colonist was, under this memorable instrument, to be that of the Church of England.

One may well say all this was a long way off from what kings were afterwards taught to grant, and from that spirit of free thought and action which now pervades our institutions. Under such a charter and code permanent colonization at a distance from home, and in a spot where everything invited to freedom, was impossible. Every effort to plant under it, or to make it work for the good of emigrants, showed its imperfections in glaring colors. The weeding and paring process began early.

ENGLAND'S PERMANENT FOOTHOLD.—Under this charter the London Company founded Jamestown, Va., May, 1607, one hundred and nine years after Cabot's discovery of the Continent, and forty-one after Spain had settled Florida. As the Puritan, destined for the Hudson, was blown upon Cape Cod, so the three ships with the Virginia Colony were blown past Raleigh's old settlement at Roanoke, and into the waters of the Chesapeake. One year would have settled the fate of Jamestown, but for Captain Smith, who had fought for freedom in Holland, roamed France for pleasure, visited Egypt for study,

plunged into Mohammedan warfare for glory, escaped from Constantinople to Russia for safety, and now entered as hero on a drama the most exciting and thrilling of all. Even his ingenuity in handling hostile natives, and his unbending will, stronger than that of cowardly governor (Wingfield and Ratcliffe) or famished, rebellious emigrant, could not have saved the colony, but for an amendment to the charter government which robbed the king of the supreme legislative powers he had reserved and turned them over to the company and its governors. This gave to Smith's genius a fuller rein. He made the gentlemen colonists work, saying, "He who would not work might not eat." He entreated the company to send "more suitable persons for Virginia." "I entreat you," he writes, "rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have." Hopeless as his task seemed he held his control of the unruly colonists till disabled by an accidental explosion of gunpowder he was forced to go to England for treatment, without reward of any kind but the applause of conscience and the world. He was the true father of Virginia, and, vastly more, the pioneer who secured to the Saxon race its first permanent foothold within the borders of the United States. Virginia was a fact, but as yet a limitless fact. And this it proved, and continued to prove, that just as the king was shorn of his charter powers, and just as the Home Council and the governors were deprived of their arbitrary control, and the same passed over to and began to be exercised by the people under the forms of law, in that proportion the colony throve. America was no place for restricted individual rights nor absolute foreign authority.

TOBACCO, COTTON AND SLAVES.—The Jamestown colonist got to be an industrious man. It was a clear question of the "survival of the fittest." He grew tobacco and the cereals, and found both profitable. The former became a staple and a currency. He was not satisfied with his farm title. It was amended so as to make him secure. He clamored for representation. This too he got. The first colonial assembly met at Jamestown,

June, 1619. This was the dawn of legislative liberty in America. They who had been dependent on the fickle will of a governor demanded a code of laws based on those of England. Such a code came over in 1621. It was a form of government away outside of the harsh and narrow provisions of the charter. Under it the colony got a parliament, very like that of England. Thenceforth Virginia was the Virginia of the colonists. It was their country, and their country reached from North Carolina to Halifax, and as far west as imagination chose to go. The king was still king, and of a new empire, but of a people who had gradually acquired rights they would never voluntarily part with. He had a rival though. In 1621 the first cotton-seed was planted with success. The infant thus cradled grew into "King Cotton." Strange to say, only one year before, August, 1620, fourteen months after the first Virginia Assembly, four months before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth rock, more than a hundred years after slavery had disappeared from England, six years after the abolition of serfdom in France, a Dutch man-of-war entered the James river and landed twenty negroes for sale. Unfortunately the constitution and code of laws which were received by the colony the next year had been prepared without knowledge of this event, or they might have contained some clause prohibiting this kind of commerce. As it was, the commerce grew and the slave system got hold, in spite of a strong sentiment among the better class of colonists against it, and in spite of a few feeble colonial laws passed with a design to discourage it. By one of those strange contradictions in human affairs, the colony which had in fourteen years converted a despotic charter into a representative form of government, and had actually become an asylum of liberty,* became also the abode of hereditary bondsmen.†

* The Virginia Colony had not as yet paid much attention to its religious code, and even the heady Puritan could find an asylum there. His presence was not interdicted till the democratic revolution in England under Cromwell gave political importance to religious sects. Then to tolerate a Puritan was to favor a member of a republican party.

† Negro slavery was certainly an offence against the better instincts of all the colonies. Though all the earlier ones tolerated it, there was no lack of discourag-

A ROYAL PROVINCE.—King James got jealous of the London Company. On the plea of mismanagement its charter was cancelled. Virginia was free from a control which, while it made a colony possible, had ever been an interference. Charles I. (1625–1649), in accordance with his father's intentions, would regard it as a Royal Province, to be governed by himself, but fortunately more with a view to securing a revenue from its tobacco and other staples, than with a design to interfere seriously with the political rights of the colonists. But up came the question of boundary. Virginia had no limits but those in the charter, and it was gone. There was, therefore, no Virginia for the map. Only the settlement called Virginia remained, and the best it could do was to claim the old charter limits, whether the charter existed or not. It therefore crossed swords with the Marylander who had come with his grant right into the midst of the Virginia territory. But the flurry soon passed over. The fate of Charles I. was sealed. Virginia thought to fight Cromwell, but by capitulating got terms which were almost equivalent to independence. Cromwell never bothered himself about governors nor anything else outside of the mere question of allegiance. So the colonists elected their own governors, and the custom once established, it ever after prevailed. A grand step toward popular independent government in the new world!

MARYLAND CHARTER.—The mind of the Virginian was not clear as to his country. Under the charter of 1606 his domain was practically boundless to the north. Under an amended charter he could claim to 41° (200 miles north of Old Point Comfort), which was vaguely supposed to be the southern limit of New England, or the southern boundary of the New Netherlands. At any rate he would, now that he was prosperous and had ambitions, push his enterprises north of the

ing laws and regulations. The force of sentiment outside of themselves, especially that sentiment born of traffic and cupidity, was stronger than the true and just colonial instinct, and hence ordinances discouraging slavery became dead letters. But time would have corrected the errors of cupidity, all along the colonial line, had it not happened that as long as the slave traffic was active, the climate, staples and commercial tastes of the Southern colonies permitted the introduction of the slave element to such an extent that heroic action against the system became impolitic.

Potomac and Susquehannah. But, alack! he was suddenly cut off. Sir George Calvert had tried a Catholic settlement at Avalon on the coasts of Newfoundland, but cold, a barren soil, and French fishermen, had driven him away. He would try again in a more favorable clime. His influence with the king (James I.) was great, and the canceling of the Virginia patents had restored to the monarch his authority over the soil. The French, the Dutch, the Swedes, were preparing to come. Why shouldn't Calvert have a slice of kindly soil for his experiment? He got it, and evidently wrote his own charter.* It gave him a clean slice of what was Virginia. Its bounds were the ocean, the 40th parallel, the meridian through the fountain of the Potomac, that river to its mouth, and a line from Watkin's Point to the ocean—almost the Maryland of to-day. Calvert's (Lord Baltimore's) province was a creation with a definite boundary, the first, it may be said, thus far,† and it was Maryland, after Maria, wife of Charles I. Lord Baltimore was a *Proprietary*, that is, the country was his estate. He was governor, subject to the provisions of the charter, which were very liberal indeed, securing to the colonists representative government from the start, and therein contrasting strongly with the Virginia charter, granted to mere trading companies. Christianity was by the charter made the law, but no preference was given to any sect, and equality in religious rights not less than in civil freedom, was assured. Sir George Calvert died April 15, 1632, but the charter was confirmed to his son, Cecil, June 20, 1632. As has been noted, Virginia was

* "The nature of the document itself, and concurrent opinion, leave no room to doubt that it was penned by the first Lord Baltimore himself, although it was finally issued to his son."—*Bancroft*, vol. i., 241.

† Ignorance of the geography of the interior left many of the early grants without western limits. Some had the clause inserted "and extending through to the Pacific," or "extending from ocean to ocean." But in general they were vague, and the source of much future difficulty, as were those north and south boundaries which so overlapped each other. The failure of the successive monarchs to understand what their predecessors had done, the lapsing of so many grants by time or by non-user, the desire of each monarch to gratify his friends or to map a new colonial policy of his own, all these contributed to the confusion of charter boundaries.

furious over this robbery of her domain. She at first warred a little about it, then carried her case to England, but the king's privy council told her to go home and cultivate amicable relations with her neighbor. Her wrath had time to cool while the boundary between her and Maryland was being adjusted. Calvert knew quite well the folly of attempting a Catholic experiment, no matter how liberal its provisions, so near the Virginia settlement, and within its claimed limits, without first securing for it carefully determined boundaries. Virginia's church was the established church, which, liberal at first, was nearly ripe for that uncharitable statute which banished all non-conformists and made their return a felony.

SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND.—March 27, 1634, Calvert founded his village of St. Mary's, and his state. The Ark and Dove bore his colony. He treated with the Indians and bought their soil. Thus his possession was peaceable, except that Clayborne of Virginia wanted to drive him away by force.* The colonists stuck from the start, and, unlike those of Virginia, went to work. In six months St. Mary's was ahead of Jamestown in its sixth year.† In one year the people, not liking Calvert's Code, passed one of their own which, though it did not go into effect, resulted in such modifications of Calvert's as they wished. The "religious freedom" of the charter took as wide shape in the statutes as was then possible. It embraced all Christians, but with the awful proviso that, "Whatever person shall blaspheme God or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death." Nowhere in the United States is religious opinion now regarded as a proper subject for such a penalty or for any penal enactment at all. We have seen how Virginia profited by the neglect of Cromwell, under the English Commonwealth.

* The native tribe had been punished by the Susquehannahs on the north, and was just about to quit its seats on the Potomac, when Calvert came. He therefore was able to drive a good bargain with them, and to quiet his title with a few presents of clothes, axes, hoes, knives, etc.

† "Within six months it (the Maryland colony) had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years."—*Bancroft*, vol. i., p. 247.

New England did the same. But Maryland went through the fires of angry disputation. With the king gone, where was the Proprietary who held from and under him? "Gone too," said Virginia. "Gone too," said Cromwell, though he was going to trust to Calvert's good sense to manage things. But Virginia, through the ambitious Clayborne, got over into Maryland, and under cover of a commission actually ran away with the government. Maryland had invited Puritans. They were strong in Anne Arundel, and were Cromwellian republicans. Calvert was shrewd enough to save his charter, but when he went to reduce the Puritans he was whipped and his agent, Stone, was imprisoned. Clayborne could reduce neither Catholics nor Puritans. Thus matters stood for years, till the people voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on other power in the province, and enacted compromise laws, which Virginia ultimately assented to, and which both Puritan and Catholic could respect. Thus Maryland like Virginia was, at the restoration of Charles II. (1660), in full possession of liberty based on the sovereignty of the people, and like Virginia it had so nearly completed its political institutions that not much further progress was made toward freedom and independence till the period of final separation from England (1776).

THE PLYMOUTH COUNCIL.—We must now go back a little in time and look northward. The Virginia charter of 1606 incorporated two monstrous companies, the London Company (Southern colony), and Western or Plymouth Company (Northern colony). We have seen how the London Company succeeded at Jamestown, and how it was shorn of its rights in Virginia. What did the Western or Plymouth Company do with its splendid grant of lands (in Virginia remember) between New York and Labrador, 41° to 45°, and its magnificent privileges? Under Popham himself it settled at St. George on the Kennebec (1607). But Popham died and the colony failed.* Inspired

* The Maine historians make much of this settlement, not only as ante-dating all others in Northern Virginia or New England, but as going to show the directness of the Maine title from the Virginia charter of 1606, and therefore the wrongfulness

anew by Smith, the Virginia hero, who had (1614) scoured the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod and named the country New England, another trial was made, but the colony never landed. Still Smith's enthusiasm was all pervading. A new and independent charter was sought for the company. This set the Londoners and Westerlings to fighting. But clashing interests could not stay results. Out of the conflicting claims came a charter to forty of the king's favorites, many of them members of both the old competing companies, and the best men in them. It was one of the most sweeping papers which ever bore royal signature. Its date was Nov. 3d, 1620, and it incorporated "The council established at Plymouth (England) for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England, in America."

NATURE OF THIS CHARTER.—Note first the size of the territory it covered, and how it wiped out the entire field given to both the London and Western Companies in the charter of 1606, also how it silenced forever the legal claim of Virginia (not the popular claim) to her domain north of 40°. It extended in breadth from 40° to 48° north latitude, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific; that is, it embraced nearly all the inhabitable British possessions of to-day,* all New England, New York, more than half of New Jersey, nearly all Pennsylvania, and the mighty sweep westward of all these States. So grand an empire had never been given away by a single stroke of the pen. But more, and worse, the charter gave to forty men the soil, the sole power of legislation, the selection of all officers, the formation of a government, and powers over commerce as arbitrary as those con-

of the claim which Massachusetts subsequently made good. Had the Kennebec colony stuck, they would have much better ground for their position; or had not the character of titles shifted. Even at this early date the principle was abroad that a title confirmed by actual settlement was better than one with no such substantial backing.

* It paid no attention to the French possession of New France, which was already permanently occupied at Port Royal, Quebec, and many other places along the St. Lawrence. The thought evidently was to rely on the old Cabot title by discovery, claim the continent, and drive off settlers of other nationalities if necessary.

veyed to the Cabots by Henry VII., in "that oldest American State paper in England." No regard was shown for the liberty of a single colonist. Everything was left to the council at Plymouth. It was too big a monopoly to be of any use. Parliament rose in angry question of the king's right to thus fritter away the public domain. France laughed at the thought of thus appropriating her lands, in which settlements had existed for a score of years. The patentees fell to furious wrangling about their respective privileges, and while the confusion was at its height something far-reaching and wonderful took place.

FIRST PURITAN ADVENT.—The Reformation had made possible the Puritan and Pilgrim, the man who wanted, and was bound to have—for himself—religious and political liberty, at whatever cost. When he imbibed Genevan Calvinism he drank in at the same time the spirit of the Genevan republic. This was the ferment which was working in feudal England when Henry VIII. cut off the political horns of the pope, and which came to the surface when Edward VI. permitted the Protestant sects to show their heads without danger from the block. One of these sects, Cranmer's, wanted mild reforms. This one became the Church of England. The other would have no ceremony not enjoined by the word of God, no divine right of bishops, no inequality of clergy, no fixed rule of worship or interpretation appointed by parliament, hierarchy or king. This was Puritanism, pure and undefiled, and it had the sanction of Martyr, Calvin, Hooper and Rogers. Under Mary, the Puritan, as well as the Episcopalian, had to leave England, if he would talk and act his convictions. He went to Amsterdam, Leyden, Frankfort, Geneva, to every asylum on the continent, and he learned much. When he came back under Elizabeth he was no longer a monarchist, but wanted a state of his own, one in which he had a personal voice; therefore he was a politician,* and now doubly dangerous and doubly to be despised. The hard measure of Elizabeth to exile or hang all who should be absent from

* Even the English church charged them with seeking a popular state; and Elizabeth declared they were more perilous than the Romanists. The Romanists were for monarchy, and Elizabeth did not despise them on that account.

the English service for a month sent the Puritan abroad again, and especially the stiffer-necked branch called Independent or Separatist. The more politic remained to make Elizabeth ashamed of her hanging of Barrow and Greenwood, and to teach her that the spirit of liberty was sufficiently abroad to endanger the chances of her successor to the throne if she carried on in too high-handed a manner.*

Elizabeth, "dead and forgotten in four days," was succeeded by James I., a most cowardly sprig of royalty, who was a Puritan in Scotland, but who was no sooner over the border than he couldn't distinguish between the interests of the English church and his own political prerogatives. "No bishop, no king" was his inspiration, and the Puritan was more a "viper" than ever, even if the king was a Protestant. He would "harry them all out of the kingdom, or, better, hang them, if they did not conform," and then when the Pilgrim wanted to go he had to escape. Wherever he went in Holland or on the continent this was true of him: he was industrious, nearly always a farmer or tradesman, frugal, patient, pious, shrewd, liberty-loving, and though a Pilgrim, attached to his nationality. He was not content in Holland, but, like others, began to dream of a colony in the wilderness which should augment the king's realm, give him the government of his native land without its hardships, and thus secure him the liberty he wanted. Whom should he consult? It was 1617, and the London Company which had given life to Virginia was yet in existence and claiming everything north of North Carolina. It therefore was consulted, and would have responded favorably but for bickerings. The king was petitioned for a charter. He promised nothing, but gave out the impression that if the Puritan would only betake himself to America and there behave himself he would be let alone. That was something; perhaps all he had a right to expect. Then he went back to the London Company, which granted a patent, but being made in the name of one who failed to accompany the Pilgrim expedition it was of no use. There was nothing left but the

* "The precious spark of liberty had been kindled and preserved by the Puritans alone."—*Carte's England*, iii., 707.

PLYMOUTH ROCK.

king's promise of neglect. With this for a charter the "Speedwell" (60 tons) and "Mayflower" (120 tons) were equipped for the voyage. A solemn fast (the original of the American thanksgiving), and the Leyden Pilgrims sailed for Southampton. There the English faithful came aboard, and the two ships dared the ocean voyage. But the "Speedwell" gave out, and the two ships put back to Plymouth, where the rotten one was dismissed. A hundred souls, men, women and children,* crowded into the "Mayflower," and on the 6th of September, 1620, the ship was off again, off for the Hudson. Bad navigation or storms brought the Pilgrim boat to the bleak coast of Cape Cod, Nov. 9, 1620, thirteen years after the founding of Jamestown, and less than two months after the signing of the wonderful charter of the Plymouth Council, above mentioned. After a period of prospecting, on Monday, Dec. 11 (say Dec. 22 new style), 1620, a landing was effected at Plymouth rock, and actual New England had a beginning. The colony was that of Plymouth, whence they had sailed.

The government of the Pilgrim,† framed in the cabin of the "Mayflower," provided for a "proper democracy" in the Colony of Northern Virginia, based on religious and political rights. It promised loyalty to the Crown, which was its bid to be let alone. The Pilgrim weathered two years of cold, barrenness, and adversity which would have broken up any colony but a Pilgrim colony. His tenacity, industry, thrift, morals, family, organizing power, memory of wrongs, and intense love of freedom, gave him a foothold in spite of cheerless climate and unproductive soil. He placated the Indians by treaty, raised corn, drove a brisk trade, started his "little democracy," worshipped as he wished, partitioned his lands. Were his titles good? The Indians had

* The pilgrim brought his family along. The Virginian came without wife or child. Smith's prayer was for farmers, mechanics, and men with families. Till such came colonization was mere adventure.

† "Puritan" and "Pilgrim" are fairly interchangeable. The latter was the former in exile, before he crossed the Atlantic. Not all Puritans were Separatists and Independents. In general the Puritans were more diplomatic than the Pilgrims. Puritanism covers both very well.

said, "Come;" that was as good as a purchase. The principles of English law, and natural justice, said they were good. So the Pilgrim was secure. He struck deep in his own barren soil and branched out to the Connecticut, to Cape Ann, and to the Kennebec.

PLYMOUTH COUNCIL.—The shrewd Pilgrim heard of the wonderful grant to the Plymouth Council and knew it embraced his Plymouth. He worked into the good graces of the Council through the influence of Gorges and got a sub-patent. This attempt of the great Council to portion its powers and lands again brought up the grave question in parliament of how far the king had made a fool of himself in parting with so much territory and power without parliamentary sanction. The Council, monopolists as they were called, and the king were pitted against the parliament and such level-headed lawyers as Sir Edward Coke, who wanted the power of the Council broken and a free opportunity given to colonize the rest of New England. The Council, forced partly to the wall, determined to make the best of a bad bargain by breaking up its immense domain. There was a scramble for corporation patents. Mason got a patent for the lands between the Salem river and the farthest head of the Merrimac (1621). Gorges and Mason took a patent for Laconia, the whole country between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac and Kennebec, and the plantations on the Piscataqua, as well as the towns of Portsmouth and Dover came into being, say 1623. Mason got a second patent (1629) for the country between the Merrimac and Piscataqua, which was afterwards known as the New Hampshire patent, and so the business ran into interminable confusion and endless law-suits. The omnipotent Council of Plymouth was fast frittering away its lands, influence and prerogatives.

SECOND PURITAN ADVENT.—The Puritan at home chafed under the constraints of English law and the severities of the English church. Minister White, of Dorchester, though not a Separatist, would lead a colony of the faithful across the waters. Despite his puritanism, he formed a company, which bought of the expiring Plymouth Council a belt of land extend-

ing from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from three miles south of the river Charles and Massachusetts bay to three miles north of every part of the river Merrimac. This was a strong company in men, for it included such as Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicot, Simon Whetcomb, and afterwards Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pynchon, Eaton, Saltonstall, and Bellingham, all names well known in colonial history. Endicot, the sternest kind of a Puritan, was selected to begin the work of establishing a plantation of "the best of their countrymen" on the shores of New England and in safe seclusion, where the corruptions of human superstition might never invade. Not trusting to this patent from the Council, for it was in contravention of half a dozen others, it was confirmed by a charter from Charles I., and "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" was on its feet. Its date is March 4, 1629. The king was evidently mad when he signed it. He had made up his mind to govern his foreign territory, or have it governed, as he pleased and without the aid of parliament. So, the provisions of the charter were not unlike those of Virginia, not a whit more liberal as to the rights of the emigrant, equally as hard and close as to the powers of the corporation, which had even the right to elect its own governors. As in Virginia, "the blessed boon of freedom" for the colonist, the right to local self-government, was to come about over the wreck of corporation codes and amid the ruin of original charter claims.

MASSACHUSETTS COLONY.—Under the auspices of this Company of Massachusetts Bay, the Puritans struck Salem, but Charlestown got a few of the new-comers, and so did the village of Boston, soon to become the capital. These Puritans came full of notions of a church wherein they might worship after their liking, and with no, or very narrow, notions of a political state. But they were shrewd and business-like. The thought of being under a company whose members resided at a distance was not pleasant. An original idea struck them. Why not pick the whole company up and carry it across the waters? It could execute the provisions of the charter better on the spot

than 3,000 miles away. That is just what was done, and in a twinkling it changed a commercial corporation into an independent provincial government. Governors, deputy governors, members of the company, and all interested became colonists—a happy Puritan band intent on their religion and church, but wide awake as to their political freedom and all local and material interests. They held in their own hands the key to their religious asylum, and unceremoniously locked the doors against all enemies to its harmony and safety. Winthrop, the aristocratic, pious, conforming, discreet Winthrop, came over as governor. The hard trials and disappointments of colonists, especially on a shore so bleak, passed, the community settled down to an "assembly of all the freemen of the colony," at Boston. Their first effort was a sort of elective aristocracy. Their second, the next year, 1631, was a sort of commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God—a theocracy, if you please. No man was admitted to the freedom of the body politic unless he was a member of some of the Puritan churches. But in all things their government was representative. That was a great point. The colony was politic. It encouraged peaceful barter with the Indians. It sent messengers of peace to the Pilgrims, and to all former colonists. It traded with the Dutch on the Hudson. It invited and got large accessions of colonists from England, the very best men there, such as Cotton, and Hooker, teachers and thinkers at home, the fittest material for preachers, governors, and long-headed diplomatists abroad. When the ministers would hold too hard to the theocratic idea, the freemen inquired more deeply into their liberties and privileges, demanded annual elections, introduced the ballot-box, instead of the old-fashioned show of hands, got to be as noisy and self-assertive as the modern politician. With the exception of a limited suffrage, the democracy of Massachusetts was as perfect then as now. Unfortunately the suffrage was limited only to the faithful. Hence the split with Roger Williams and his expulsion as an heretical fellow who taught that "The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul."

This doctrine would blot out the felony if non-conformity, would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship, would give protection to every form of religious faith, would make every freeman a voter whether Puritan or not, would, in a word, smash the whole Puritan fabric. And then he had committed other offense by writing an article in which he argued that an English patent could not invalidate the rights of the Indian to the soil. This was very like treason against the charter of the colony. The very wise Bradford thought Williams crazy. All in all, he had to go, this first person in Christendom to assert fully the doctrine of freedom of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law, and this defender of them even in advance of the immortal John Milton and Jeremy Taylor. And his going meant what?

THE BIRTH OF RHODE ISLAND.—Williams stopped at Seekonk, but that was within the Plymouth patent. He pushed on to a spot where patents would not interfere, and having found it he called it Providence (1636). A deed from Miantonomoh quieted his title as to the Indians. His government was a pure democracy. Williams gave all power and lands to the people, and they decided everything in their conventions. A magistracy, executive officers, governors, were things of an after time.

CONNECTICUT TAKES SHAPE.—The shrewd Puritan would head off the Dutch who were creeping toward the valley of the Connecticut. The soil was in the Earl of Warwick, as proprietary, under a grant from the Council of New England, or rather, in Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke and John Hampden, as his assigns. But before they could colonize it the people of New Plymouth had built a trading-house at Windsor, and soon had settlements at Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield. To the Puritans the valley of the Connecticut was indeed a new Hesperia. Thither they marched in no limited numbers under the lead of such as Hooker and others—emigrants from the most valued citizens, the earliest settlers, and oldest churches of Massachusetts Bay. The bloodthirsty Pequods could not intimidate them nor stay their westward march, but went down before it even to

the last of their tribe. The Puritan was a soldier as well as preacher. At New Haven, too, an independent Puritan colony sprang up with Davenport as pastor and Theophilus Eaton as governor, for twenty years (1638), with no statute-book but the Bible, and no freemen but the elect.

UNITED COLONIES.—Passing the long legal fight between the old Plymouth Council and the Company of Massachusetts Bay, which brought Puritanism under the suspicion of aiming more at a distinct political sovereignty than at simply a church of its own, the time had come for closer co-operation among the New England colonists. At least this was the Massachusetts thought, though it was doubtless suggested as much by her desire to extend her power and influence as anything else. The first move was on New Hampshire, which we have seen had existence under the Mason grants. She readily accepted the jurisdiction of the stronger colony, not doubting that a strict construction of her charter gave Massachusetts a valid claim on her territory, and wishing to avoid the disputes which were sure to follow refusal. The Pequod wars, and fears of the Dutch on the south, made it the policy of the Connecticut and New Haven governments to seek terms of union.

The Indian tribes of Narragansett wanted the protection of Massachusetts, so they granted to her their Rhode Island. But Williams, who had gone to England to get a charter, returned with it (1644) in time to save his little state from absorption. Down in Maine, Rigby, purchaser of the Lygonia patent, and the assigns of Gorges, were in bitter legal warfare about their right to own and govern. They agreed to refer their disputes to Massachusetts as umpire. The shrewd umpire decided that neither party was right, and told them to go home and live at peace. This was impossible, and the umpire knew it, but it knew also that the plum, not yet ripe enough for the plucking, would be as soon as the disputes had impoverished both parties. An appeal was had to England, but she took no stock in the controversy. Then Massachusetts offered mediation. The role of King Stork was repeated. Unfolding her own charter and pointing to its date, which was prior to that in the patents of either

of the disputants, and pointing again to her boundary line, three miles north of any point on the Merrimac, she politely informed the Maine folks that they had all along been shearing goats, and that the territory was hers at any rate, which claim she made good. Thus did Massachusetts extend her territory to Casco Bay, and there was such a thing as the "United Colonies of New England."*

A GENERAL ADVANCE.—All this colonial growth and consolidation made free local legislation more desirable, and the interference of parliament more intolerable. The principle was echoed from Virginia to the Kennebec, that the colonies were entitled to their own parliaments and legislatures. Royalty was pitiably situated, for kings did not wish to go back on their grants and their claim to give their soil to whom they pleased, to be governed as they prescribed. This was the three-sided fight, now fully on, and not to be determined till the American Revolution settled it. During the time of Cromwell (1648–1659) the northern colonies, being republican in spirit, gained a more solid footing, and made great progress. As the issue of Puritanism was popular sovereignty, Cromwell was pleased with the New England situation. "He that prays best will fight best," was his judgment, and he did not doubt the ability of the Puritan to take care of himself, without a king at the helm in England.

FREAKS OF CHARLES II.—The restoration of royalty in England (1660) was a period of apprehension in Colonial America. King Charles II. (1660–1685) had no respect for acquired rights on this side the Atlantic, and none for the acts of his royal predecessors. He would be original or nothing, would tear everything to pieces in order to enjoy confusion or the pleasure of reconstruction. His freaks in upsetting old colonial lines and titles astonished the world. Fortunately their very

* "The first conception of an American union entertained by the founders of New England was to join in political bonds only those colonies in which the people were of a similar way of thinking in theology, when, in the spirit of a theocracy, they aimed to form a Christian state in the bosom of the church. This was embodied in the New England Confederacy (1643–1684). Its basis was not broad enough to embrace the whole of this territory, or sufficiently just to include all its population."—*Frothingham's Rise of the Republic.*

wildness defeated their aim in many instances, and averted the confusion which would otherwise have attended the king's folly. In other instances, some of the colonies got what they had never been able to get.

Winthrop got a splendid charter—in utter disregard of all former grants—for Connecticut (1662), which embraced both the Hartford and New Haven colonies, and extended from the Narragansett River to the Pacific Ocean, and the beauty of it was, it gave to the colonists unqualified power to govern themselves. Unwittingly, the king and Clarendon had set up a democracy where they only intended to create a close corporation.

Rhode Island was favored with a new charter (1663) almost as liberal as the old. The little State could now defy Massachusetts, who had denied her right to separate existence.

For Maryland the restoration meant the restoration of its proprietary to all his charter rights and privileges.

Virginia, through the faithless Sir William Berkley, was dismembered by lavish grants to the king's courtiers.

New Hampshire and Maine were metamorphosed, by reviving old proprietary rights therein, with a view of selling them to the Duke of Monmouth.

The country from Connecticut River to Delaware Bay was (1664), in spite of the Dutch possessions and the charter just given to Winthrop, granted to the Duke of York; so was part of Maine. Acadia was given back to France.

Thus there was disturbance all along the coast-line, and the ingenuity of the young governments was taxed to the uttermost to bring order out of confusion, and save their identities, where it was at all possible.

Massachusetts wanted her charter confirmed by the new king. A new one was granted which was not satisfactory, and the Puritans got so stiff about it as to throw them open to the suspicion of wishing to set up an independent nation. Had Clarendon, the king's prime minister, lived, there is no telling what the hostility of the throne to the attitude the Puritan was forced to assume would have led to. There must have been war, disastrous to the colonists, for they never talked bolder, though their

strength was not equal to independence as yet. Clarendon gone, the king and parliament had enough on their hands for a time with home affairs, and during this happy neglect the colonists had opportunity to test their coherence and fighting qualities by defending themselves against that grand old Indian chieftain King Philip (1676).

SMASHING AND PATCHING.—When Charles was about to turn his theft of Maine and New Hampshire over to the worthless Duke of Monmouth, Massachusetts got possession of the Gorges claims, paying $6,000 therefor, and thus threw another obstacle in the king's way. After this, Maine was given a separate government and ruled as a province of Massachusetts (1680).* New Hampshire was not so easily quieted. The Mason claim proved worthless. Therefore Massachusetts lost her hold, and New Hampshire was organized into a royal province, July 24, 1679, the first ever established in New England. It was a terrible experiment. The king's governor, Cranfield, would rule in accordance with English law and custom, and the colonists would have their local legislature. The contention went on till Cranfield withdrew in despair from those "unreasonable people" (1684).

Meanwhile the stiff-necked Puritans of Massachusetts had renewed their battle for sovereignty. The king attacked their charter. It must go, and go it did June 18, 1684. There was now no bar between the colony and the will of the English sovereign. Was property secure? Was religion in danger? The outlook was gloomy in the extreme.

DAWN OF NORTH CAROLINA.—Turn from the cold, sterile North to the sunny, fertile South, and to that part of it over which De Soto roamed at will, in which Coligny failed to plant his Huguenots, and Raleigh to carry out his designs. Here the freakish King Charles II. had enriched courtiers, like Clarendon, Monk, Lord Craven, Lord Ashley Cooper, Lord John Berkley, his brother, Sir William Berkley, Governor of

* There were three titles in Maine at this time. (1) French, from the St. Croix to the Penobscot. (2) The Duke of York's, between the Penobscot and the Kennebec. (3) Massachusetts', between the Kennebec and Piscataqua.

Virginia, and Sir George Cartaret, by giving them, as proprietaries, the Carolina country. It was not now (1660) entirely unpeopled. There were Puritans all around Cape Fear and Virginians in Southern Virginia at Albemarle Sound, that is to say, in North Carolina; and it was to these Albemarle folks that Berkley (of Virginia) sent William Drummond, a Scotch Presbyterian, as governor, with authority to institute a government which should include "an Assembly of the people and guarantee liberty of conscience." This foothold was not enough for Clarendon and his associates, who dreamed of greater wealth and power in this goodly country. A new charter was obtained which, in defiance of both Spain and Virginia, granted all the land between the Atlantic and Pacific, and between 29° and 36° 30′ N. lat.; that is, all North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, much of Florida and Missouri, nearly all of Texas and a portion of Mexico. In this boundless domain—an empire was evidently intended—every favor was extended to the proprietaries. To Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftsbury, was entrusted the work of framing a constitution. He was an aristocrat, a skeptic and a scholar, and he and Locke, the philosopher, put their heads together. The result was that stupendous Carolina constitution which has ever since been a wonder to theorists and an object of praise or derision by statesmen. It created a nobility, befriended the slave system, limited the elective franchise to freeholders of fifty acres, partitioned the land into counties, one-fifth for the proprietaries, one-fifth for the nobility, three-fifths for the people, beyond whose reach lay the executive, the judicial and even the legislative power. The Church of England was to be the national religion, though other religions were not proscribed. This constitution was signed March, 1670, and was heralded as "without compare." A splendid scheme for landgraves and lords of manors, for courts of heraldry and admiralty, but ludicrously inflated and inappropriate for a few planters and traders in Carolina cabins! The fact is, the Virginia planter, the Puritan trader, the Quaker exile, went about their own legislation and governing, very much as if they had never heard of the proprie-

taries and their magnificent scheme of empire, and the foundations of free local institutions were so deeply laid among them by the time (1681–1688) Sothel came over to administer the government of the proprietaries that, after a squabble of five or six years, they condemned him to a twelvemonth exile, and went peacefully on with their own affairs. Thus North Carolina came, not rapidly, to be sure, for there was no fixed minister till 1703, no church till 1705, no printing press till 1754, but modestly and quietly, as well she might, for her people were mostly the colonists of other colonies, who, tired of restraints, sought serene, unanxious life amid the granges of a southern clime.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—So loudly had the coming of the Model Carolina Constitution (Shaftsbury's and Locke's) been proclaimed, and so much the soil and climate of Carolina been praised as the "beauty and envy of North America," that even before the former was signed, Joseph West, as agent and governor for the proprietaries, and William Sayle, as clerical leader, started with a number of emigrants (1670) for the spot (Beaufort) where the early Huguenots had engraved the lilies of France and erected the first Carolina fortress. But sailing into Ashley River, they stopped at the "first high land,"* and there started the government of South Carolina, the people electing their own legislature and claiming the privileges of full sovereignty. It wasn't in accordance with the "Model Constitution," but it was popular, and when the "Model" came, it was resisted (1672). Still the proprietaries sent over colonists, dissenters as well as churchmen. Already (1671) Sir John Yeamans had arrived from Barbadoes with African slaves.† Dutch emigrants came from New York. An Irish colony came under Ferguson. Even Scotchmen settled at Port Royal, only to be assaulted and scattered by the Spanish. But the most remarkable thing in the history of colonial South Carolina is the fact that what Provi-

* This spot is now a plantation. Not having any commercial advantages, it was soon overshadowed by Charleston and finally abandoned.

† Thus slavery in South Carolina was coeval with the first plantations on Ashley River. It was the only one of the original thirteen States that from its cradle was essentially a planting State with slave labor.

dence postponed for Coligny and Raleigh was, a hundred years later, to come about, and that through a persecution * which added greatly to the intelligence, moral worth and ultimate freedom of the American colonies, and for Europe hastened the revolution in the institutions of the age. Escaping from a land where their religion was a crime, their estates liable to be confiscated, their children hardly their own, and their lives never safe, Huguenot fugitives from Languedoc, Rochelle, Bordeaux, Poictiers, and the beautiful valley of Tours, men of Puritan hardihood and zeal, but without superstition or fanaticism, came to Charleston and to the Santee. Out of such material did South Carolina spring. It was a pretty southern picture of unity in variety, for all were agreed to rule themselves, and resistance to the proprietaries and their visionary code continued till the English revolution of 1688, when a meeting of the representatives of South Carolina disfranchised Collton, the proprietary governor, and banished him from the province.

THE DUTCH REALM.—The Dutch, splendid sailors, fond of trade, loving land and settlement, were abroad in the West Atlantic waters as soon as any nation. Henry Hudson's voyage (1606–1609) to Newfoundland, to Cape Cod, to the Chesapeake, to the Delaware, thence up the Hudson, his trading-post at Manhattan (New York), his claim, by right of discovery, to all the country from Cape Cod to the mouth of the Delaware, with no westward limit, as "The New Netherlands," make a story full of spirit and novelty. Had not his love of trade been so much greater than his love of acres and his tread not been more firm on the decks of his ships than on dry land, the Dutchman might have pushed his magnificent frontage of four hundred miles clear through to the Pacific. He was industrious, plodding, moral, brave, liberty-loving, in fact an excellent colonist, yet his early settlements were only trading-posts. Such was New York in 1623, and Lewistown, on the Delaware, in 1631. In his attempt to push into the valley of the Connecticut he was absorbed by the Puritan. Then, in Delaware Bay, he was forced

* The revocation of the edict of Nantes, October 22, 1685, and the slaughter of the Huguenots in France.

to meet the Swede, who came along with his liberal Christian scheme, prepared under the auspices of Gustavus Adolphus himself, who was backed by all Germany.

SWEDISH ADVENT.—Without charter, or patent, or grant of any kind, but relying on such title as purchase from the Indian might give when backed by actual settlement, the Swede sailed into the Delaware (1638), built a fort at Christiana Creek, and colonized Delaware anew. Then pushing to Upland, Tinicum, and even to the Falls of the Delaware (Trenton), he claimed by actual settlement parts of the three States of Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania as New Sweden. The Swede's peaceful Indian policy, his quiet religious zeal, the beauty and balminess of his new possessions, the feeling of protection that the fame of his arms in Europe engendered, made New Sweden a desirable home for colonists. But his presence was a bold break into the New Netherland country. The Dutch remonstrated, but feared, for Gustavus was a famous fighter. Still they could not bear the loss of their trade which occupancy of both banks of so important a stream as the Delaware, by the Swedes, threatened. Resorting to a shrewd trick, they built a fort at Newcastle, below the Swedish settlement, and thus hemmed the interloping Scandinavian in. In a thoughtless hour the Swedish governor attacked this fort and drove the Dutch out. Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, sent around a fleet from Manhattan (New York), which swept the Delaware of every Swedish stronghold (1635). But if his New Sweden was thus summarily wiped out, the Swede himself stayed; his impress is still visible in all the land he possessed; it was his Indian policy that Penn adopted; his history is loved and honored; he was entirely too good a man to drive away, and so became a factor, direct or indirect, in whatever appertained to after Delaware settlement.

NEW JERSEY TAKES FORM.—The Dutch were prouder than ever of their great realm, the restored New Netherlands. But there was a sad day ahead. Cromwell would strike Holland through her most prosperous colony. His plan of humiliation was never fully carried out, but it was remembered by Charles II. This monarch gave the country from the Connecti-

cut to the Delaware to the Duke of York, and then proceeded to expel the Dutch from a domain he contemptuously called his own. Stuyvesant yielded in the face of superior force (September, 1664). In October, 1664, the Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware capitulated, and for the first time the whole Atlantic coast of the old thirteen States was in possession of England. The New Netherlands were speedily dismembered. Two months before their fall, and in anticipation of that event, the Duke of York assigned to Berkley and Sir George Cartaret, both proprietaries of Carolina, the land between the Hudson and the Delaware (June 23, 1664). This became New Jersey, already peopled by Puritans, Quakers, Swedes and Scotch dissenters. Cartaret became governor, and he gave the colony a liberal form of government.

THE QUAKER COMES.—All sects were finding an asylum in America, why should not the peaceful, pious, liberty-loving Quaker? His experiment was now ripe for trial. The son of a Leicestershire weaver and the apprentice of a Nottingham shoemaker, George Fox, had questioned his life, till the revelation came that truth is only to be sought by listening to the voice of God in the soul. Creeds and superstitions and idle forms of men were vanities. The Spirit was the true monitor. This was freedom in the abstract. Monarchy, hierarchy, code, every outward, hampering, trammelling thing, must go down before it. The Quaker rise was remarkable and memorable. It was intellectual freedom bursting out amid the masses, the old philosophy of the Portico playing its part among the people. Quakerism, as developed by Barclay and Penn, became intellectual freedom, the supremacy of mind, universal enfranchisement. Its reality was the Inner Light. As old as humanity, it embraced humanity. The first distinctive Quaker settlement was in West New Jersey at Salem, 1675, on a moiety of his province bought of Berkley. In this purchase Penn became interested. But the Quaker wanted more. Even the purchase of East New Jersey of the heirs of Cartaret was not enough. A grant must be had west of the Delaware. For this Penn became a suitor in 1680. England owed his father £16,000 for signal service in

EARLY EXPLORERS, PHILANTHROPISTS AND REVOLUTIONARY STATESMEN.

naval warfare against the Dutch. Grant of a province was an easy way to cancel the debt. In favor with the Duke of York, he obtained from Charles II., Pennsylvania, which was included within three degrees of latitude and five of longitude, west of the Delaware. The Duke of York retained the three lower counties; that is, the State of Delaware, as an appendage to his New York possessions. Penn launched his experiment in 1682, at Philadelphia. His form of government was liberal. No colonist complained of power withheld or right endangered. His scheme is thus epitomized in his own language: "It is the great end of government to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery." His policy with the Indian was that of the Swede, who had preceded him. The native was dealt with as a man. His lands were bought, not stolen. Respect for native titles secured firmness for the titles of the colonists.* The experiment was a success from the start. The Quaker asylum on the Delaware was thronged by Welsh, and Irish and Scotch, as well as English. The Low Countries and all Germany sent their grand contingent of inoffensive, religious, land-getting, forest-reducing yeomanry. No American colony moved off under such auspices nor with so firm a tread. The Pennsylvania which was in Virginia, in the New Netherlands, in the new Sweden, in the grant to the Duke of York, and as Lord Baltimore claimed partly in Maryland (hence the dispute which ended in the celebrated Mason and Dixon line) took a title which remained unmolested by royalty, and a territorial shape which corresponds with that of to-day, except the small triangle on Lake Erie, which was afterwards added.

DAWN OF NEW YORK.—New York, like New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania, came into existence by the partition of the New Netherlands. When the Dutch authority passed to England (1664), the soil of the New Netherlands passed to the

* We are sorry, for the sake of sentiment, not to be able to draw the usual picture of Penn's treaty with the Indians. It is not historic, but a pretty piece of imagination, due perhaps to West's painting of Penn, the Indians and the treaty tree. Penn's treaty was simply Penn's policy.

Duke of York. We have seen how he disposed of New Jersey, how he withdrew his right in order to let Penn have a clear title to Pennsylvania, how he reserved Delaware, and now his claim to New York remained. It was not the New York of to-day, but Vermont also, and a vague boundary to the west of the Massachusetts Colony. Nor had the Duke of York to plant a colony. It was already planted—a hardy Dutch colony, wealthy, populous, prosperous. He had but to frame a new government in a concessory spirit, and rule, through governors, an empire of strangers. But do his best, things went crooked. The republican spirit was abroad there as well as elsewhere. The local assembly became as clamorous for popular rights as that of any other colony. To deny a colonial parliament and the freeman's voice was to deprive the colonists of the rights of Englishmen. At last, October, 1683, seventy years after Manhattan was first occupied, nineteen years after the territory passed to the English, the representatives of the people met in assembly, and their self-established "Charter of Liberties" gave New York a place in the colonial brotherhood of the Atlantic. Dutchman and Englishman agreed to a bond of government whose gist was "supreme legislation in governor, council and people, in general assembly met, franchise in freemen without qualification, trial by jury of peers, taxation only by consent of assembly, no martial law, free religion." A vast advance on Puritanism and on the State Churchism of Virginia. A last desperate effort was made by the Duke of York to hold defiant control of his domains and exercise arbitrary power, by a scheme to consolidate the colonies of the northeast into an empire. This attempt led to a general upsetting of boundaries and great uncertainty of titles, but the colonists were so securely nestled in their seats that few if any settlements lost their jurisdiction or identity.

INDEPENDENT DELAWARE.—The three lower counties which the Duke of York reserved as an appendage to his New York domain, when the charter of Pennsylvania was given to Penn, never became a part of New York, in fact. They were permitted to be ruled by the same council that was elected to rule Pennsylvania, all the people voting. But the Pennsylvania

strength largely preponderated in this council and its control grew irksome. So the lower counties withdrew, with the consent of Penn, and were incorporated into a separate government under Governor Markam. Thus did Delaware secure a separate existence (1691). It was the act of her own citizens. But one thing must be observed. The Stuart dynasty had fallen in England, and the revolution of 1688 had been completed by the induction of Protestant William and Mary. There was a new order of things beyond the water; there was to be here. Distinctive Delaware was not a Stuart creation, as were all the colonies before it. It therefore had no great change to contemplate, no radical innovation to fear. It would go on smoothly, toward that destiny which awaited all the colonies, when the hour of Independence came.

COLONY OF GEORGIA.—Like Delaware, Georgia was not to be a colony of the Stuarts. Every colony thus far had its motive for existence, moral, commercial or otherwise—Carolina for the Huguenot, Virginia for the Cavalier, Maryland for the Catholic, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware for the Quaker, New York and Connecticut for the commercial Dutchman and Puritan, Rhode Island for the Independent, Massachusetts and the Northeast for the Puritan. Georgia was to be dedicated to the cause of oppressed poverty in the old world. England and Spain had long been clashing about the Florida and Carolina boundary. England determined to settle the proud claim of Spain to a limitless Florida; in other words she determined to push her Carolina border as far down as she could, and thus open the magnificent area of the Savannah. Oglethorpe, the Penn of the South, a member of parliament, knew of it. He had long been impressed with the hardships of the British debtor laws; had seen thousands of really good but unfortunate men thrown into prison, lose their all, and their caste too, by means of them; had devised a plan of giving them a home in the new world, far from the scenes of their misery and disgrace, and where industry and freedom would enable them to recover manhood and fortune. To further this end George II. granted him a charter (June 9, 1732) for the country

between the Savannah and Altamaha, and from the head springs of those rivers west to the Pacific. It was the province of Georgia (after the donor) and was placed for twenty-one years under the guardianship of a corporation "in trust for the poor." With 120 emigrants, Oglethorpe planted his ensign on the "high bluff" where Savannah now stands. His enterprise had been undertaken with the best wishes of benevolent England. It was welcomed by the natives of every neighboring tribe. Under the happiest auspices Oglethorpe began the Commonwealth of Georgia, "a place of refuge for the distressed people of Britain and the persecuted Protestants of Europe." And it was truly a refuge (but not for Catholics), for there came numbers from England, from other colonies, and many Moravians from the continent of Europe. Augusta was laid out, 1734. Oglethorpe's government was somewhat crude, but it proved yielding and the colonists soon enlarged it to suit themselves. While it proscribed Catholics, it prohibited slavery. The fame of this youngest colony was much spread by Oglethorpe, who returned to England after a residence here of fifteen months. Scotch mountaineers came and pitched at New Inverness. Oglethorpe himself returned with large Moravian reinforcements. The enthusiasm of religion was abroad in the new country, and the colonists did not fear death. They were therefore brave to shove the Spanish back and make for England a southern border. Pushing to the St. John's and claiming it as the line, they planted Fort St. George, as the defence of the British frontier. At this Spain rallied. Negotiations ensued, and St. Mary's became the southern boundary of Oglethorpe's colony. But war soon followed, for England was not satisfied with the Spanish presence in Florida at all, neither was Spain satisfied with the Protestant menace which now hugged so closely her northern border. Oglethorpe valiantly defended his colony, drove off the Spaniards, and the "pious experiment" was on a substantial footing. The transition of power from the corporation of Georgia, at the expiration of its twenty-one years, to the people was easy, and sovereignty was as free and fully representative as in any colony.

REVOLUTION OF 1688.—One thing at least is clear in this sketch of colonial creations. The king ever denied the right of the English parliament to interfere with his power to grant lands and to ordain governments for them. The Stuarts clung to this principle with Spartan tenacity.

Another thing is equally clear. The colonies, accepting the Stuart doctrine, always claimed exemption from the laws of the British parliament. But in doing so they did not thereby fall back entirely under the legislation prescribed by the king. Colonists claimed the rights of Englishmen. Among those rights was that to a parliament or assembly. Local legislation was theirs by their birthright as Englishmen. Sovereignty meant the same thing here as at home. This at first, and afterwards vastly more, for the colonists had come here because their voice was not large enough at home, nor their rights as freemen broad enough. Here the word freeman meant vastly more than at home. The American assembly was therefore more clearly representative, more popular, more directly responsible. All freemen were in general eligible to it. There were no titles, no estates, nothing to hamper full, free representation. The republican or democratic spirit which had been undermining the Stuart dynasty at home and shaking monarchical institutions to their centres, here found that expression denied it at home. It here won a victory which the king withheld from his own parliament. But the time had come in England when Englishmen must speak more firmly through their parliament. It too must be made stronger against royal claims; in other words must become more truly representative of the wishes of the people. The Stuart who would further defy public opinion, who would blindly arrogate legislative power, who would refuse to move with the age and in obedience to overwhelming sentiment, must abdicate. This was the revolution of 1688. For the glory of England they passed from the throne, leaving as their monuments in America a tier of Atlantic colonies which owed their titles and limits to royal charters, but which in liberty and enlightenment were an hundred years in advance of the last representative of the line.

They were gone. The tide of liberty had rolled so high, even in England, as to engulf them. The people had assumed to sit in judgment on divinely appointed royalty. The old idea of a Christian monarchy resting on the law of God was exploded, and political power was to seek its origin in compact. Nothing was to bind freemen to obey government save their own solemn agreement. Power for the Stuart was a right. Power henceforth was to be a trust, whose violation dissolved the obligation to allegiance. Supreme power was to be in the legislature, which was the true embodiment of the sovereignty of the people. In 1688 England had gotten as far on as Massachusetts in 1620, or, for that matter, as any of the colonies at the date of their foundation. Yet not so far, for the parliament that arose to the full height of English sentiment in expelling the Stuarts and assuming to act as the guardian of power for the people, too boldly stood in the king's shoes. It was well enough at home, but when it claimed the right to legislate for the colonies, it was doing far more than smiting a dead Stuart; it was doing, now that there was no Stuart to interpose his despotic veto, that which would arouse in America a sentiment of opposition full of remonstrance at first, full of revolution at last. The parliament's fight was always with the king; now it would be direct with the colonies. Thus, by a strange conjuncture of affairs, the very dynasty which had all along stood in the way of English progress and reform, had been not only the protection of the colonies, but the chief contributor to the triumph of the republican spirit within them and to their ultimate independence.

But as yet the consequences of the change in dynasty could not be foreseen. Even if some prophetic soul could have taken in the next century as far down as to 1776 or 1783, and proclaimed what it saw in tones sufficiently loud to have been heard by every colonist, the rejoicing over the accession of William III. and Mary would not have been less spontaneous and emphatic. Charters which existed had been overlapped and confused beyond comprehension. Charters which covered heady and opposing colonies had been unceremoniously and ruthlessly cancelled.

Many colonies had fought the battles of the new American institution and civilization against the king's claim of legislative interference, to the very verge of despair and surrender. But above all the new dynasty was confirmedly Protestant, and in that respect representative of a great majority sentiment at home and in the colonies. A source of fresh colonial inspiration, it began by rejecting the old order of things. Cancelled charters were restored. New governors were commissioned. There was jostling here and shaking up there, but in general the liberties of the people became more securely imbedded in well-understood forms of law. Prosperity was not retarded, nor faith in colonial experiment weakened. The grand result was a rebound of strength and confidence, and a new departure in colonial spirit and enterprise. Only on one side was the sky dark, and there hovered the cloud of the rejuvenated English parliament. The seeds of the American revolution had ever been in its claim of a right to legislate for the colonies. Now the seeds were bursting through the ground, for parliament was already legislating on American commerce; they would grow and bear bloody fruit when the avowal came that the right existed to legislate for them in all cases whatsoever.

STATE OUTLINES.—We have now taken a hasty view of English titles to the territory on the Atlantic coast. We have followed the divisions of that territory among the colonies, and seen how each colony got metes and bounds. Further, we have endeavored to give a reason for the existence of each colony, its underlying and actuating motive for colonization, the class of mind that took part in the work of pioneering, the shape their new institutions took almost from the start; and especially have we tried to impress on the reader a knowledge of the active political spirit, the love of freedom, the desire for unfettered personal sovereignty, the rapid growth of the democratic idea and republican institutions, in the new land, all in spite of firm attachment to monarchy, and because the men, the time, the country, made other results impossible.

One can already see in these beginnings the dawn of the full state institution. The spirit which permeated each colony at

the time of the English revolution of 1688 did not change, except as it grew larger, freer, bolder, till the colonial yoke was broken.* And so one can see in the confused and overlapping boundaries of these colonies the dim territorial outlines of the thirteen original States. Indeed some, as Delaware, Maryland, Rhode Island, never afterwards shifted their colonial limits. With others, time brought about many geographic changes, and settled grave questions of boundary which arose chiefly from the fact that their charters and grants were either open at the western end, or extended clear through to the Pacific. The names of the colonies became the names of the respective States both under the articles of confederation and the present federal constitution.

FRENCH EMPIRE.—Though the Dutch, the Swedes, and the French had passed from the Atlantic front of the present United States, the latter were still the proud claimants of vast and fertile areas North, West, and South. French adventure in America was a strange admixture of commercial and religious zeal. A single person was often priest, trader, and colonist. As already seen, the French advent was early. Years before the Pilgrims anchored at Cape Cod, French missionaries had planted a Roman Church in eastern Maine (1615), and Le Caron, subsisting by alms from the natives, had, on foot and in canoe, pushed his way to the rivers of Lake Huron (1616). The grant of New France to Richelieu, Champlain, Razilly and the hundred associates, by Louis XIII. (1627), embraced the St. Lawrence basin, and that of all rivers running into the sea (hence the French claim to Maine and New York), and also all the country

* "Even if the colonists disclaimed any present passion for independence, they were, in the inherent opposition between their principles and the English system, as ripe for governing themselves in 1689 as in 1776."—*Bancroft*, vol. iii., 109.

"The independency the colonies thirst after is notorious."—*British Lords of Trade*, in 1701.

"Commonwealth notions improve daily, and if it be not checked in time the rights and privileges of English subjects will be thought too narrow."—*Quarry*, writing in 1703.

"The colonists will in time cast off their allegiance and set up a government of their own."—*Print*, of 1705.

south of Virginia and north of Spanish Florida (perhaps even all Florida).* To the West all was open, and to the Jesuit was entrusted the work of enlarging the French Dominion. Champlain held and peopled the line of the St. Lawrence. Brebeuf and Daniel pierced the Huron possessions, chanting their Te Deums among the pines and bringing the tawny natives to see the light. Quebec and Montreal got to be important towns, and the great lake water-ways became familiar. Frenchmen stood looking into the land of the Sioux, the great valley of the Mississippi, five years before Eliot addressed the Indian in the vicinity of Boston. Marquette established the Mission of St. Mary, at the outlet of Lake Superior, in 1668. It was the oldest settlement by Europeans within the present State of Michigan, but was not permanent. He projected the discovery of the true Mississippi, and designed to plant the banners of France on the Pacific or by the side of Spain, on the Gulf of Mexico. With Joliet for a companion, they ascend the Fox River, cross to the Wisconsin, and in two birch-bark canoes "happily float down the great river" between the wide plains of Illinois and Iowa, to Des Moines, then past the great Missouri, the Ohio (then called Wabash), and on to the Akansea (Arkansas). There they found that the Father of Rivers went, not into the ocean east of Florida, nor yet into the Gulf of California. Returning, they ascended the Illinois, passed up through Chicago to Lake Michigan (Lake of the Illinois), and on to the Green Bay Settlement (1673).

La Salle took up the wondrous tale and added one of its most brilliant chapters. His towns mark his trail. Leaving Niagara in 1679, he was at the site of Detroit,† Mackinaw, up the St.

* This New France of the South was the portion Coligny designed to settle with Huguenots, and after him Raleigh. It passed naturally from France to England, because both countries were anxious to see Raleigh redeem Coligny's failure, and to have a Protestant barrier set up against Spain's Catholic Florida.

† Detroit was permanently settled by De la Motte Cadillac, with one hundred Frenchmen, in June, 1701. It is the oldest permanent settlement in Michigan. Michigan, therefore, has a history back of Georgia, and is the oldest of the Western States with, perhaps, the exception of Illinois. We say *perhaps*, because the claim is made that Kaskaskia (Ill.) was the oldest permanent European settlement in the valley of the Mississippi. It was founded by Father Gravier, as a Jesuit Mission,

Joseph, and over at Kankakee. While Hennepin took in the upper Mississippi, perhaps to its source, La Salle studied the valleys of the Ohio, Illinois and Tennessee, and in 1682 descended the Mississippi to its mouth, realizing Marquette's dream of planting the arms of France on the Gulf. It was named Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV., and "the terrestrial paradise of America," "the delight of the New World." By 1685 a colony came for Louisiana, but striking Matagorda Bay, it stopped there, and made Texas a part of the French Empire in America. By no treaty or document did France ever relinquish her hold on Texas except by the general cessions of Louisiana.

For years France clung tenaciously to her magnificent American possessions, the richest, best watered, most boundless, owned by any foreign nation. Though an active and indefatigable colonist, her institutions were too far behind the age, too much infused with Romanism, too feudal in character, to find high or permanent development in the new soil. By 1706 her title to the New France of the South, between Virginia (really the Carolinas) and Florida, had been wholly merged in that of England. In 1713, Acadia (Nova Scotia and part of Maine) was ceded to the English. It "was the most important part" of the New France of the North. There was a general withdrawal of all French claims to the line of Lake Champlain, and to the settlements in New York. But by 1721 they were back at Niagara, and stout claimants for, as well as actual occupants of, their St. Lawrence possessions.

Their Louisiana, which had not been affected by the peace of Utrecht (1713), was a wonderful country. Blending with New France on the line of the lakes, and cut off nowhere in the north except by the possessions of the Hudson Bay Company in the extreme northwest, it ran to the gulf at Mobile, swept the gulf line to the mouth of the Rio Grande, then up to the Red River ridges, then west to the Gulf of California. These were ideal

but the date is not known exactly. He was in Illinois in 1693, and probably his mission was then founded. The fact that Kaskaskia got to be an important missionary centre may have helped to give it rank as the oldest permanent settlement of the West.

bounds, but such as France was willing to maintain against both England and Spain. Not a fountain flowed west of the sources of the Allegheny, Monongahela, Kanawha or Tennessee which did not rise in French soil. What a menace to the British colonies! What a barrier to westward advancement! Such could not long be. By the tripartite treaty of February 16, 1763, between England, France and Spain, France ceded to England all Canada and all of her Louisiana east of the Mississippi and as far south as the Iberville River, thence eastward to the sea. This left her only a small strip along the gulf, east of the Mississippi, and her immense domains west of that river. But only for a moment. On the same day all that was left of Louisiana on the continent was ceded to Spain. France was virtually out of the country. It had been a war (the Seven Years' War) for new territorial adjustment, both in Europe and America, and even in view of the results on this continent alone, well may George III. have said: "England never signed such a peace before, nor, I believe, any other power in Europe."

RESULTS OF FRENCH LOSS.—Moreover, it had been a war largely fought on American soil. Never before had the forests of the New World reverberated the steady tramp of so many armed and disciplined men. At Lake George alone there assembled an army of 15,000 from New York, New Jersey and New England for the grand assault on Canada. To the south the forces of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania fell into line to move on Fort Duquesne, and embalm the name of Pitt in the border town (Pittsburg), which was to stand as the gateway of the west so long as the Allegheny and Monongahela shall flow to form the Ohio, or the English tongue shall continue to be the language of freedom in the boundless areas traversed by their waters. And still farther to the south arose the clangor of camp and din of war. France would strike the rear of Virginia and the Carolinas by means of the Indians in the fastnesses of Tennessee, fed and spurred on by food and counsel from the line of the Mississippi. The rangers of the Carolinas did their best to puncture the eastward moving centre of the mighty Cherokees. If they failed, failure was not disastrous, for peace covered dis-

comfiture with the bloom of new auspices, and a knowledge of the Tennessee and Cumberland valleys had been gained which would soon be turned to good account.

THE AMERICAN OUTLOOK.—If the English king and Protestant Europe could justly fall into raptures over the immense results of the war in America alone, much more could the colonies pride themselves on such results. They had opened an empire for themselves beyond the Alleghenies, across the prairies, even to the father of waters. The acquisition represented their money, valor and blood. Even the plan of striking France through her New France and Louisiana was American, and due to the sagacity of our own Franklin. Then its result here was not a mere riddance of a powerful neighbor, not a mere acquisition of limitless, fertile acres. It was proof that the colonies could stand together in the face of a common danger, evidence that thus compacted they had all the elements of a nation, and especially that of strength to defend themselves against old world aggression, however skilfully armed and boldly pushed. With confidence, therefore, they peered from the peaks of the Alleghenies into their western valleys, and with a fervor, too, equal to that of Marquette, who, seventy years before, standing on the margin of the lakes, cast his prophetic eye to the gulf and saw the French lily bloom perennially amid the wild flowers of the prairies. Thus contemplating a political mastery which ranged from the gulf to the poles, whose forms of institution, law and literature were to spread the English tongue more widely than any that had ever given expression to human thought, the gazers from their mountain tops might well have chanted in chorus Bancroft's sublime apostrophe:

"Go forth, then, language of Milton and Hampden, language of my country, take possession of the North American continent! Gladden the waste places with every tone that has been rightly struck on the English lyre, with every English word that has been spoken well for liberty and for man! Give an echo to the now silent and solitary mountains; gush out with the fountains that as yet sing their anthems all day long without response; fill the valleys with the voices of love in its purity, the pledges

of friendship in its faithfulness, and as the morning sun drinks the dewdrop from the flowers all the way from the dreary Atlantic to the Peaceful ocean, meet him with the joyous hum of the early industry of freemen! Utter boldly and spread widely through the world the thoughts of the coming apostles of the people's liberty, till the sound that cheers the desert shall thrill through the heart of humanity, and the lips of the messenger of the people's power, as he stands in beauty upon the mountains, shall proclaim the renovating tidings of equal freedom for the race!"

DRIFT TOWARD INDEPENDENCE.—The plans of kings, as well as those of ordinary mortals, go oft awry. The wisdom of statesmen however shrewd may become a torment to nations. When England drove out the Stuarts, and enthroned Protestantism in the person of William III. and Mary, she unwittingly strengthened the hands of aristocracy, and organized a parliament which in support of its own claims to authority could never consistently surrender its control of the American colonies. Here was the beginning of independence and revolution. Now, by the Treaty of Paris (1763), and the cession of her American possessions to England and Spain, France had very deftly shifted the whole colonial policy of Europe. Her statesmen saw that for France to attempt to maintain colonies in New France and Louisiana, was to incur constant wars and expenditures, if not to attempt impossibilities. They saw that her monarchical forms simply shut off from her American colonies even her own philosophy, economy, industrial genius, legal skill, and ideas of Protestant freedom, and that without these, or even better than these, no American colony could be made to live permanently and prosper vigorously. They saw that the exhausted polity of the middle ages, the castes of feudal Europe, the despotism of infallible churchism, the titles of nobility, the leases of land to vassals, and vassalage itself, could not be perpetuated, where men who held the plough were the bone and sinew of the land, and the only hope of colonial success.

And seeing these things—the power of England and Spain

had opened their eyes to them—they were not afraid to make confession of them by that surrender which left France without a patch of American ground.

And they saw other things too. They saw that as England held the Atlantic front, her future colonial policy would be largely commercial. If France should add to this front a domain extending to the Mississippi, to the gulf, and to the pole, it would make England's policy both political and commercial. It would sharpen the desire of her parliament to rule it from home, and would make anxious and determined that authority, which nothing but revolution could shake. In a word, it would fully commit England to a dominion in America, in accordance with her own forms of law. And thus committed, France saw that the British situation would be full of dangers. Far advanced as England was, it would still be like an attempt to fit a dead carcass to a living soul, for English-America had English liberties in greater purity, and with far more of the power of the people than in England. The colonial inhabitants were self-organized bodies of freeholders, natural forest-levelers, industrious soil-winners, bold pioneers, pushing their way farther and farther each year, and scorning to take any step backward. They had schools, printing presses, books, newspapers, lawyers, doctors, ministers of their own choosing. They were self-helpful in private affairs, and confident of their ability to care for themselves politically through their local legislatures and municipal corporations. They were proud of their dwelling-place, and had unbounded faith in its future, under their own management. They were strong numerically and physically, and had just showed that they were capable of union both for defending the flag of England, and driving off the French foe that hovered all along their northern and western border. That menace removed, the need of reliance on England for protection against France no longer felt, left alone to confront only the attempt of England to fasten on them her obnoxious laws, what wouldn't they do? France saw what they would do, and knew what they were capable of doing. Her surrender of Canada and Louisiana was therefore a blow at England. She would turn the force to which

she had to succumb into a weapon with which England might cut her own colonial throat.*

BAD FIX OF ENGLAND.—The Treaty of Paris (1763) left England with a debt of $700,000,000, half of which was due to The Seven Years' War. She got nothing in Europe to compensate her. But she got, in America, Canada and the Ohio Valley. With her rule of the former we have nothing to do. The latter came directly to her Atlantic colonies. As they profited, therefore should England profit. Here began that scheme of parliamentary control which was designed to make the colonies pay as much of the English war debt as possible, which took exclusive jurisdiction of their commerce, which imposed burdensome taxes, which denied representation in the British parliament, and which culminated in the claim of a right to exclusive legislative jurisdiction. The colonial charters should all fall and one uniform system of government be substituted in their stead. To make sure of order and strict enforcement of law, a part of the standing army was to find quarters in the colonies and be supported at their expense. The father of the

*This policy of France, even if a compulsory one, was far-sighted and clung to with the greatest tenacity. She had studied it long and well, and its merits were recognized by shrewd observers, long before the game was exposed by the surrender of her American territory. As early as 1748 it was reasoned in New York that the conquest of Canada by relieving the northern colonies from danger would hasten their emancipation. A Swedish traveller, in that year, published the same in Europe as his impression. It was an early dream of John Adams that the "removal of the turbulent Gallics," would be a prelude to the approaching greatness of the country. The French minister of foreign affairs warned the English envoy that the cession of Canada would lead to the independence of North America. When New France surrendered, Choiseul, a Frenchman, exclaimed, "We have caught them (the English) at last." Vergennes said, "England will ere long repent of having removed the only check that could keep her colonies in awe. She will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they helped to bring on her, and they will answer by striking off all dependence." Lord Mansfield declared, "Ever since the Treaty of Paris I always thought the Northern Colonies were meditating a state of independency on Great Britain. France backed the policy thus begun by aiding the colonies when they did strike for independence. And so Napoleon, to further aid the commercial supremacy of the United States and cripple that of England, got possession of Spanish Louisiana, only to turn it over to this country."

scheme was the celebrated Charles Townsend, English First Lord of Trade, with the administration of the colonies, who was supposed to know more about American affairs than any other man. It struck parliament March 9, 1763, in the shape of an American tax-bill, and almost immediately the colonies, especially those of the north, began to thunder back their resentment. The horns of parliament and the colonies were locked in that dread encounter which in thirteen years would result in independence.

FIRST COLONIAL CONGRESS.—Townsend's Tax scheme was known to be the forerunner of the Stamp Act, Sugar Act, and Tea Act, which, when they came, would crown the power of parliament to get into the homes and pockets of the American colonists. The sentiment of protest therefore became as lively as if these acts were already a fact. The stream of resistance ran rapidly and angrily, and bore along inevitably toward the final plunge into revolution. The eloquent voices of Samuel Adams and James Otis were heard in Massachusetts, and a Boston town-meeting, protesting loyalty to the crown, pleaded for the rights of "the free-born subjects of Great Britain in America."*

A response was heard from the Rhode Island assembly, where Stephen Hopkins was governor (1764). New York, which had moved in 1759, now seconded her first motion. North Carolina expressed her concurrence with the views of Massachusetts in the same year. And soon Connecticut, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia joined their voices of remonstrance to the chorus, which was now heard high above the din of waves

* Otis argued that the original possessors of power were the whole people; that the colonies enjoyed the right of governing and taxing themselves through their local legislatures; that there was no proscription old enough to supersede the law of nature and the grant of God Almighty, who had given all men a right to be free; that nothing but life and liberty were hereditable; that in solving the grand political problem the first principle must be the equality and power of the whole. And these became the prevailing Whig (anti-Tory) views of the day and the colonial cause. The party names were Whigs, Patriots, Sons of Liberty, these for the colonists opposed to taxation; and Loyalists, Tories and Friends of Government, these for the parliament and crown.

on the whole Atlantic front. Plea followed plea, for justice; petition after petition was sent over for parliament to stay its hard, heavy hand. Argument after argument was advanced in favor of free colonial existence, subject always to that dependence which had existed from the start. Parliament persisted. Townsend closed his mightiest effort in favor of the Stamp Act (1765) with "These children of our planting (the colonists), nourished by our indulgence until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?"

To which Colonel Barre, with eye darting fire and voice full of emotion, replied: "Children planted by your care? No! your oppression planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny into a then uninhabited land where they were exposed to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and among others to the savage cruelty of the enemy of the country —a people the most subtle and terrible of any that ever inhabited any part of God's earth; yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met these hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from the hands of those that should have been their friends.

"They nourished by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care for them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them in one department and another, who were perhaps the deputies of some deputy of members of this house, sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those Sons of Liberty to recoil within them—men promoted to the highest seats of justice; some, to my knowledge, were glad by going to foreign countries to escape being brought to a bar of justice in their own.

"They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valor amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defence of a country whose frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded

all its little savings to your enlargement; and believe me—*remember I this day told you so*—that the same spirit which actuated that people at first will continue with them still. But prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows I do not at this time speak from motives of party heat. What I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart; however superior to me in general knowledge and experience the respectable body of this House (of Commons) may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them, if they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate. I will say no more."

Imagine the effect upon the colonists of a speech like this fired right into the midst of a Tory parliament! Otis suggested to the Massachusetts assembly a meeting of committees from all the assemblies of the colonies, and a circular was sent out to such assemblies, to secure joint action in opposing the English policy. Now, England trusted her entire policy of taxation to the assumed fact that union among the colonies was impossible. As the response to the Massachusetts circular was slow, it began to seem as if the English idea were, for the time being, correct, but Virginia sprang into the front, and her Patrick Henry, against the opposition of such as Bland, Pendleton, Randolph, and Wythe, startled her House of Burgesses with his warning flash of history: "Tarquin and Cæsar had each a Brutus; Charles the First his Cromwell; and George the Third [cries of treason! treason!] may profit by their example!" The result (1765) was a series of resolutions whose gist was no obedience to a law imposing a tax not sanctioned by the general assembly. Rhode Island agreed to act in concert with Massachusetts. South Carolina, through the influence of Gadsden, selected commissioners. Pennsylvania and Connecticut acted similarly. All the thirteen colonies either expressed sympathy or chose delegates. "Join or die" became a favorite motto. The "Sons of Liberty" were organized, who meant opposition of the most determined character. "Liberty, property, and no

stamps" was the greeting prepared for the English stamp distributors.*

The congress met in the City Hall, New York, Oct. 7, 1765. It consisted of twenty-eight delegates from nine colonies, four, though sympathizing with the movement, not choosing representatives. For the first time the patriots of America were together on the question of entire colonial union. It published a declaration of rights and grievances, expressing loyalty to the king, respect for parliament where it had a right to legislate, claiming the rights of English-born subjects, affirming the injustice of taxation without representation, setting forth the adequacy of their own local legislatures to attend to all their local concerns.† An address to the king was prepared in the same spirit. The congress adjourned on the 25th of October.

There was something now to give coherency to debate and resolution in the respective colonies. The Whig and Tory parties in each could talk to a point, and they did with a directness and vehemence which made the forest assemblies ring.

* The Stamp Act passed the House of Commons Feb. 27, 1765, and the House of Lords March 8, 1765. It introduced direct taxation into the English policy. But for the fact that it was carrying that policy to the uttermost, it should not have been as objectionable as the previous navigation acts which virtually limited American trade to England alone. Americans could get no commodity of use to them, from any nation, other than England, without collecting a heavy duty on it for England's benefit. And now, under the Stamp Act, stamps were to be paid for and affixed to all legal and commercial transactions of moment.

† The colonies represented were:

Massachusetts, by James Otis, Oliver Partridge, Timothy Ruggles.

South Carolina, by Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge.

Pennsylvania, by John Dickinson, John Morton, George Bryan.

Rhode Island, by Metcalf Bowler, Henry Ward.

Connecticut, by Eliphalet Dyer, David Rowland, William S. Johnson.

Delaware, by Thomas McKean, Cæsar Rodney.

Maryland, by William Murdock, Edward Tilghman, Thomas Ringgold.

New Jersey, by Robert Ogden, Hendrick Fisher, Joseph Bordon.

New York, by Robert Livingston, John Cruger, Philip Livingstone, William Bayard, Leonard Lespinward.

Virginia, New Hampshire, Georgia and North Carolina did not send delegates.

Delegates present from only six of the colonies signed the proceedings of the congress; New York, Connecticut and South Carolina delegates not being authorized to sign.

The turmoil grew thicker and louder, and the voice of remonstrance turned to angry, desperate threat of everlasting resistance, when the odious Grenville ministry fell and the Rockingham Cabinet took its place. It had an ear for colonial plaint, and Franklin * was there to fill it with his wisely weighed

* *Grenville.* "Do you think it right that America should be protected by this country and pay no part of the expense?"

Franklin. "That is not the case: the colonies raised, clothed and paid during the last war (with France for Canada and Louisiana) 25,000 men and spent many millions of pounds."

Grenville. "Were you not reimbursed by parliament?"

Franklin. "Only what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our proportion, and it was a very small part of what we spent. Pennsylvania spent £500,000 and got back £60,000."

Grenville. "Do you think the people of America would submit to pay a stamp duty, if it were moderated?"

Franklin. "No; never. They will never submit to it."

Grenville. "May not a military force carry the Stamp Act into execution?"

Franklin. "Suppose one were sent to America; they will find nobody in arms, what can they do? They cannot force a man to take stamps who chooses to do without them. They will not find rebellion; they may, indeed, make one."

Grenville. "How would the Americans receive a future tax, imposed on the same principle with that of the Stamp Act?"

Franklin. "Just as they do this; they will not pay it."

Grenville. "What will be the opinion of the Americans on the resolution of parliament asserting the right to tax them?"

Franklin. "They will think it unconstitutional and unjust."

Grenville. "How would they receive an internal regulation connected with the tax?"

Franklin. "It would be objected to. When aids to the crown are wanted they are, according to the old established usage, to be asked of the assemblies, who will, as they always have done, grant them freely. They think it extremely hard that a body in which they have no representation should make a merit of giving what is not its own, but theirs."

Townsend. "Is not the post-office which they have long received a tax as well as regulation?"

Franklin. "No; the money paid for postage of letters is a remuneration for service done."

Townsend. "If a small tax were levied, would they submit?"

Franklin. "They will oppose it to the last. The people will pay no internal tax imposed by parliament."

Grenville. "But suppose the internal tax to be laid on the necessaries of life?"

Franklin. "I do not know a single article imported into the northern colonies but what they can do without or make themselves. The people will work and spin for themselves in their own houses. In three years there may be wool and manufactures enough."—*Condensed from Bancroft*, vol. v., 430–433.

words of remonstrance and counsel. The Stamp Act was repealed March 18, 1766, and a thrill of joy was felt throughout colonial America. Liberty Tree in Boston was lighted with lanterns: South Carolina voted Pitt, the Whig leader in the House of Commons, a statue; Virginia an obelisk to the king. The resolutions and address of the first American Congress, which had called a halt in parliament, were thus being reverberated through the colonies.

AN AMERICAN PARTY.—But joy was soon turned to sorrow. Pitt left the Commons and went into the House of Lords, as Earl of Chatham. This brought the odious Charles Townsend to the front again in the Commons, and he was at his old scheme of American taxation, this time in a form even more objectionable than the Stamp Act. An export tax was to be collected on all goods sent to America. Any American assembly which dared to discuss the measure or appoint delegates to a convention or congress whose object was to remonstrate against it or to take further steps toward colonial union, was to be regarded as seditious, and if need be dispersed. Again the colonies were in a ferment. This time the sentiment of union and independence was deeper and bolder. Every colony agreed to resist to the uttermost the claim of the parliament. The result was a partial repeal of the obnoxious act, but the danger was not wholly removed. What had been all along a patriotic public opinion was now becoming an anti-English or American party. The demand became specific for a Union and a Congress, and it was urged that such a union, firm and perpetual, would be a sure foundation for freedom and the great basis of every public blessing. All the colonies were enjoined to prepare to act as joint members of the Grand American Commonwealth.

TEA ACT AND A CONGRESS.—The Tea Act of 1773 was an effort to tax the colonists for the benefit of a mere trading company. The mighty surge of passion now plainly meant resistance. The demand was for a "Congress of American States to frame a bill of rights or form an Independent State, an American Commonwealth." Thus thundered the Press

throughout the colonies. "Union, Union, was the first, the last hope for America." The contents of the Boston tea-ships were emptied in the harbor. Those for Philadelphia put back without unloading. Those for Charleston landed their contents to have them perish in the cellars. The ministry had chosen the least effective way of governing, and the most effective way of uniting the colonies. Louder than ever cried the Press; "No time is to be lost; a Congress or meeting of the American States is indispensable, and what the people wills shall be effected" (1773). The predicament of parliament was getting more desperate every day. It must recede, or coerce the defiant colonists. The Boston Port Act (1774) was coercive. Now, said Samuel Adams, "Not only common danger, bondage and disgrace, but national truth and honor, conspire to make the colonists resolve to stand or fall together." On the flag floating over the popular assemblies which gathered everywhere was the legend "Union and Liberty." Wrote Ezra Stiles, "If oppression proceeds despotism may force an annual congress; and a public spirit of enterprise may originate an American Magna Charta and a Bill of Rights, supported by such intrepid and persevering importunity as even sovereignty may hereafter judge it not wise to withstand. There will be a Runnymede in America." * A population of two and a half million colonists were in action, moving steadily forward, marching together toward an end which Providence had marked out for them.

Plans for a Congress were well under way. Delegates were being selected and instructed, and the talk of Independence, Union and force was universal. The calm Washington said in the Virginia Convention, "I will raise one thousand men, subsist them and equip them at my own expense, and march myself at their head for the relief of Boston." † At ten o'clock, Sept. 5, 1774, delegates from twelve colonies (Georgia did not elect) met at Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, and began the Sessions of

* *Holeme's Life of Stiles.* The time of the writing was July 1, 1774.

† August, 1774, *Works John Adams*, ii., 360. Lynch of South Carolina said to John Adams this was the most eloquent speech that ever was made.

the First Continental Congress.* They came well instructed and full of the work in hand, literally forced together by a common grievance. The spectacle was one calculated to impress any beholder. Differing in religion, commercial interests, in everything dependent on climate and labor, in usages and manners, and swayed by prejudices, even quarreling about boundaries, the colonies found themselves in one representative body, and the exponent of a power that was to be felt throughout the civilized world.†

CONGRESS AND UNION.—"To petition for redress, to restore harmony between Great Britain and America." On this basis the Congress started, with Peyton Randolph as president. "Each colony should have one vote;" this after animated debate. The Congress sat with closed doors. Word came that Gage was firing on Boston. This nerved the members. Galloway's Tory plan for governing the colonies as dependencies of Great Britain was rejected, and the vote showed that the Whigs had control of the Congress. A resolution of sympathy with, and approval of, the conduct of the Massachusetts people was

* The colonial Congress of 1765 at New York was properly speaking a convention. So of that at Albany in 1754.

† The delegates were, in the order of their choosing by the colonies:

Rhode Island, Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.

Massachusetts, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Maryland, Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Samuel Chase.

Connecticut, Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New Hampshire, John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.

Pennsylvania, Joseph Galloway, Samuel Rhoades, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphries, John Morton, George Ross, Edward Riddle.

New Jersey, James Kinsey, William Livingstone, John Dehart, Stephen Crane, Richard Smith.

Delaware, Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Reed.

South Carolina, Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge.

Virginia, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton.

North Carolina, William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, Richard Caswell.

New York, James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, William Floyd, Henry Wisner, John Alsop, John Herring, Simon Boerum.

passed and ordered to be sent to Gage. On October 14, 1774, the celebrated Bill of Rights was agreed upon. With the exception of two articles it was adopted unanimously. It was passed with the hope that it would lead to a permanent colonial union, self-supporting, self-governing, yet a union unbroken in its connection with England. The next step was coercive. The Congress agreed to a great American association (October 20) to regulate commercial intercourse with Great Britain. It consisted of fourteen articles, and the covenant was in these words: "We do for ourselves and the inhabitants of the several colonies, whom we represent, firmly agree and associate under the sacred ties of virtue, honor and love of country." It looked to non-importation, non-exportation and non-consumption of English merchandise as a means of compelling the restoration of American rights. It struck directly at the slave trade. It agreed on non-intercourse with any colony that violated the articles of the association, holding it as "unworthy the rights of freemen and as inimical to the liberties of their country." This compact for the preservation of American rights, this "league of the continent which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America," may be justly regarded as the commencement of the American Union.* Its members had no hope that their actions would prove acceptable to England. They therefore adjourned, privately advising one another to prepare for the worst and to be looking after sinews of war and methods of defence. Fixing the 10th of May, 1775, as the time for a second Congress, it dissolved on October 26, 1774. Its work was ratified in the entire twelve colonies with a heartiness and unanimity which showed

* "The signature of the association by the members of the Congress may be considered as the commencement of the American Union."—*Hildreth*, iii., p. 46.

"Among all the original associates in the memorable league of the continent in 1774, which first expressed the sovereign will of a free nation in America, he (Washington) was the only one remaining in the general government."—*President John Adams*, December 22, 1799.

"It was an embodiment of the sentiment of Union and of the will of the people on the subject of their commercial relations—the first enactment, substantially, of a general law for America. For nearly two years the instrument was termed "The Association of the United Colonies."—*Frothingham's Rise of the Republic*, p. 374.

how deeply the sentiment of union was laid and how all-pervading it was. The States of Greece, after centuries of existence, never reached the dignity thus attained by the American colonies, to wit, that of a federal council habitually directing and to be habitually obeyed. The Whigs saw in the union a sentiment crystallized into law and power. The Tories saw in it only an ebullition, a rope of sand. It was at least such a thing, said Richard Stockton, "as would repel force by force if the British government should attempt to execute its acts by force." The doings of the Congress were rejected by the king and parliament, and force was agreed upon.

SECOND CONGRESS.—Nearly the same members as composed the first Congress assembled in Independence Hall, May 10, 1775. All its acts looked to a closer colonial union. But up came the question of sovereignty. What is its source, what its limit? Whence does it come, where does it stop? The answer would involve the real principle of government. The provincial assembly had been a great training school. It was, tacitly at least, agreed that the people were the source of sovereignty, that it was theirs to command, to institute organic law, to establish public authority, to compel obedience. On this foundation rose the American superstructure of permanent, federal government. It was not a shock to the architects, but in fitting the principle to practical union much difficulty would be experienced, many surrenders would have to be made, for, be it known, the colonies had as yet few elements of union in themselves. The impelling thing was a common danger. The vigor, power, beauty, advantage, pride of union were things to be unknown to them, or only guessed at, till the panoply of union had been over them for a little time.

The second great question was defence. Boston was besieged. Washington was made commander-in-chief of all armies raised or to be raised for the defence of America by unanimous ballot on June 15, 1775. Thus began an American army. Franklin submitted a plan of confederation and perpetual union under the name of "United Colonies of North America."* Lord North

* This plan was submitted July 21, 1775. It was not acted on at this session, but was largely incorporated in the Articles of Confederation.

had weakened a little and submitted a plan by which he thought peace might be brought about. It was submitted to Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams and Richard Henry Lee. Their report, repudiating it, was adopted by the Congress July 31. The colonies deliberately chose the hazards of war rather than surrender their ancient right of self-government. North hoped to deal with them as separate units. They resolved to be dealt with only as a bundle of units—a nation. Postal communication was established from New Hampshire to Georgia; two persons were appointed to act as joint treasurers of the colonies; other defensive measures followed. Then Congress adjourned (August 1) till September 5. The nearer war came, the more they shrank from it, at least the more cautious they became. Tory sentiment was active. Every step taken must be a sure one. The adjournment would give time to hear from the colonists, and especially to hear from the last memorial to the king. By the 13th of September the Congress was in full session again, with Georgia represented. From this time on the union was called "The Thirteen United Colonies." The king's reply to the memorial came back in the shape of a proclamation for suppressing rebellion and sedition, for, said he, "It would be better to totally abandon the colonies than to admit a single shadow of their doctrines." The wheels of Providence were now in swiftest motion. Lexington and Concord had been fought in April, Ticonderoga in May, Bunker Hill in June. South Carolina had been warned to resist all attempts to occupy Charleston, and Virginia encouraged to defy Lord Dunmore to the uttermost. A naval code was created (November 17). Every measure was now for offensive war, not defensive. The press took up the idea of independence. The thought of union, as a dependency of Britain, was gone. "A Grand Republic of the American United Colonies, which will, by the blessing of heaven, soon work out our salvation and perpetuate the liberties, increase the wealth, the power and the glory of this western world;" this was the popular thought. Ten years had worked the idea of union into an actual "Continental Association." Would it take the idea of independence as long to work into actual independ-

ence? The Tories were numerous in the local assemblies, and active. They could retard action, if not prevent it.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—The Congress was proceeding in matters of peace and war as though "The United Colonies" were one political power. To the encouragement of powerful sentiment had been added the confidence of victory in armed conflict. New Hampshire, South Carolina and Virginia were recommended by Congress to form local governments. This was a step which looked directly to independence. On New Year Day, 1776, Washington unfurled the "Flag of Thirteen Stripes," as the flag of the United Colonies, and arrayed it as the symbol of national power against the far-famed banner of St. George. From this time till June the Congress was busy with questions of war and finance. Its acts were those of a determined and active revolutionary government. But it was all the while being petitioned to cut the chain which bound the colonies to England, and which was hampering their individual and concerted action. It therefore recommended to all the colonies to form local governments, independent of charters, royal governors, and every English restriction. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee moved for Independence, a Foreign Alliance, and a Confederation. John Adams seconded the motion. A committee was formed on Independence, composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston, and they were given till July to report. A committee of one from each colony was also formed on Articles of Confederation. By the last of June it could be said that opposition to Independence, in every colony except New York, had ceased; at least twelve colonies had instructed their delegates in Congress to vote for a declaration. And these delegates were present in the Congress on July 1, when it took up the resolution on Independence, or rather the report of the Committee on Independence. Four days of debate and amendment brought forth the Declaration of Independence as agreed upon by the delegates from twelve States (July 4, 1776)—New York delegates not voting under her instructions. It was ordered to be authenticated by the signatures of John Hancock, President, and Charles

Thomson, Secretary, sent out to the State assemblies, and read at the head of the army. On July 9, the convention of New York resolved to support it. By August 2, it was engrossed and ready for the signatures of the members.* The high honor of having been its author is due to Jefferson, for the changes made in his draft, though numerous, did not alter its tone nor general character. The equally high honor of having been its strongest champion in the Congress belongs to John Adams. Said Jefferson to Daniel Webster, "John Adams was our Colossus on the floor. He was not graceful, nor elegant, nor remarkably fluent, but he came out occasionally with a power of thought and expression that moved us from our seats." † And now that "the greatest question has been decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater perhaps never was or will be decided among men," The United Colonies were decreed a political unit of the United States of America. The Declaration was proclaimed everywhere among the people as the inestimable title-deed of their liberties, and they received it with speech, salute, bon-fire and general rejoicing. It seemed as if a decree promulgated from heaven.

WHAT IT DID.—Before the Declaration was submitted to a vote, a test resolution was laid before the Congress (July 2, 1776) as follows: "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." Twelve colonies united in adopting it. This assured the passage of the Declaration. It was its preamble, as it were. Observe that in it the word "Colonies" is dropped,

* There is much uncertainty about the signing of the Declaration. The engrossed copy, signed on August 2, still exists in the office of the Secretary of State. Jefferson has given the impression that it was generally signed on July 4, but this copy of it is not known to exist. John Adams wrote on the 9th of July, "As soon as an American seal is prepared I conjecture the Declaration will be superscribed by all the members." Now, a committee composed of Franklin, John Adams and Jefferson, was appointed by Congress to prepare a device for the Seal of "The United States of America," after the Declaration had passed, probably on the 5th of July.

† *Curtis' Life of Webster*, vol. i., 589.

never to be taken up again, and the word "States" * substituted. So the Declaration was "The Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled," and the conclusion is: "Therefore we the Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled," etc. The steps toward national birth were the ripening of public sentiment into a conviction that a common country was necessary, a delegation of power by the colonies for that purpose, a preliminary resolution declaring the colonies independent States, a declaration to that effect, a ratification of that declaration by the States Thus the United Colonies by their joint act passed into "The United States." The Declaration has been called the fundamental act of Union.† It was the embodiment of the public will as a source of authority, when it was the will of the people composing one nation.‡ It established Union as a fundamental law. The old law was the law of diversity. It transformed the sentiment of nationality into a fact—the new birth was that of a nation, a country. As colonies, each had a State of its own, and could have had, in one way or another. But only by creating a law high over all, only by ordaining and establishing something out of that supremacy which resided in all the people, could a union, a nation, a country, come. The Declaration announced to all nations that a new political sovereignty had arisen, whose workings internally were all right, whose external workings sought recognition. The colonist was true to his colony, yet he never hesitated in his allegiance to the king. He ever claimed and was ever proud of the rights of a British subject. Now he was equally true to his Colony (the State), but the

* The title of "The United States of America" was formally assumed in the Articles of the Confederation, when they came to be adopted. But it was in use without formal enactment from the date and adoption of the Declaration of Independence. On the 9th of September, 1776, it was ordered that all continental commissions and all other instruments, where the words "United Colonies" had been used, the style should be altered to the "United States."—*Journals*, ii., 349.

† *Writings of Madison*, iii., 482.

‡ "In our complex system of polity the public will, as a source of authority, may be the will of the people as composing one nation."—*Madison's Writings*, iii., 479.

allegiance which was to the king or to Great Britain was transferred to the new political unit, the United States. For hundreds of years the contention had been for the doctrine of the equality of the human race. The Declaration clothed this abstract truth with vitalizing power. "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as shall to them seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This is the American theory expressed as Buckle says: "In words the memory of which can never die." To maintain it the battles of the revolution were fought, and to build on it a worthy superstructure of government and law was the work of the fathers of the constitution.

NATURE OF THE CONGRESS.—The Continental Congress, for by this name it got to be known, continued to be the National Government in fact, and conducted National affairs till the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, March, 1781, near the close of the Revolutionary war. There was no change in its construction, except that the delegates to it were appointed by the State legislatures, as soon as the States had organized State governments, which they made haste to do, under the recommendations of the Congress of 1776.* The powers of the Con-

* New Jersey adopted a State Constitution July 2, 1776, which went into full operation, and the government thus formed lasted for sixty-eight years.

Delaware adopted a Constitution and form of government (Sept. 20, 1776) which lasted for sixteen years.

Maryland agreed on a Declaration of Rights, Nov. 3, 1776, and on the 8th, upon a Constitution, which was not changed for seventy-five years.

Pennsylvania framed a Constitution Sept. 28, 1776, which terminated its charter. But it was not generally received. Owing to division, the State officers were supported in their authority by a Committee of Congress, till the amended Constitution of 1790.

tinental Congress were nowhere defined or limited. They included power to declare war and make peace, to raise armies and equip navies, to form treaties and alliances with foreign nations, to contract debts, and do all other acts of a sovereign government which were essential to the safety of the United States. No Colony, or State, disputed the powers thus assumed and exercised. They originated from necessity and were only limited by events. Revolutionary though they were, the Congress in their exercise was supported by the people, and there was no other authority to question its acts. It was evident that when the dangers of war had passed, when the public liberties and independence of all the States had been assured, and when peace had dawned, these extraordinary powers of the Congress would have to give way to something more certain and better understood. And right here arose a momentous question. In relaxing the control of Congress, there was danger that the Union which existed by reason of the Congress would be dissolved, and that the States would drift back into independent communities, without a central head, with no common system, with discordant local interests, with rivalries and jealousies as to boundaries, commerce, manufactures, and institutions. Hard as had been the trial of the Revolution, here was something calculated to stir deeper apprehension, and tax more severely the genius of statesmen.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.—As these Articles, finally adopted by all the States, March, 1781, were the beginning of a government more specific than that of the Congress which had carried on the Revolution thus far, yet not so specific as that formed by the Constitution of 1787, they can be best explained in connection with the latter. As the Congress led to

North Carolina adopted a Constitution, Oct. 18, 1776, which lasted for sixty-nine years.

Georgia adopted a Constitution Feb. 5, 1777, lasting eight years.

New York adopted a Constitution, April 20, 1777.

Of the six States which adopted constitutions and forms of government before the Declaration of Independence, South Carolina amended hers in 1778, Virginia in 1829, Rhode Island and Connecticut did not displace their charters for many years, New Hampshire in 1784, Massachusetts in 1780 and 1821.

the Articles of Confederation, so the Articles of Confederation led to the Constitution. "States" got to be a definitive, well-understood term under the Articles. They were "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States" (mentioning them all). "The style of this Confederacy shall be The United States of America," Art. 1. For this reason, also, we prefer to treat of the Articles in our next chapter, which concerns the finer pieces of our fabric—the States. But as the war came to an end under the government of the Articles of Confederation, it must be understood that "The United States of America," which solemnized the peace of 1783, and accepted of the cessions of British territory, was the only power then existing which could do these National acts, and bind all the States by its authority.

FURTHER BUILDING.—The war of the American Revolution resulted in the treaty of Sept. 3, 1783, signed at Paris. By it Great Britain relinquished all her "claims to the government, proprietary and territorial rights" of the United States (naming the thirteen), and acknowledged them "to be free, sovereign and independent States." It further ceded all the territory south of the Great Lake line, northward (in general) of 31° N. lat., and westward to the Mississippi, to the United States. Those pretentious charters and grants from the Crown, which ran through from the Atlantic to the Pacific, had now for their western limit the "Father of Waters." The territory of the United States lay between the Atlantic and Mississippi. The right of Spain (formerly France) to all beyond, was recognized.

STATE OWNERSHIP.—But through this territory, before it was ceded, ran the titles of the Colonies or States. Their claims became a source of trouble long before the date of the treaty. Thus Connecticut, whose charter possessions extended indefinitely to the west, had colonized in the Wyoming Valley, Pa., and was exercising a disputed jurisdiction as early as 1769; so also in the Northwest, in what became the "Western Reserve of Connecticut." Virginia and New York had clashed, for a similar reason, both their boundaries being limitless to the west. So New York and Massachusetts had had trouble, and several

other States. This whole matter of State ownership and jurisdiction westward came up in a conspicuous and dangerous form when the Articles of Confederation were before the States for ratification. Some of the States refused to ratify till the question of western lands was disposed of. Lord North made much of this delay, and pretended to see in this land subject a perpetual source of disagreement and a final refusal to establish a Union under the Articles. It was not a new subject, for the conservative Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, had introduced it into the Congress and insisted upon its being settled satisfactorily before that body passed the Declaration of Independence. As to their own boundaries, there was no controversy with Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, Maryland, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, but the remaining seven States were deeply concerned, for theirs were the charters running to the Mississippi or the Pacific. The former States took the ground that any unoccupied, undefined territory wrested from a common enemy by the blood and treasure of the thirteen United Colonies, ought to be considered as common property, subject to be parcelled out by Congress into free, convenient, and independent governments. On these grounds Maryland refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until an Article was added, securing the Western domain for the common benefit. Virginia entered into furious defence of her magnificent territory, embracing Kentucky and parts of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. There must be concession somewhere or no Articles of Confederation. The question must be put out of the way before a closer Union could be assured. To be sure, the land was not yet conquered from Great Britain, but should it be, it were well to have the matter settled. New York was the first to move. By resolution of Feb. 19, 1780, she agreed to relinquish her right to unoccupied territory for the common benefit. Congress, mindful of the importance of Union, and "to their very existence as a free, sovereign, and independent people," advised (Sept. 6, 1780) similar surrenders by the other States, and on Oct. 10 resolved that out of the lands thus ceded should be formed States with the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence as those possessed by the original States.

Through the influence of Madison, Virginia agreed to surrender her western domain, and so of the others. Thus the leading obstacle to the ratification of the Articles of Confederation was removed. When the land became theirs by the terms of the treaty of 1783, would these States keep their pledges?

ADJUSTMENT.—New York was prompt to keep hers. Choosing the meridian of 79° 55′ as the limit of westward occupancy, she formally ceded all her domain west of that to the United States for the common benefit, on March 1, 1784. This was but a small patch of 316 square miles which afterwards went to Pennsylvania. Her cession was worthless without the consent of Massachusetts, who claimed clear through. (See Massachusetts, below.) But New York still disputed with New Hampshire the prize of the territory which afterwards became Vermont. This prize, after much contention, and some bloodshed, she relinquished in 1790, and took her present limits and titles.

Virginia followed New York March 1, 1784. Her cession was of that part of the great Territory, afterwards known as the "Territory of the Northwest," * lying between 41° north latitude and the southern border of Kentucky. That part of her cession north of the Ohio, according to its terms, entered into and formed a part of the States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. The part south of the Ohio afterwards became Kentucky.

Massachusetts curtailed her indefinite claims April 19, 1785, by relinquishing her right to the small bit of ground just west of the New York boundary, which was then, Jan. 3, 1792, given to Pennsylvania. She held her Maine possessions till 1820,

* The "Territory of the Northwest" was organized under the ordinance of Continental Congress of July 13, 1787, which ordinance is regarded as a model, both as to its text and display of the principles of civil, religious and political liberty. It is popularly ascribed to Jefferson, but was written by Nathan Dane, of Beverly, Mass. Article VI. of this ordinance reads: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said Territory otherwise than in punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This clause afterwards became noteworthy as showing wherein the Congress of the Confederation had exercised the right to exclude slavery from the Territories. Its language was copied in the Missouri Compromise affair, 1819-20; in the Wilmot Proviso, 1846, and in the XIII. amendment to the constitution, 1865.

when they were surrendered in order that Maine might become a State in the Union. In 1855 the district known as the "Boston Corner" was ceded to New York, and in 1861, by exchanges with Rhode Island, both these States got their present limits.

Connecticut under her ostentatious claims to western domains had sent out strong colonies into Pennsylvania and the northwest. Her claim to Pennsylvania soil was a matter for judicial determination. In order to quiet titles in the northwest, she, Sept. 14, 1786, relinquished her claim to everything west of a line drawn due north and south, 120 miles west of the Pennsylvania line. This left her a "reserve" 120 miles wide. On May 30, 1800, she yielded all territory and jurisdiction west of her present limits, reserving whatever right of soil she may have had as a protection to those who held title from her.

South Carolina ceded her claim to a strip of territory only twelve miles wide, lying south of 35° north latitude, and extending along the southern borders of North Carolina and Tennessee, to the Mississippi, on Aug. 9, 1787.

North Carolina adjusted her western border, Feb. 25, 1790, by ceding the territory which afterwards became Tennessee.

Georgia made a most important cession of the territory west of her present western boundary, June 16, 1802.

These cessions of their lands, and surrenders of their claims to lands, by the original States, fulfilled their pledges to thus dispose of them for the common benefit, made before the Articles of Confederation were adopted, and in order that they might be adopted. They quieted the title of the United States to all the territory, outside of the limits of the States, ceded by Great Britain in 1783. They put this part of the fruits of the war at the disposal of all the people. The United States could now begin to enjoy the full fruitions of that treaty. The States would cease their clamors and jealousies about old charter boundaries, and the general government could go on with its great work of State building and the acquisition of new territory. The old States had done nobly in making these surrenders. They proved by them the depth of their interest in the new experiment of

self-constituted federal government, and the extent of their desire not to let selfish love of acres and limitless boundaries stand in the way of permanent national union, peace and progress. As States they could not contribute further to the geographic framework of the nation, nor to matters of title. The government as a whole must now buy or conquer its own rough stones and timbers.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE.—And it went about the work right speedily. The English cession of 1783 left intact the Spanish claim to Florida and Louisiana, east of the Mississippi, and beyond that river the United States owned nothing, the boundary being the middle of the stream. We have seen how France ceded her Louisiana to Spain in 1763, and what it meant. Foreign possession of the mouth of the Mississippi was not tolerable. Nor was similar possession of its western shores, and to its middle, any more tolerable. Both were an annoyance and a menace, as had been abundantly proved time and again, and as would continue to be proved, if not removed. In 1795 a treaty had been made with Spain which gave the United States commercial rights at New Orleans. In 1802 Spain gave notice that these rights had ceased. Alarm spread all along the line of the river. It was looked upon as a Spanish trick, instigated by France. But what was the consternation when it was discovered that two years before Spain had parted with Louisiana to France, though the distinctive act of cession had not yet taken place. The treaty of cession had been a secret one, carried out in the interest of Napoleon. Though we doubt not it was a shrewd move on the part of France to further cripple England by first getting back possession of this immense domain and then turning an honest penny by selling to the United States, thus helping the creation of a great commercial rival to England on this continent, in accordance with the French theory of 1763, yet Jefferson, then President, chose to look upon it as an attempt of France to rival England directly. He therefore sent Monroe to the aid of Livingston, minister to France, first to protest that if France took possession the United States would be forced into an alliance with England against her, and, second, to sound

France as to the probability of a purchase. Probably the latter was what France wanted. She was needy, was about to war with England, and was in no position to be hampered with such a possession. Driving the best bargain she could, going up in her price from $13,000,000 to $15,000,000, a sale was consummated by treaty of April 30, 1803, ratified by the Senate Oct. 20, 1803, and by a resolution of the House to carry it into effect.*

Of the $15,000,000, to be paid, $3,750,000 were withheld to be disbursed, under the French Spoliation bill, to pay the losses Americans had suffered in their commerce at the hands of the French. By this magnificent purchase the United States got a gulf frontage east of the Mississippi extending from that river to Florida, though all this Spain disputed. Leaping the Mississippi the country shot clear to the Pacific, for the ceded territory embraced Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, Oregon, Minnesota west of the Mississippi, part of Kansas, the Territories of Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, the Indian country, and portions of Colorado and Wyoming,† an added empire of 900,000‡ square miles, or one larger than the entire area of the country before.

SPAIN CEDES FLORIDA.—The next cession of foreign soil was by Spain, Feb. 22, 1819. This was a transaction almost wholly in the interest of Spain, judged by the extent of territory which passed. She claimed that her Florida ran to the Mississippi, also that she had never recognized France's claim to that part of Louisiana west of the Sabine River (Texas). The United

* Owing to the opposition of the Federalists to this purchase, which they regarded unwarranted by the constitution and as tending to increase the preponderance of the South in national legislation, Jefferson called the Eighth Congress together earlier than usual for the express purpose of having it ratify the treaty of purchase and vindicate his procedure. He admitted that the constitution gave no power to purchase foreign territory and make it a part of the Union, but claimed that when once the deed was done, it could be validated by the nation's ratification.

† For the French boundaries of their Louisiana, much wider than those here enumerated, see page 66. And this is important, for Texas was clearly in the Louisiana of France, as the United States acknowledged when Spain came to cede Florida.

‡ Not counting what was afterwards confirmed by the Oregon treaty of 1846, amounting to 300,000 square miles.

States claimed that Louisiana ran eastward to the present boundary of Florida. To quiet everything, Spain ceded her Florida clear to the Mississippi, for the sum of $5,000,000, and the additional consideration that the United States should abandon all claim to that part of French Louisiana which lay west of the Sabine. Thus a territory equal to six Floridas, which had already been bought and paid for by the United States, was surrendered to Spain, and was soon to become a part of the Republic of Mexico. In twenty-six (1845) years it drifted back to the United States again, as we shall see when the cession of Texas is reached.

THE OREGON TREATY.—Away up in the Northwest the boundary of Louisiana could not be made to fit to that claimed by Great Britain for her possessions. The United States claimed 54° 40′ N. lat. as the boundary. England claimed that it was the Columbia River. From 1827, the disputed territory had been held by both claimants. The Democratic party made it an issue in their platform of 1844 to claim to 54° 40′, with or without war with England. The watchword all along the line was "54° 40′ or fight." In the Congress of 1845–46, Calhoun, to the great embarrassment of President Polk and the Democratic party, proposed 49° as a compromise line. After much party backing and filling, and long negotiation, a treaty was agreed upon, June 15, 1846, which was ratified by the Senate, the Whigs coming to the rescue of the President, saving him from his party friends and the country from war. The treaty fixed 49° N. lat. as the boundary, as originally proposed by Calhoun. This necessitated an immense cession of land—all between the southern limit claimed by Great Britain and the 49°—to the United States. It amounted to 308,052 square miles, and the cession was called "The Cession by the Oregon Treaty of 1846." Thus were cured the defects of the treaty of purchase of 1803, with France, and the Ashburton treaty of 1842, with Great Britain.

*ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.**—Texas had been a State of

* As Texas came directly into the Union as a State, see further about her history in connection with the *State* of Texas, next article.

the Republic of Mexico, but had seceded, had set up for herself an independent republic, and was, in 1845, at war with Mexico, though an armistice was then pending, with a view to peace. It was deemed an opportune moment to secure her vast domain for the United States. Under the lead of Calhoun, a treaty of annexation, pure and simple, was proposed, but rejected. This was followed by another proposing her admission into the Union, which was coupled with one for negotiation and treaty. In this shape it passed, and Texas was admitted as a State Dec. 29, 1845. Her debt, amounting to $7,500,000, was assumed by the United States. Besides incorporating her wonderful territory of 318,000 square miles, with our own, she relinquished all her claims, by virtue of her having been a member of the Mexican Republic, to the lands west of the 27th meridian, and now in the territory embraced by Colorado and New Mexico. Her status being that of war with Mexico, it was assumed by the United States. Thus the country was plunged into the Mexican war, which made the Texas experiment a very costly one in the end. By that war, however, other vast and valuable areas were acquired.

MEXICAN CESSION.—The Mexican war (1846–48) which had been going on for two years was brought to a close by the treaty of Feb. 2, 1848. By its terms Mexico ceded all the territory now covered by the States of California and Nevada, also her claims to Texas, Utah, Arizona and New Mexico, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado and the Indian country, holding, however, to a part of New Mexico and Arizona south of the Gila River. The lower Rio Grande from its mouth to El Paso was taken for the boundary of Texas. The United States paid Mexico, for this land, $15,000,000, in five annual instalments, and in addition assumed the claims of American citizens against Mexico, to an amount not exceeding $3,250,000.

GADSDEN PURCHASE.—The lands, above mentioned, as reserved by Mexico south of the Gila river, were purchased by the United States, Dec. 30, 1853, for $10,000,000. The transaction became known as the "Gadsden Purchase." This purchase gave the United States a better southern boundary, and compact

areas between the two oceans. "Westward the course of empire" had taken its way, and the Pacific front took a range of 1,343 miles, as against the Atlantic's 2,163 miles.

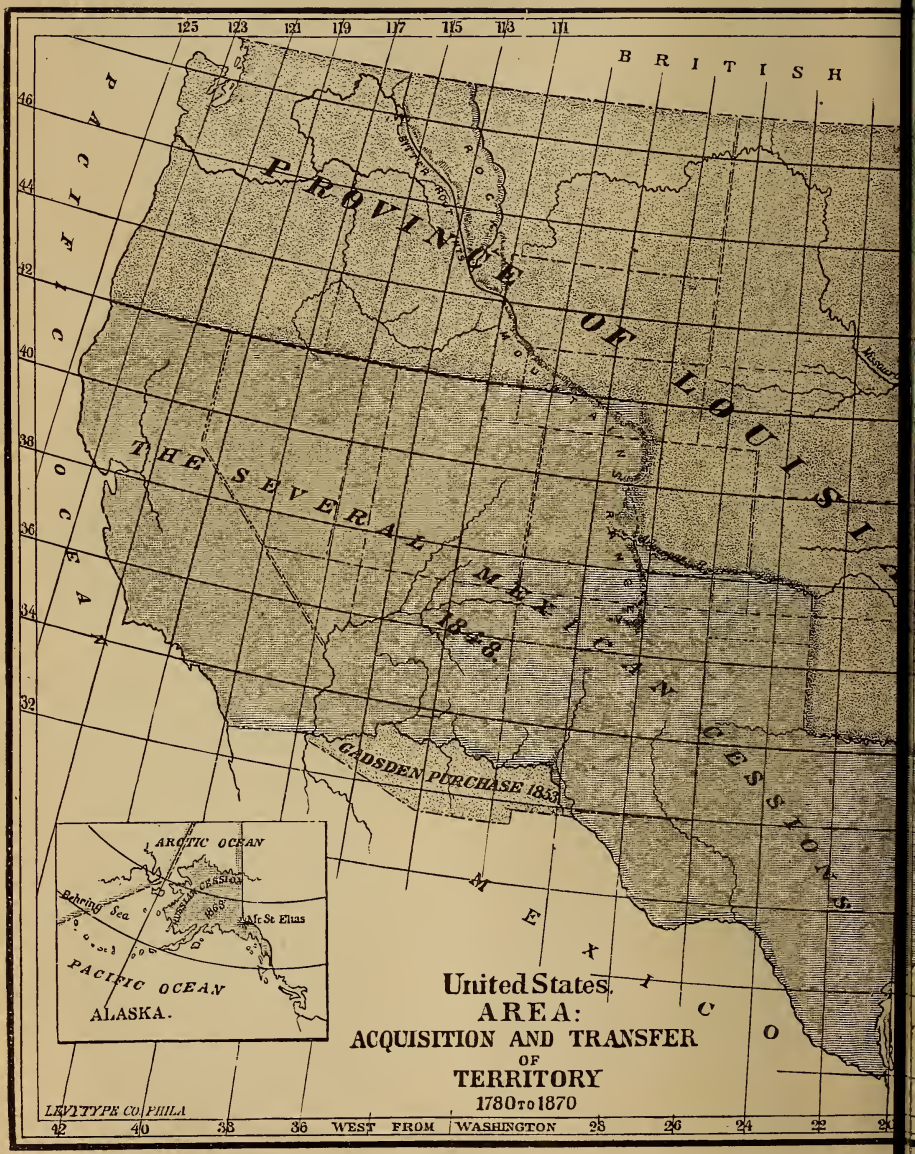
ALASKA CESSION.—The last accession of national territory was May 28, 1867, when Russia ceded all her territory in North America to the United States for the sum of $7,200,000. This gave us Alaska, which is not coterminous territory, being cut off by intervening British possessions. The policy of this purchase was, at first, regarded as unwise. But time has changed sentiment respecting it. If the question were up as to the propriety of its sale at the price paid for it there would be a negative response. It is, to say the least, a good pivotal and strategic point, barren as it may be of other importance.

TERRITORIAL SUMMARY.—How look our national areas when thrown into figures? Using estimates and round numbers the showing is as follows:

	Sq. miles.
Estimated Area.....1783	820,680
Louisiana Purchase....1803	899,579
Florida Purchase.....1819	66,900
Oregon Treaty Lands..1846	308,052
Texas Annexation.....1846	318,000
Mexican Cession.. ...1848	522,955

	Sq. miles.
Gadsden Purchase...1853	30,000
Alaska Purchase....1867	500,000
Grand Total	3,466,166
Est'd Lake & Water Surface	396,116
Sq. miles	3,862,282
Acres	2,471,860,480

To all these acres the United States has undisputed title. They are the acquisition of one hundred years of national sovereignty, and are exceeded by the figures of only three other empires in the world—Great Britain with all her detached dependencies, the Chinese Empire and Russian Empire. And now, having seen whence our national titles sprang, having built our country territorially, and having studied the beginnings of our institutions amid colonial life, let us turn to that part of the fabric in which States comprise the artistic subdivisions and comprise the sublime whole.


125
123
121
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113
111
BRITISH
PROVINCE OF LOUISIANA
THE SEVERAL MEXICAN CESSIONS.
1848.
GADSDEN PURCHASE 1853
ARCTIC OCEAN
Behring Sea
Mt. St. Elias
PACIFIC OCEAN
ALASKA.
United States.
AREA:
ACQUISITION AND TRANSFER
OF
TERRITORY
1780 to 1870
LEVYTYPE CO PHILA
42
40
38
36
WEST FROM WASHINGTON
28
26
24
22

WEST FROM GREENWICH
POSSESSIONS
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE HURON
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
TERRITORY NORTHWEST OF THE RIVER OHIO 1787.
1783
ORIGINAL THIRTEEN STATES
TERY SOUTH OF THE RIVER OHIO 1790.
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY 1798 1804 1812.
SPANISH CESSION 1819.
1803.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
ULF OF MEXICO
SCALE OF MILES

BUILDING POLITICALLY;

OR,

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE STATES.

FROM COLONY TO STATE.—Having taken a view of the country in the rough, seen its titles and beginnings as they arose like dry land out of a multitude of waters, caught something of that free, republican spirit which ripened in the colonies and urged perpetually toward independence and union, and witnessed our majestic territorial strides from Atlantic to Pacific, buying where the market was open, conquering where it was closed, let us turn to finer parts of the national fabric.

The resolution of the Continental Congress, passed May 10, 1776, suppressing royal authority in the colonies, made necessary the formation of local governments, capable of answering the ends of political society and of continuing without interruption the protection of law over property, life and public order. These newly formed local governments, or these reformed colonial governments, for fortunately the political situation in many of the colonies required but little departure from their previous local institutions, were the true beginnings of the States. They were spoken of as "States" in the Declaration of Independence, and they made a near approach to States as they now are, under the Articles of Confederation. But, though States of a Union, they were not our States of the Union. How were they transformed?

THE FIRST STEP.—As has been seen, the Continental Congress was the only government during the Revolution and up until the adoption of the Articles of Confederation in 1781. It was simply a revolutionary government, with power for any-

thing or nothing, just as its acts were sanctioned or condemned by the popular voice. It was the result of a Union on account of public danger and not of a Union as the result of a charter or constitution. When the danger had passed, the function of the Congress would cease, and the Union would melt into its original components. There was more danger in this than in the presence of an armed foe. Statesmen were busy at work to prevent such a catastrophe. Before the Declaration Franklin had proposed a scheme of Confederation. The Continental Congress of 1775 (the Congress of the Declaration as it was called) had raised a committee in whose hands measures for a more permanent Union were placed. The newspapers teemed with plans for a permanent republican government. On the 12th of July, 1776, the committee of Congress reported Articles, drawn by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania. They did not meet the approval of the Congress, but rather plunged it into debate over questions of commerce, public lands, taxation, and the relative positions of the larger and smaller States. For sixteen months the Articles were delayed. At last, November 15, 1777, an agreement was had, and a draft of Articles, as agreed upon by the Congress, was sent out to the States for ratification, together with a letter commending them as a plan "for securing the freedom, sovereignty and independence of the United States," as the best that could be adapted to the circumstances of all, as "essential to their very existence as a free people," and without which they might "soon be constrained to bid adieu to independence, liberty and safety."

Nine of the States promptly ordered their delegates in Congress to ratify the Articles, which was done July, 1778. But they were not to be binding unless ratified by all the States. Political languor seemed to have taken the place of that blaze of freedom which had hitherto burned so brightly in the inchoate States. The burdens of war pressed heavily. Congress issued an appeal to the remaining States "to conclude the glorious compact." Henry Laurens, the President of Congress, wrote despairingly to Washington: "Where is virtue, where is patriotism now, when almost every man has turned his attention to

gain and pleasure, practising every artifice of Change-alley or Jonathan's?" *

The capture of Burgoyne, October 16, 1777, and word of a French alliance, February 6, 1778, served to stir enthusiasm again and revive the hope of Union under fully ratified Articles. A few other States gave their assent, but Maryland held out. She would not consent till the great question of public domain was disposed of, nor did she consent till the States to whom the valley of the Mississippi would have fallen by virtue of their charter limits patriotically agreed to surrender all lands which England might cede by any treaty of peace to the United States. All conquered, or to be conquered, lands thus made common property, Maryland ratified February 2, 1781, and signed March 1, 1781. The revolutionary government by a Congress was at an end. The step taken made union firmer under the forms of the first American constitution.

WHAT THE ARTICLES DID.†—They renewed the

* Jonathan's was a London coffee-house, the resort of speculators. Precisely why the English applied the term to Americans is not clear. But, as thus applied, it appears in a printed ballad on the expedition to Rhode Island, 1778, "Jonathan felt bold, sir." The British account of the burning of Fairfield, 1779, uses the word thus: "The troops faced about and drove Jonathan." In the form of "Brother Jonathan," the term hardly appeared till after peace had softened the asperities of war.

† The great seal of the American Union was adopted June 20, 1782. It was the American Eagle, holding in his right talon an olive branch, in his left a bundle of thirteen arrows, in his beak a scroll inscribed with "*E Pluribus Unum*" (one composed of many), and over his head an azure field with thirteen stars. On the reverse was an unfinished pyramid with an eye, having over it "*Annuit Coeptis*" (a beginning permitted, or approved), at the base MDCCLXXVI., and underneath "*Novus Ordo Seclorum*" (a new order of ages).

Previously, June 14, 1777, Congress voted "That the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternately red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white, in a blue field, representing a new constellation. This flag continued till Vermont (1791) and Kentucky (1792) were admitted, when it was changed (Act of January 13, 1794) to fifteen stripes and fifteen stars. It became apparent that the increase of stripes, as new States were admitted, would throw the flag out of proportion. Therefore the following was passed, April 4, 1818: "That from and after the 4th of July next the flag of the United States be thirteen horizontal stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be twenty stars (the then number of States), white, in a blue field; that, on the admission of every new State, one star be added to the union of the flag, such addition to be made on the 4th of July next succeeding such admission."

pledge of the States to Union, or rather made public and official record of such pledge. They made inter-state citizenship free. They created a Congress and defined its powers, but endowed it with no executive function. They gave the States something to conform to. They created a tribunal to settle disputes between the States. But the best thing they did was to confer a great educational service through their weaknesses and defects.

WHAT THEY DID NOT DO.—In saying that the Articles soon proved themselves full of glaring defects, it must not be forgotten that the States, while colonies, had been subject to a foreign rule whose restrictions had been severely felt and whose assumptions had been a source of constant jealousy and alarm. They had, naturally, nourished a spirit of resistance to all authority outside of themselves, and, having no experience of the convenience or necessity of a general government to care for their common interests, they deemed the least possible delegation of their power quite sufficient for national purposes. Therefore the Articles created a confederation which had few powers for peace. It could make treaties, but could not execute them; appoint ambassadors, but not pay their expenses; borrow money, but not pay a dollar; make coin, but not import an ounce of bullion; declare war and order the number of troops, but not raise a single soldier; in short, declare anything and do nothing. It was truly a feeble thread on which to string thirteen States and hold them in bonds of union. Its unfitness as a frame of government for a free, enterprising and industrious people, so manifest at the start, grew more and more so, till it finally lost all vigor and respect and tottered to its fall. Should it be left to silent dissolution, or should an attempt be made to form something more commanding and vigorous before the great interests of the Union were crushed and buried beneath its ruins?

DAWN OF A CONSTITUTION.—Hamilton saw the defects of the Articles of Confederation and (1780) proposed a convention to reform them even before they were ratified by the States. Similar propositions were made by Pelatiah Webster in 1781, the New York Legislature in 1782, Hamilton in Congress 1783, Richard Henry Lee in 1784, Governor Bowdoin in

1785. But it required more than cold propositions and dignified discussion to overcome the indifference of the States. It required the flat refusal of New Jersey to comply with an act of Congress. It required the open offense of Massachusetts in raising troops to crush Shay's rebellion. It required the quarrel between Virginia and Maryland as to the right to navigate the waters of the Chesapeake and Potomac. This last brought a convention to Annapolis, September 11, 1786. Only five States were represented. They did nothing respecting the point in dispute; they could do nothing. But Hamilton was there, and Madison, and Dickinson, and they saw but one way out of such difficulties—that was by creating a stronger central government and endowing it with ample powers on all such delicate subjects. Their report suggested a call of delegates from all the States to meet in Philadelphia, May (second Monday), 1787.

A CONSTITUTION.—Congress adopted this report, February 21, 1787, and ordered a Convention. All the States sent delegates except Rhode Island. On May 14, they met in Independence Hall, but a majority of the States not being represented they adjourned from day to day till the 25th. Then organizing by the election of George Washington as President, they proceeded to business. It was a memorable body. The veterans of the revolution were there, and the wise statesmen of the times which gave birth to the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Articles of the Confederation. They were there to remedy the defects of the past and propose a new departure for the future. Franklin was there, at eighty-one. Johnson of Connecticut, Rutledge of South Carolina, and Dickinson, had been members of the Stamp Act Congress. Seven of them had been in the Congress of 1774. Eight of them had signed the Declaration of Independence. Their deliberations ran through four months, and they were carried on amid great diversity of opinion.* The antagonisms of American society, errors of

* The sessions were held with closed doors, and the utmost secrecy was enjoined, no member being even allowed to copy from the Convention's Journal, which was entrusted to Washington, and by him deposited in the State Department. It was printed by direction of Congress in 1818.

opinion and deep-rooted prejudices, local interests, State jealousies and ambitions, and especially the matter of slavery, these all trooped into the convention to make it a scene of furious storms, and to threaten its disruption time and again. Even the calm and hopeful Washington said he almost despaired of seeing a favorable issue to the proceedings, and more than once repented of having had any agency in the business. But an era of compromise was reached, and the work was completed on September 17, 1787. All the members present signed The Constitution of the United States of America, except Edmund Randolph and George Mason of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts. It was then sent to the States to be ratified by Conventions, specially called for the purpose, and was to become operative when so ratified by nine of the States. All the States called Conventions and ratified, except Rhode Island and North Carolina.*

NEW GOVERNMENT.—On July 2, 1788, the President of Congress laid before that body the ratification of the requisite nine States. By September 13, "a plan for putting the Constitution in operation" was completed. The first Wednesday in January was fixed for the appointment of electors; the first Wednesday in February for their meeting to vote for a President; and the first Wednesday in March as the time, and New York as the place, for commencing proceedings under the new Constitution. The necessary elections of Senators and Representatives having been held, the first Congress assembled at New York, Wednesday, March 4, 1789, to adjourn for want of a quorum till April 6, when the votes of the electors being counted it was found that George Washington had been unanimously elected President and John Adams Vice-President. On April

* North Carolina afterwards in a new convention held November, 1789, adopted the Constitution, and Rhode Island by a convention held May, 1790. The debates in the respective State Conventions over the question of ratifying took the widest range and showed great diversity of sentiment. In only three States was the Constitution adopted unanimously, New Jersey, Delaware and Georgia. In Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland and South Carolina it had large majorities. In Massachusetts, New York and Virginia it had a bare majority, and in the remaining States a small majority.

30, Washington was sworn into office, and our present form of government was a fact.*

SENTIMENT.—In his inaugural Washington said, "In the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government, the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities, from which the event has resulted, cannot be compared with the means by which most governments have been established, without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seems to presage."

"The strongest government on earth" and "the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern."—*Jefferson's Inaugural.*

"America has emerged from her struggle into tranquillity and freedom, into affluence and credit; and the authors of her Constitution have constructed a great permanent experimental answer to the sophisms and declarations of the detractors of liberty."—*Sir James Mackintosh.*

"To those great men who framed the Constitution and secured the adoption of it, we owe a debt of gratitude which can scarcely be repaid. It was not then, as it is now, looked upon, from the blessings which, under the guidance of Divine Providence, it has bestowed, with general favor and affection. On the contrary, many of those pure and disinterested patriots, who stood forth the firm advocates of its principles, did so at the expense of existing popularity. They felt that they had a higher duty to perform than to flatter the prejudices of the people, or subserve selfish, sectional or local interests. Many of them went to their graves without the soothing consolation that their services and sacrifices were appreciated. Scorning every attempt to rise to power and influence by the common arts of the demagogue, they were content to trust their characters and conduct to the deliberate judgment of posterity."—*Story on the Constitution.*

* Chancellor Livingston administered the oath of office. The President delivered his inaugural address in the presence of both Houses of Congress, a custom which was adhered to till Jefferson changed it.

"It animated freemen all over the world to resist oppression. It gave an example of a great people not only emancipating themselves, but governing themselves without even a monarch to control or an aristocracy to restrain them; and it demonstrated for the first time in the history of the world, contrary to all the predictions of statesmen and the theories of speculative inquirers, that a great nation, when duly prepared for the task, is capable of self-government; or in other words, that a purely republican form of government can be formed and maintained in a country of vast extent, peopled by millions of inhabitants."—*Brougham's Political Philosophy.*

"The republican government was a success because in its operation it met the needs of the two fundamental conditions of American political life, diversity and union, as correlative forces —on the one hand, the development of the Commonwealth or State; on the other, of the union or nation."—*Frothingham's Rise of the Republic.*

"It actually secured, for what is really a long period of time, a greater amount of combined peace and freedom than was ever before enjoyed by so large a portion of the earth's surface. There have been, and still are, vaster despotic empires; but never before has so large an inhabited territory remained for more than seventy years in the enjoyment of internal freedom and of exemption from the scourge of internal war."—*Freeman's Hist. of Federal Gov.*

Even as Freeman wrote (1861), the Republic was passing through its severest ordeal—that of civil war; and the verdict rendered in this supreme court of armed force was in favor of the Constitution. All the above are wonderfully pleasing and inspiring pictures of potency and adaptation, yet they were not undreamt of among the early patriot seers.

"The celestial light of the gospel was directed here by the finger of God; it will doubtless finally drive the long, long night of heathenish darkness from America. So arts and sciences will change the face of nature in their tour from hence over the Appalachian chain to the Western ocean; and as they march through the vast desert, the residence of wild beasts will be broken up

and their obscure howl cease forever. Instead of which, the stones and trees will dance together at the music of Orpheus, the rocks will disclose their hidden gems, and the inestimable treasures of gold and silver be broken up. Huge mountains of iron-ore are already discovered, and vast stores are reserved for future generations. This metal, more useful than gold and silver, will employ millions of hands, not only to form the martial sword and peaceful share, alternately, but an infinity of utensils improved in the exercise of art and handicraft amongst men. Nature through all her works has stamped authority on this law, namely, that all fit matter shall be improved to its best purposes. Shall not, then, those vast quarries that teem with mechanic stone, those for structure be piled into great cities, and those for sculpture to perpetuate the honor of renowned heroes, even those who shall now save their country? O ye unborn inhabitants of America! should this page escape the destined conflagration at the year's end, and these alphabetical letters remain legible, when your eyes behold the sun after he has rolled the season round for two or three centuries more, you will know that in Anno Domini 1758, we dreamed of your times." *

THE OLD THIRTEEN STATES.—These States had first colonial existence, then independent revolutionary existence under the Congress, then united existence under the pledge of the Confederation, and now they come to have cemented existence under the Constitution and constitutional form of government. Their membership in the Republic dates from their ratification of the Constitution by conventions chosen for the purpose. These dates are: Delaware, Dec. 7, 1787; Pennsylvania, Dec. 12, 1787; New Jersey, Dec. 18, 1787; Georgia, Jan. 2, 1788; Connecticut, Jan. 9, 1788; Massachusetts, Feb. 6, 1788; Maryland, April 28, 1788; South Carolina, May 23, 1788; New Hampshire, June 21, 1788; Virginia, June 25, 1788; New York, July 26, 1788; North Carolina, Nov. 21, 1789; Rhode Island, May 29, 1790.

* Written by Nathaniel Ames, father of Fisher Ames, in Ames' Almanac for 1758, and one of the most remarkable prophecies relating to America.

THE EARLIEST TERRITORIES.—While yet the country was limping along under the Confederation, it entered upon the work of disposing of its lands acquired by the treaty of 1783. Its first action was by the celebrated ordinance of July 13, 1787, already alluded to, which created "The Territory Northwest of the Ohio river" out of the Virginia cession up to 41°, and out of all north of that parallel, ceded by Great Britain. Out of this territory, according to the provisions of the ordinance, not less than three States were to be formed fronting on the Ohio river. Out of all that was left, lying north of an east and west line drawn through the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, one or two other States were to be formed. The provisions of this ordinance were afterwards carried out in the formation of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and so, of the remaining portion of the territory, were formed Michigan, Wisconsin, and that part of Minnesota east of the Mississippi.

The next disposition of public domain was made by the present government on May 26, 1790. It then erected the "Territory south of the Ohio river," out of cessions by Virginia and North Carolina, and gave it a government similar to that ordained for the Territory northwest of the Ohio. Out of this Territory, in due time, sprang the States of Kentucky and Tennessee, though to the latter was added the strip of twelve miles wide, ceded by South Carolina.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—All this was simply pushing the jurisdiction of the government in a Territorial way. The real work of State carving and building, outside of original limits, was, however, soon to begin in earnest. But we must first notice that important grant which had the effect of fixing the location of the National Capital. Article 1, Sec. 8, of the Constitution empowered Congress "to exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States." By act of her legislature, Dec. 23, 1788, Maryland made a cession of territory ten miles square for the above purpose. Nearly a year afterwards, Dec. 3, 1789, Vir-

ginia ceded a like, or less, quantity of land for a similar purpose. Thus the government was in possession of more than it needed for a capital. However, it accepted both grants, July 16, 1790, and ordained that the same should become the permanent seat of government of the United States. In the same act the President was authorized to fix the boundaries of the cessions so as to bring their limits within the constitutional provision of ten miles square. This he did by proclamation, March 30, 1791. The territory retained embraced sixty-four square miles of that part ceded by Maryland and thirty-six of that ceded by Virginia. Over this the government assumed control by Act of Feb. 27, 1801. But it was cut in twain by the Potomac. Therefore, by act of July 9, 1846, the Virginia portion was retroceded to that State, leaving the District of Columbia and the permanent seat of government to occupy only the Maryland cession of about sixty-four square miles.

VERMONT FIRST.—The introduction of new States makes a curious and instructive history. Some ripened as Territories and drifted naturally into their places as States of the Union. Others were forced into position ere they were ready, in obedience to a balancing principle which, at an early day, was resorted to for the gratification of sectional feelings and interests. Still others were admitted for protective border or commercial reasons. But, let it be hoped, that all were admitted for their own advantage and that of the national government, and that now no one would wish to lose its place in the federal arch.

The first to link her fortunes with the "old thirteen" was Vermont. She, above all others, had had an unfortunate territorial existence, and her admission was a happy escape from troubles which otherwise seemed unending. Claimed by Massachusetts under the wonderful Plymouth charter, by New Hampshire whose western limit was practically unascertained, by New York because "the New Netherlands," afterwards the possession of the Duke of York, ran indefinitely northeastward, and by France because it lay along a water way into the St. Lawrence, and peopled more or less by all these claimants, New Hampshire had been from the earliest times a common raiding-ground

and seat of contention. The fight between New York and New Hampshire waxed so bitter that a decision was invoked from the crown. New York won, and her line was adjudged to extend to the Connecticut river. The folly of New York in deciding the New Hampshire grants of lands in Vermont illegal stirred up the landholders to armed resistance. There is no telling how far the war would have been carried, for the Vermonters were very determined, had not the revolution turned attention in another direction. Even during the war with Great Britain the Vermonters, January, 1777, established for their territory an independent jurisdiction under the name of " New Connecticut or Vermont." Thus equipped they petitioned the Continental Congress for admission into the Union, a request which was entitled to respect, for Vermont was playing a brave and important role, and was really as much of an independent colony as any other. But she was headed off by New York and New Hampshire, neither of whom were yet ready to relinquish their hold upon her. To make matters worse Massachusetts revived her sleeping claim to the soil. The plight was pitiable. No redress was to be had of the indecisive government of the Confederation, for it was really no government at all. The farmers again flew to arms under the lead of the intrepid Ethan Allen, and were now more than ever determined to resist the attempt of New York to push her authority into their midst. The British, knowing the tardiness and negligence of the Congress of the Confederation, and hoping that the Vermonters would soon be driven to seek the protection of a stronger government, actually opened negotiations to have them cast their lot in with theirs. But these spirited Green Mountain men were not disloyal enough for that. They clung closely together, kept up a government of their own, fought bravely through the war of the revolution, and at the peace of 1783 constituted a State, so far as machinery went, as perfect as any of the original thirteen.

After the adoption of the constitution of 1787, and the formation of the new government under it, she again petitioned for admission. New York opposed her as before. But this time the power of the central government was stronger. It could hear

and decide, and was willing to do so. A commission was created to investigate and decide the conflict. New York was paid $30,000 with which to quiet the titles of her citizens holding lands in Vermont. Thereupon she withdrew all claims to jurisdiction, and by act of Feb. 18, 1791, to take effect March 4, 1791, Vermont was admitted into the Union, with all the rights and privileges of a State. As intimated her independent State existence became necessary as a cure for the evils which had come upon her through conflicting claims of ownership and their foolish assertion, and not for any very pressing geographic or commercial reason. The United States now embraced fourteen States.

KENTUCKY'S ADMISSION.—Kentucky very properly came into the Union at an early date. She had been a dissatisfied and dangerous Territory for a long time. Her region had been a hunting-ground and battle-field remote from her mother Virginia, whose protection was quite too feeble to be of any account. The wild, brave spirits who had found a home in the midst of "the dark and bloody grounds" had more than once declared that inasmuch as Virginia could give them no protection, they ought to set up a government of their own. But they never completely severed their relations with the mother colony or State, for the reason that they regarded the government of the Confederation as of no more consequence to them, in the matter of protection, than Virginia. So they drifted amid years and years of conventions, debates and resolutions, on the propriety of doing something toward protective organization. At one time it looked as if the entire territory might be lost to the Union, and a war to recover it be the consequence. Spain, understanding the situation, secretly proposed rare commercial favors if the Territory would declare independence and start out on a career of its own. Knowledge of this proposition stirred public sentiment to the very bottom. Two conventions * were held in quick succession, at Danville, looking toward a territorial government, and as a greater measure of safety toward admission into the Union. In these the debates ran high, and disputes were often

* They were the sixth and seventh which had been held.

long and angry. At length out of the turmoil came a proposition to recommend separate territorial existence. Congress acted promptly and erected "The Territory South of the Ohio River," including Kentucky and Tennessee, May 26, 1790. This action was followed Feb. 4, 1791, to take effect June 1, 1792, by another act admitting Kentucky into the Union as a State. Thus was used the old territory of Virginia south of the Ohio.

TENNESSEE ADMITTED.—Tennessee was that part of the national domain ceded by North Carolina, to which was added, on the south, the strip of twelve miles wide ceded by South Carolina. It was also all that was left of "the Territory South of the Ohio," after Kentucky was admitted. It too was a dangerous Territory, bordering as it did on partly foreign waters (the Mississippi), and subject to the same inducements to drift away from the Atlantic influence, as was Kentucky. Like Kentucky, also, the Tennessee region had early become the scene of white settlement and bloody Indian encounter. It too was "a dark and bloody ground" for many years, extending from, say 1754 to the close of the American revolution. Indeed, during the revolution Great Britain attempted to work in the rear of the American situation by arming the Cherokees and pushing them through the settlements of the Cumberland and on to the colonists of Virginia and the Carolinas. Only by the most heroic efforts of the Carolina and Virginia militia was the territory held against Indian foe and English promise to the inhabitants of special favors if they too would take up arms against the Atlantic colonists.

As long as the territory belonged to North Carolina it was known as the "District of Washington." After the peace of 1783, and the founding of Nashville, the people felt that the Mother Colony was no longer protective, yet like those of Kentucky, they had no faith in the government of the Confederation, and deemed it a feeble power to tie to. They were, therefore, at sea as to a proper allegiance, till after the adoption of the Constitution of 1787. Then, with a stronger central government in view, one which could afford the much needed protection, and which was worthy of confidence and support, their political

future became plain. North Carolina relinquished all control in 1790, and in the same year Tennessee became a part of "The Territory South of the Ohio." Two years after the admission of Kentucky, the people formed a State Constitution and presented it to Congress. It was approved June 1, 1796, and Tennessee became a State of the American Union, her territory having been that of North Carolina and part of South Carolina. The admission of Kentucky and Tennessee was a commercial necessity. They gave to the Union a Mississippi frontage, headed off further Spanish scheming in the upper valley, and presented the hand of our dynasty in such a way as to be taken hold of in friendly commercial clasp across the "Father of Waters," or with iron grip for supremacy from Lake Itaska to the Delta. The stars on the American flag numbered sixteen.

OHIO GETS READY.—Turning the century the government was busy with its "Territory Northwest of the Ohio." By act of May 7, 1800, to take effect July 1, 1800, it was divided into two parts. This was getting ready for the State of Ohio, for one part was very like the present Ohio. The other part was incorporated into the "Territory of Indiana." And a word about this "Territory of Indiana." It of course comprised all that was left of "The Territory Northwest of the Ohio," after Ohio was taken away. But it had a greater fame before it. After France made her cession of Louisiana it was, by act of October 1, 1804, erected into "The District of Louisiana," and placed under the jurisdiction of the officers appointed to govern the Territory of Indiana. Thus, for purposes of government, the Territory of Indiana was a vast empire, the largest by far ever organized by the government within its territory. Territorial Indiana reached to the Pacific and the gulf.

The part cut off, and which was to become Ohio, embraced all of present Ohio up to a line drawn east and west through the southern point of Lake Michigan, and this was Ohio as admitted into the Union by act of April 30, 1802, to take effect November 29, 1802. But the Ohio of to-day contains some 600 square miles more territory. Her northern boundary was adjusted by act of June 15, 1836, called the "Enabling act for the State of Michigan," and by act of June 23, 1836.

France and England, both original claimants of Ohio, began to clash about, and on, the soil as early as 1750. It had been a stamping ground for French traders long before this. At that time Virginians and Englishmen, having obtained a grant of 600,000 acres, came as settlers and traders. Frequent collisions with the French ended in war. To drive out the French was the object of Braddock's disastrous march on Fort Du Quesne. Not until the loss of Canada and the Mississippi valley by France in 1763, did Ohio become undisputed English soil. On account of these rival claims and bloody disputes, permanent settlement was tardy in a land so inviting and so contiguous to the old States. Even after the organization of "The Territory of the Northwest," Ohio was by no means a pleasant place to go to, for the Indians were very tenacious of their titles to the land, and were kept in a state of ferment and opposition by the British on the north. The entire region was in a state of war from 1790 to 1794, when the Miamies were humiliated by General Wayne. After this migration and settlement were phenomenally rapid.

LOUISIANA COMES.—The mention of Louisiana introduces us to a strange people. The Latin race was in the ascendant there and not the Saxon. It was the key to the mouth of the Mississippi, and was desirable to any nation with commercial ambitions. When Spain held it she was very jealous of it, and her ownership was a bar to free commerce through either gulf or Mississippi channels. She saw that her occupancy was a standing threat on the United States, and that the commercial drift of all the country east of the river, whose drainage was into it, must be toward her. Hence, her schemes of an empire which should embrace both sides of the river. Hence, also, those other schemes, of which Aaron Burr's was one, for a great southwestern country whose strong point should be control of the "Father of Waters"—at this date let it be charitably supposed, in favor of the United States.

After the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, no time was lost in getting it under control. That part of the immense territory now in the State of Louisiana (nearly all) was erected

into the "Territory of Orleans," by act of March 26, 1804. Claiborne, who was sent as governor, found our form of government unsuitable for a people who spoke little English and whose institutions rested on laws and customs foreign to our own. So by act of Congress (1805) they were given a government similar to that established for the Territory of Mississippi, which also contained a mixed Spanish and French population. Out of this act sprang a system of local laws, embracing many features of the Code Napoleon, to which the people were reconciled. All the rest of the Louisiana purchase went into the District of Louisiana, which, as we have seen, became a part of the Territory of Indiana.

Spain would not relinquish her right to the territory of Louisiana lying east of the Mississippi, claiming that her cession to France did not cover it, and that she still owned it as a part of her Florida. Therefore, in 1810, the United States seized the port of Baton Rouge, and adjudged the Spanish territory to be a part of Louisiana. An act of Congress passed Feb. 20, 1811, enabled the Territory of Orleans to become a State. By act of April 8, 1812, to take effect April 30, the same was admitted as a State, under the name of Louisiana. Thus finally ended what had for a long time been a quiet struggle between Spain and the United States for permanent sovereignty of a section which, had the result been otherwise, must have for a long time retarded our western growth. The admission was a matter of clear and decisive policy, in a commercial sense, however much it may have been objected to by certain parties at the time. It created a sovereign State right where the greatest inducement existed to protect it, and right where one of firm attachment to the Union was most needed. It projected the national authority to the gulf lines and set up an everlasting barrier to interference with internal commerce along ten thousand miles of water way.

INDIANA ADMITTED.—The vast Territory of Indiana, created in 1800 out of that northwest of the Ohio and extended indefinitely by adding, in 1804, the District of Louisiana, now gave a State to the Union and its name to that State. It was

carved out of the southeastern part of that Territory by the enabling act of April 19, 1816, and the resolution approving of its constitution and admitting it into the Union, as the State of Indiana, was passed Dec. 11, 1816. The State was not without a remote territorial history. France had dotted it with trading and missionary posts, some of which, as Vincennes, became permanent settlements. After the loss of the French territory, in 1763, to England, Indiana, like Ohio, was not an inviting field for settlement. The Indians were tenacious of their lands. Their liking for the old French influence, and the ease with which the British stirred them up to resent pioneering, kept back our civilization. After the treaty of 1783, when the whole territory passed from Great Britain to the United States of the Confederation, the Indians became bitterly hostile. In 1788, one year after the framing of the constitution, an Indian war broke out, which involved the whole Northwest. It only ceased when their powerful and dangerous confederacy was broken by the victories of General Wayne. Even then the brave Shawnee leader Tecumseh would not submit but held on, a source of terror to every infant settlement, till his defeat by General Harrison in the celebrated battle of Tippecanoe, Nov. 11, 1811.

MISSISSIPPI ADMITTED.—The twentieth State to enter the Union was Mississippi. It was carved out of the Territory of Mississippi, by act of March 1, 1817, which was also the date of the enabling act. Her constitution and form of government having been submitted to Congress and approved, she was admitted into the Union by joint resolution of Dec. 10, 1817. Out of the balance of Mississippi Territory, the State of Alabama was created.

ILLINOIS A STATE.—We must turn to the north for the next State of the Union. Not less than three States were to be formed out of the territory northwest of the Ohio. Two have appeared, Ohio and Indiana. The third takes shape as Illinois. It became the Territory of Illinois by act of March 1, 1809, though it extended clear to the British possessions. By the enabling act of April 18, 1818, the present limits of the State were fixed, and by joint resolution of Dec. 3, 1818, the State was

admitted into the Union. Though the twenty-first State, Illinois had a history extending back into the seventeenth century. Her towns of Kaskaskia, Cahokia and others were French settlements and distributing centres as early as 1673. But the French occupancy was a lonely one, and Illinois presents the historic spectacle of a Christian civilization gradually falling back and merging with that of its Indian surroundings. Like Ohio and Indiana, Illinois became deeply involved in the French and English wars for the possession of the Northwest, and like them it passed into British hands by the treaty of 1763, and into the possession of the United States by the treaty of 1783.

ALABAMA ENTERS.—Now that we have had a Northern State there must be a Southern one. By this time it was regarded as the proper thing to create alternate free and slave States. Indeed, few States had hitherto been admitted without discussion of the question of slavery, and few were to be admitted without similar discussion. The matter had been somewhat bitterly mooted when the question of the Louisiana purchase was up, and afterwards when Kentucky was a candidate for admission. Well, the new State was to be Alabama, the remnant of Mississippi Territory. Two days after the State of Mississippi was cut out of this Territory, the Territory of Alabama was formed, March 3, 1817. Two years afterwards an act enabling Alabama to become a State was passed, March 2, 1819. By joint resolution of Dec. 14, 1819, she was admitted as a State in the Union, the twenty-second on the list.

MAINE APPEARS.—There was a race between the North and South for the next State, the twenty-third. Maine and Missouri were the competitors, with Maine in the lead. Lapse of time had fixed the claim of Massachusetts to the soil of Maine, and to the right to govern her. There were many of her people, however, who never acknowledged this claim, and various attempts were made, notably in 1785 and 1802, to effect a separation. At length, in 1819, the Territorial legislature* ordered an election of delegates "to express the true will of the people." The convention thus created, operating with the con-

* Not a Territory of the United States, but a Territory of Massachusetts.

sent of the Legislature of Massachusetts, adopted a constitution and separate form of government, which received the approbation of the people. Massachusetts made formal cession of all her claims to the Territory. By act of Congress, March 3, 1820, to take effect March 15, 1820, Maine was admitted into the Union as a State.

MISSOURI ENTERS AMID STORM.—At least a year before Maine was admitted, a bill to enable the Territory of Missouri (a part of the Louisiana purchase) to become a State was introduced in Congress. In the House an amendment was offered, in the words of the ordinance (1787) for the government of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio, "prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in Missouri, except as a punishment for crime." Though the Republicans (Democrats) were in an overwhelming majority in both branches, party lines were dropped in the House, and the amendment was carried, but was rejected in the Senate.*

This brought the slavery question into a shape it had never assumed before. It came suddenly. Ex-President Jefferson said, "it startled him like a fire-bell in the night." It came, as a question, from the house of its supposed friends. Before this the Ohio River had been a convenient line upon which to determine these questions of slave and free State admissions. But there was no Ohio beyond the Mississippi. Hence a new line became necessary, or rather no line, for the best anti-slavery minds contended that slavery in the Territories was a question absolutely within the purview of Congress. It was not a question of parties. The Federal party was practically dead, and the Republican (Democratic) party held the entire political line north and south. It therefore became a question of sections, and bitterly the battle was fought over Missouri. The next year (1820) the defeated Missouri bill came up again in the House, as did

* This astounding measure and vote in the House, together with the popularity of Clay's plans for American Protection and Internal Improvement, showed that there was then the nucleus of a new party within the Republican ranks, which was soon (1825) to assume shape as the National Republican, afterwards the Whig party.

the bill to admit Maine. Both passed, and both prohibited slavery. The Senate passed the Maine bill, and united it with a bill for Missouri, permitting slavery.* This was done to throw the responsibility of rejection on the House, a responsibility which the House did not hesitate to assume, for it speedily defeated the Senate bill. Henry Clay then came forward with the celebrated compromise measure, known as "The Missouri Compromise of 1820," by which both sections agreed to pass the respective bills, one admitting Maine as a free State, the other admitting Missouri as a slave State, and forever prohibiting slavery in all territory north of the line of 36° 30′.

This memorable controversy ended, the Missouri enabling act was passed March 6, 1820. By joint resolution of March 2, 1821, the admission of the State was further provided for, and by proclamation of August 10, the State was declared to be a member of the Union. It had a population in excess of the 60,000 then required to enable a Territory to become a State, and its chief town, St. Louis, with a population of 5,000, was the commercial emporium of the upper Mississippi. Missouri was the first State formed wholly out of the territory west of the Mississippi. Though but a small part of that land of Louisiana which stretched away to the Pacific and up to the British line, it was felt that whatever policy, as to slavery, prevailed in her admission would be likely to prevail in all the States carved out of the same lands. This was why the fight over her admission was so bitter, and why it was deemed proper, then and there, to fix the policy which should control the admission of future trans-Mississippi States, by the compromise line of 36° 30′. By act of June 7, 1836, the northwest boundary of the State was extended to the Missouri River, the triangular piece thus added containing about 3,168 square miles.

ARKANSAS ADMITTED.—There was a period of rest from the work of State building, which lasted for sixteen years, during which time the outlying territories were ripening. The

* The Senate only partially divided into sections. Enough Northern Senators voted with those from the South, to defeat the action of the House.

"Territory of Arkansaw" * had been carved out of the Territory of Missouri, by act of March 19, 1819. It had limits coincident with those of the present State. By act of June 15, 1836, the same was admitted as the State of Arkansas. It had not a full quota of inhabitants when admitted, and but little previous history except what belonged to the period of French and Spanish occupancy. The French claimed Arkansas Post as among the oldest settlements of the country.

MICHIGAN A CANDIDATE.—An important State was now ready in the Northwest. The Territory of Michigan had been formed as early as June 30, 1805, from the Territory of Indiana. It then included but little more than the Michigan peninsula, between Lakes Huron and Erie and Lake Michigan. On June 28, 1834, the Territory of Michigan was made to extend to the Missouri and White Earth Rivers. Out of this large area was carved the present State of Michigan, by the enabling act of June 15, 1836. Her constitution and form of government having met with the approval of Congress, she was admitted as a State by act of Jan. 26, 1837. The trail of the French trader and missionary is plainer in Michigan than in any other State of the Northwest. Detroit was a French town as early as 1701. River, lake, bay, and town bear frequent witness to the French occupancy. It cannot be said that the American influence was felt in Michigan before 1796. During the war of 1812, Detroit was held by the British, and became the starting-point of those Anglo-Indian campaigns which wrapped the Northwest in gloom and drenched it with blood. At the time of her admission, Michigan had far more than her quota of population, and nearly four times as many as Arkansas, admitted the year before.

FLORIDA A MEMBER.—It was now the turn of the "Flowery realm." Though thinly populated, and with but little more than half a quota, it was deemed politic to make Florida the twenty-seventh State. The "East Florida," which Spain ceded Feb. 22, 1819, was erected into the Territory of Florida March 30, 1822. By act of March 3, 1845, it was admitted as a

* The Territory was that of *Arkansaw*, which spelling has recently been decided by the State authorities to control the pronunciation of *Arkansas*.

State. It had had a long and eventful history both as a Spanish and English possession. From its climate, situation, and promises, it was always a coveted country, yet ever an expensive one to take and hold.

IOWA ADMITTED.—The day that gave birth to Florida saw also a new State in the Northwest. Iowa Territory had been cut out of Wisconsin Territory, June 12, 1838. This Territory was not identical with the present State of Iowa, but embraced all north of Missouri and between the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. Out of this was carved a State of Iowa, which was admitted into the Union March 3, 1845. But the boundaries were not satisfactory. By act of Aug. 4, 1846, the northern boundary was lowered from the parallel running through the mouth of the Mankato or Blue Earth River to where it now is, and the western boundary was pushed from meridian of 17° 30′ to where it now is. After this adjustment of boundaries the State was readmitted Dec. 28, 1846. As part of the French domain, Iowa had a history as early as 1686, when Dubuque was a fort and trading-post.

TEXAS ANNEXATION.—The twenty-ninth State, Texas, was the most imposing piece of territory that had, as yet, applied for admission into the Union. It was not carved out of our own territory as other States had been, nor was it prepared for membership by any process of ripening under a Territorial government. A member of the Mexican Republic, it had seceded and set up for itself. Its admission into the American Union would be a surrender of its independence to again try the experiment of membership in a Republic to which it had all along been foreign.* Discussion of the question of Texas Annexation occupied most of the time of the second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, 1844–45. A proposition to prohibit slavery within its borders was voted down.† With full knowledge of the fact that

* Quite a number of Saxon settlers had drifted into Texas who had done much to foster the spirit of annexation.

† Mexico had abolished slavery twenty years before, and therefore by the law of the Mexican Republic Texas was free territory. But Texas, when independent, had re-established slavery.

its status was one of war with Mexico, and that annexation would be an assumption of that status, the Congress voted for it. The joint resolution of annexation prohibited slavery in any State formed of Texas territory north of 36° 30′, but left the question to the people of the States to be formed of said territory south of that line. We have already seen the steps by which her territory passed to the United States and the consequences.* The date of her admission was Dec. 29, 1845.

WISCONSIN ADMITTED.—The thirtieth State was Wisconsin. The Territory of Wisconsin was erected by act of April 20, 1836. It was cut out of the Territory of Michigan, and that part east of the Mississippi had previously been in the Territories of Illinois, Indiana and the northwest of the Ohio. The Territory of Wisconsin embraced the States of Wisconsin, Iowa and part of Minnesota. The Territory of Iowa was severed by act of June 12, 1838. By the enabling act of August 6, 1846, Wisconsin took its present shape, and by act of May 29, 1848, was admitted as a State. Like the rest of the northwest territory Wisconsin shows in its names of places the trail of its early French occupants and owners.

CALIFORNIA COMES.—The Mexican war ended by the peace of February 2, 1848, called the treaty of Guadaloupe-Hidalgo. This brought that immense cession of territory mentioned on page 95, and out of which the Territory of California was organized. This cession threw the country into another ferment over the slavery question. By the laws of Mexico all this territory was free. But the proslavery wing of the Democratic party joined issue with the friends of the Wilmot Proviso and forced another compromise (that of 1850), which, so far as California was concerned, had the effect of making her a free State.† She applied for admission Feb. 13, 1850, and was admitted Sept. 9, 1850. The discovery of gold in her soil, the rapid population of the State by the adventurous and not too peaceful "forty-niners," and various apparent commercial reasons, not to say a pardonable national pride, made a State on

* See *ante*, p. 94, and page 533, *post*.

† For fuller details of this compromise see page 544.

the Pacific coast most desirable. The arch of the Union now spanned the continent. From 1787 to 1850 had been just sixty-three years.

MINNESOTA ADMITTED.—Minnesota Territory had been formed March 3, 1849, out of the parts of Territories of Iowa and Wisconsin not included in those two States. Out of this Territory was carved the present State of Minnesota by the enabling act of Feb. 26, 1857. On May 11, 1858, the State of Minnesota was admitted into the Union. The balance of Minnesota Territory went to Territory of Dakota.

OREGON HEARD FROM.—The Pacific Coast presents another candidate. The immense Territory of Oregon was created out of all the northwestern portion of the Louisiana purchase, on Aug. 14, 1848. It extended from the fortieth parallel to the British possessions, and from the Pacific to the Rocky Mountains, with an area of nearly 300,000 square miles. Out of this domain was carved the State of Oregon, which by act of Feb. 14, 1859, was admitted into the Union. The rest of her Territory became the Territory of Washington.

KANSAS, AND TROUBLE.—The thirty-fourth State, Kansas, had a stormy birth. The throes she engendered shook the Union to its very centre. The celebrated Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced into the House Jan. 23, 1854. It was designed to establish the fact that the compromise of 1820 had been repealed by that of 1850, and further to establish the principle that slavery, north or south of 36° 30′, was a matter for the people of each Territory to decide for themselves. The bill passed in March, 1854, and both North and South encouraged colonization within the limits of Kansas, which the bill created into a Territory immediately west of Missouri and between 37° and 40°, as well as Nebraska, lying north of Kansas and between 40° and 43°. Under the circumstances the condition of Kansas was that of constant petty war. It became a "bleeding Kansas" indeed, and as to bloodless party passion the rest of the country was no better off.* For seven years this warfare went on, and only ended

* For fuller details of Kansas-Nebraska question see Administrations and Congresses, pages 554 and 566.

after the work of seceding from the Union began. Then the government which had been set up under the Lecompton constitution was repudiated, and that formed under the Wyandot Free State Constitution was adopted by a Republican Congress Jan. 29, 1861, and Kansas became a State in the Union. The Territory of Kansas formed under the bill of Jan. 23, 1854, adopted May 30, 1854, had for its western boundary the Rocky Mountains, which were the eastern boundary of Utah. The act which admitted her as a State fixed the 25th meridian as her western boundary. All the rest of the Territory of Kansas went to the Territory of Colorado.

WEST VIRGINIA CREATED.—The destructive work of secession introduced a new feature in State building. Virginia seceded from the Union and cast her lot with the Southern Confederacy, April 17, 1861. Some thirty-nine of the western counties refused to be bound by her action. Representatives from these met at Wheeling to protest against secession. A second convention met in August which framed a separate State constitution and form of government. This was submitted to the people in May, 1862, and ratified. It was then submitted to Congress, and after some slight amendments was accepted. The President was authorized to proclaim that it should take effect June 19, 1863, on which date West Virginia became a State in the Union. In 1872 the counties of Jefferson and Berkley, parts of Old Virginia, were added to West Virginia, the thirty-fifth State.

NEVADA ADMITTED.—Nevada Territory was erected March 2, 1861, out of a strip from California, and that part of Utah Territory lying west of 38th meridian, though California has not yet made formal cession of the portion taken from her. The enabling act for the Territory was passed March 21, 1864, and on October 31, 1864, Nevada was admitted as a State. Her boundaries were much enlarged by act of May 5, 1866, which added some 18,326 square miles from Utah, and 12,225 square miles from Arizona, Territories.

NEBRASKA ACCEPTED.—The original Territory of Nebraska was erected May 30, 1854, out of that part of the public

domain lying between Minnesota and the Rocky Mountains and between 40° N. lat., and the British possessions. But as part of this Territory shared with Kansas the vicissitudes of the slavery excitement, the paring process, which ran through half a dozen acts of Congress, did not end till April 19, 1864, when an enabling act was passed for the present limits of Nebraska. On February 9, 1867, she was admitted as a State, the act to take effect March 1, 1867.

THE CENTENNIAL STATE.—The Territory of Colorado was created by act of February 28, 1861. It was one of a set then erected,* about which no mention of slavery was made in obedience to the terms of the Dred Scott decision. But there was then no need of such mention, for the South had given up its efforts to populate the debatable Territories and vote therein for slavery, and had entered upon secession as a remedy for evils it deemed otherwise incurable. Owing to mining, Colorado had a fluctuating population for many years. A State Constitution was framed in convention 1875–76, and accepted by the people July 1, 1876. The date of final admission was August 1, 1876.

TEARING DOWN.—The sentiment of the country respecting slavery had grown more divergent ever since the adoption of the Constitution. It was not at first sectional, but as time passed it took that shape. Then it got to be political as well. The Kansas affair (see Kansas), the division of the Democratic party in its convention of 1860, the evidence of a solidified and overwhelming anti-slavery sentiment supplied by the election of Mr. Lincoln, determined the slave States to no longer fight a losing battle for the maintenance and spread of their institution in the Union, but to secede and set up a central government of their own. Not doubting the wisdom of the step nor their ability to maintain it against the armed remonstrance they knew it was sure to provoke, they began the work of dismemberment in 1860. The war which followed, and its results, must be the historic test of both the wisdom and strength of their undertaking, as well as of the ability of the Union to maintain itself against this kind

* Including Nevada and Dakota.

of attack, and to adapt itself to the prevalent vital thought of each succeeding age.

The first open and direct step of dismemberment was taken by South Carolina in a convention called for the purpose. It was an ordinance of secession entitled "An Ordinance to dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her in the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America," and was to take effect Dec. 20, 1860. Before the end of January, 1861, similar ordinances had been passed by Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. Delegates from these States met at Montgomery, Alabama, in February, 1861, and formed a government called the "Confederate States of America," whose constitution closely resembled that which they had repudiated, save that it recognized slavery and prohibited protective tariffs. This Confederacy attracted other slave-holding States to it, to wit, Virginia, Tennessee, Arkansas and North Carolina. Thus eleven States were lost to the American Union and were in open war with it. It was the hardest and most direct blow ever administered to the Republic, because it came not from strangers but friends, not from without but within. The shock was fearful. For four years the grand monument of the fathers trembled to its base. For four years Republican institutions existed amid cloud and darkness, doubtful of clearing sky or auspicious sunrise. Those years ended, the result was failure of the Confederacy to maintain itself, the loss of slavery to its States, surrender of the attempt to wrench by force what reason could not win.

REBUILDING.—This was a delicate and somewhat tedious task. There was no standard by which to determine the relation of these seceded States to the National Union, now that they had failed to validate by force their ordinances of separation. But the Supreme Court furnished one in 1869, in the case of Texas *vs.* White. It was held that "the ordinances of secession were absolutely null," that the seceding States had no right to secede, had never been out of the Union, could not get out except through successful rebellion. That the utmost they had done was to put off their old State governments, and take on

others which fitted them for membership in their Confederacy, but unfitted them for the place a State must hold in the Union, under the amended Constitution. That, therefore, the Congress had the right to re-establish the relation of these seceded States to the Union. The terms fixed were the establishment of State Constitutions and forms of government in accord with the amended National Constitution, and full ratification of its provisions. Waiving the above questions, Tennessee had sought and secured readmission, July 24, 1866; Arkansas, June 22, 1868; North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia and Florida under act of June 25, 1868, but with the proviso that they must further subscribe to the act of 1867 regarding free citizenship. All did this promptly except Georgia. Virginia was readmitted Jan. 25, 1870; Mississippi, Feb. 23, 1870; Texas, March 30, 1870. Georgia held out for the right to exclude negroes from office, but finally opened her offices to all citizens, and was readmitted July 15, 1870. The Union was restored to its full strength and majesty—let it be said to a fuller strength and majesty than before.

THE TERRITORIES. UTAH.—Of those vast outlying acres not yet ready for States, but which have organizations and governments through Congress, Utah Territory was formed Sept. 9, 1850. It had then an immense area of 220,000 square miles, parts of which were spared to Colorado, Nebraska, Nevada and Wyoming, leaving its present boundaries and an area of 82,190 square miles. This Territory is the seat of Mormonism, and has on that account been conspicuous in our history.

NEW MEXICO.—The Territory of New Mexico was erected Sept. 9, 1850, the same day as Utah. It embraced lands ceded by Mexico and those included in the Gadsden purchase. By losing parts to Colorado and Arizona it has gotten its present boundaries and an area of 122,460 square miles.

WASHINGTON.—Six years before Oregon became a State her immense territory was severed, and the northern portion became Washington Territory, March 2, 1853. By losing the Territory of Idaho, and part of Nebraska, it got its present boundaries and an area of 66,880 square miles.

THE INDIAN COUNTRY.—The idea of setting apart a portion of our domain for the exclusive use of Indians was not more humanitarian than the result of a need for protection. Remains of brave tribes, many of them despairing, most of them at enmity with the whites, were scattered about in the States and Territories. To get rid of them by putting them on soil they could call their own, where they would not be in the white man's way and where they might, perchance, lift themselves a little toward the civilization which had surrounded them and driven them thither, was the object of an Indian Country. It was laid off geographically, but was not organized as a Territory, June 30, 1834. It was to embrace "all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the States of Missouri, Louisiana and the Territory of Arkansas." The extent of this country and the fact that no organization was provided for showed that the legislation which set it apart was not serious. Almost immediately the land began to be needed for other purposes, and there was nothing in the act setting it apart for Indian uses to raise even so much as a question about the impropriety or wrongfulness of dividing it up and appropriating it to other uses. So by various Acts of Congress this "Indian Country" was pared down to its present size and shape. The last act, that of May 30, 1854, organizing the Territory of Kansas, limited it to 69,830 square miles, with Missouri and Arkansas on its east, Kansas on its north, the Red River on its south and the 100th meridian on its west.

The "Indian Country" is a monument of national honor and disgrace; honor, because it is the first distinct recognition, on the part of our government, of a policy that savored of humanity; disgrace, because, until lately, it was the only formal announcement of such a policy, and because through lack of candor, through bad management, through failure to engraft on it any working system, it has never produced a satisfactory fruitage. It seems amazing that the Saxon, even when highly civilized and in the enjoyment of strong, reducing and redeeming institutions, should always have regarded the Indian problem as a difficult one. It never was difficult. The French mission-

ary and trader did not find it so. But then he chose to regard the Indian as a man, as endowed with feeling akin to his own, as owner of the soil, as susceptible to civilizing influences. Failure to so regard him is the secret of our neglect of the Indian, or rather of our ungenerous treatment of him. The idea of his extermination got an early hold on the colonist, and we seem never to have been able to outgrow this primitive and absurd notion. Modern humanitarians are more awake to the thought of making the Indian a part of our people. They feel the disgrace the nation has brought on itself, and the age, by its unwillingness or inability to devise a plan by which the Indian can be turned from his ways and made a factor in industry, art, science, government and morals. With a plan of government which will secure him schools, right to own separate farms, ownership of the proceeds thereof, immunity from disturbance by whites when he appears to be in the way, the franchise, privileges of citizenship, there is no doubt of his future peacefulness and usefulness.

DAKOTA.—Dakota Territory was erected by act of March 2, 1861, out of the Territory of Nebraska, and the remains of Minnesota Territory. It contained 310,867 square miles, but by losing Idaho, and by other adjustments, it was left with its present area of 147,700 square miles, July 25, 1868.

ARIZONA.—Arizona was made a Territory Feb. 24, 1863, out of lands ceded by Mexico, and embraced in the Territory of New Mexico. By act of May 5, 1866, she lost a part of her soil to Nevada. Present area 112,920 square miles.

IDAHO.—Idaho was formed from Washington Territory, March 3, 1863. Her area was 118,439 square miles, which was increased by various acquisitions to 326,373 square miles. Then by losses to Montana, Dakota and Wyoming, she got her present boundary, and area of 84,290 square miles, all of which was once in Washington Territory, formerly in Oregon Territory, and is a part of the Louisiana Purchase.

MONTANA—Was erected May 26, 1864, from northern Idaho. Her entire area of 145,310 square miles is part of the Louisiana Purchase.

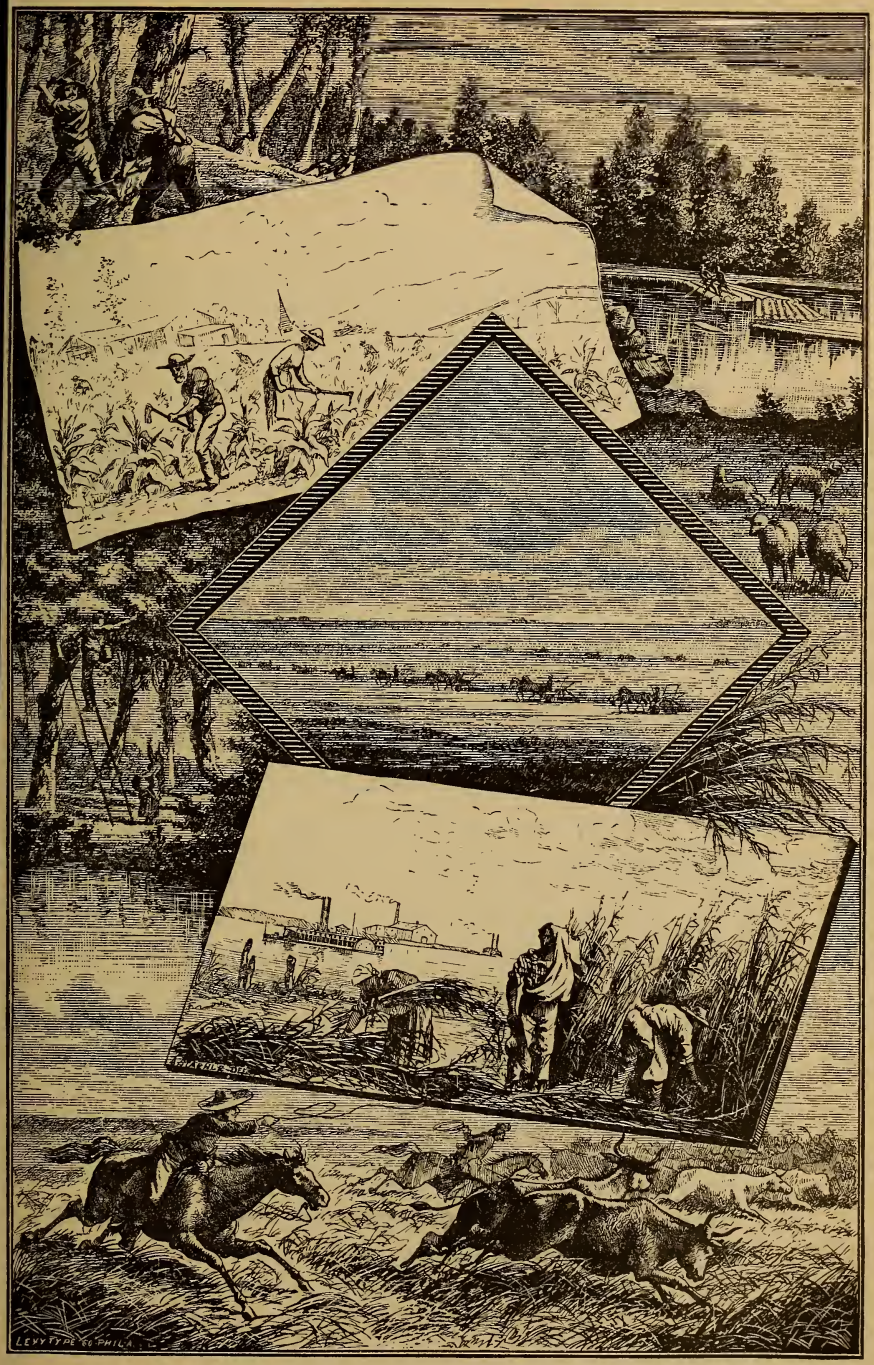
ALASKA ACQUISITION.—This territory is unorganized,

though efforts to secure a Territorial organization are now being made. It came into the possession of the United States May 28, 1867, from Russia (see ante). Our evidences of sovereignty there and the keeping of the peace depend on the presence of the military or naval branches of the government. Area 531,409 square miles; or as large as two States like Texas, twenty like Pennsylvania, or four hundred and thirty-four like Rhode Island.

WYOMING.—The last Territory formed was Wyoming, by act of July 25, 1868. Area 97,575 square miles. It embraces the remnants of more States and Territories than any other, being the last formed. It includes parts of the French and Mexican cessions, and parts of what were Oregon, Nebraska, Idaho, Dakota, Washington and Utah Territories.

ALL HARMONIOUS.—This brings all the Territory of the United States into definite subdivisions, and gives to each a form of government in harmony with the government of the whole. The States have constitutions, forms of government, and codes of laws, enacted by their people, and in accord with the federal constitution. The Territories have only statutory existence and definite metes and bounds. Their governments do not exist by voice of the people but by Act of Congress: they therefore are provisional and temporary, lasting till the people are sufficiently numerous * and unanimous to form acceptable State governments. As already seen, Alaska is held under a military or naval government.

* In general, the population ought to equal the last apportionment for a member of Congress. But where commercial or other high reasons exist, States are often admitted with a less quota.



AMERICAN PRODUCTS AND INDUSTRIES.

BUILDING INDUSTRIALLY;

OR,

ADVANTAGE AND RESOURCE.

WHAT we have learned of the dawn of our government and of its completed political shape may serve to invite further study of its structure and better knowledge of its real sources of vitality. Constitutions may be very complete, institutions may be very grand, but that which gives them solemnity and efficacy is resource.

That our institutions do promote national peace, encourage individual and corporate enterprise, favor the growth of wealth and morals, contribute to that political and material development which may be said to be peculiar to the United States, none will deny. But outside of them we have a country whose grandeur is phenomenal. Without lowering our pride of institution, weakening our patriotism, or departing in any large degree from exact truth, it may be said that any constitutional form of government which secured freedom of action in dealing with our practically inexhaustible resources and measureless advantages, among which may be mentioned our mineral treasures, fruitful soil, beneficent climate and unexampled geographic situation, would have made of the United States a home filled with plenty and comfort, and one equally attractive to the seekers of fortune from other parts of the globe.

While, therefore, we very properly dispose ourselves to study of the principles of our government, and seek to know their germs and results, we cannot know ourselves entirely till we learn something of our material side. And, rest assured, there is as much in that side to delight the understanding, encourage pertinent inquiry, stimulate to admiration, and contribute to in-

telligent citizenship, as in any other. Indeed, we do not hesitate to say that in a physical or material sense, the United States are a more wonderful study, their endowment, so to speak, more superb by contrast, their resource more exceptional and blessed than in a strictly political or institutional sense.

We do not say this for the purpose of diminishing the importance of any part of our wonderful history, but rather to inspire inquiry into a portion which, because it cannot be spiritedly presented, and appeals to no passion, is very apt to be neglected. All should be read together, for they are parts of a majestic picture, any one of which being absent the whole is impaired.

CLIMATE.—The United States proper is entirely within the north temperate zone. But while this is so it has a greater variety of climate than any other single country. One may select a residence with the temperature of Moscow or Calcutta, for its northern boundary is but 17½° from the frigid zone, and its southern but 1½° from the torrid zone. Few countries equal it in breadth north and south, and fewer still in length east and west. These facts, added to wonderful differences of elevation and to its land and water conformations, heighten the variety of climate, making it genial here and severe there, but nowhere uninviting or deadly, rather everywhere conducive to the growth of a highly civilized community—cold enough to make a home necessary, warm enough to encourage husbandry.

The scientific test of climate is its mean annual temperature. This is the average temperature of a place as ascertained from all the observations made in a year. It runs from 72° Fahrenheit at St. Augustine or New Orleans to 36° on the high plains of Minnesota, or 43° in Maine, and drops into a range of from 51° at Puget Sound to 62° at San Diego, Cal. Our Atlantic coast temperature is uniformly much lower than that of the same latitudes in Europe, the difference being in some instances equivalent to as much as 10° of latitude.

Inland the four mountain ranges, Appalachian in the east and Rocky Mountains, Sierra Nevada and Cascade ranges in the west, have a wonderful effect on our climate. While the long slopes of these mountains and the extensive valleys between are

vast reservoirs of heat, they are tempered by the proximity of these cool, wooded and often snow-capped heights to an extent that keeps them within the limit of temperate.

Moisture affects climate. The rainfall of the Atlantic coast is very uniform, being 42 inches annually in New England, and increasing gradually to 63 inches in Florida. So the distribution of heat is far more uniform in this portion of the United States than in any other. The Mississippi valley, as high up as St. Louis, is within the influence of south and southwesterly winds (supposably gulf trade winds), which give a heavy rainfall to the Southern States, and gradually decreases to the north. But the whole country being practically within the region of variable winds, there is quite a variety of moisture, and, in so far as climate depends upon it, an equal variety of climate. A remarkable feature of our climate is that of the extreme Northwest, which is affected by the Pacific waters. A region of comparative mildness, covering many degrees of latitude, extends inland from the Puget Sound section, and its genial influence is not lost till it passes to the head waters of our great lakes.

This wonderful variety of temperate climate is one of our greatest natural advantages and most pleasing attractions. It consults the health, habit and taste of every citizen, and conduces to an abundance of soil products unsurpassed by any other nation.

VEGETATION.—Vegetation affects climate and yet depends on it. All east of the Mississippi is a region of forest and prairie vegetation. Westward, and especially northwestward, the region is prairie, running into arid uplands. In the northern part of the first region the evergreens predominate, as pine, spruce and hemlock. In the middle part, say at 38° to 42° lat., the evergreens give way to oak, elm, ash, maple, chestnut, walnut, hickory, and other deciduous trees. Thence southward to the gulf evergreens of another class appear, giving fame to southern forests as the best in the world for live oak and pitch pine. The region west of the Mississippi, running into uplands, bears indigenously only grass and herb plants, though it will support forests if properly planted. It is treeless by nature because the

prevailing winds are westerly and the ranges of mountains tap the Pacific evaporations before they can be borne so far inland. Art is striving to overcome this obstacle to forest growth.

Beyond are the great plains and elevated plateaus of the Cordilleras, with still less humidity of atmosphere, with an alkaline and comparatively barren soil, and with treeless embellishment, save as some kindly bottom or protecting recess invites growth. West and northwest of the alkali plains the region is again, in general, forest-bearing, some of the growth being gigantic and dense, and mostly of pine and fir. The Pacific slopes have both peculiar vegetation and climate. The winters are mild, short and rainy, and the summers dry. They are an American reproduction of the Mediterranean slopes of France and Italy.

POPULATION.—The population of the United States has increased in the following rapid ratio:

		Per cent. of increase.			Per cent. of increase.
1790.....	3,929,214		1840.....	17,069,453	32.52
1800.....	5,308,483	35.1	1850.....	23,191,876	35.83
1810.....	7,239,881	36.38	1860.....	31,443,321	35.11
1820.....	9,633,822	33.06	1870.....	38,558,371	22.65
1830.....	12,866,020	32.51	1880.....	50,155,783	30.08

Subdivided and allotted the following appears:

Persons.....	50,155,783	Families to a sq. mile.....	3.43
Area in sq. miles (omitting Alaska).....	2,970,000	Dwellings to a sq. mile.....	3.02
Families.....	9,945,916	Acres to a person.....	37.01
Dwellings.....	8,955,812	Acres to a family.....	186.62
Persons to a sq. mile.....	17.29	Persons to a dwelling.....	5.60
		Persons to a family.....	5.04

The rank of the United States may be better seen thus:

Countries.	Population.	Sq. miles.	Inhabitants to Sq. mile.
Chinese Empire.....	435,000,000 Est.	4,000,000	109
British India.....	250,000,000	800,000	312
Russian Empire.....	98,000,000	8,500,000	11
United States.....	50,000,000	3,500,000	14
Germany.....	45,000,000	208,000	216
Austria.....	40,000,000	240,000	166
France.....	38,000,000	204,000	186
Great Britain and Ireland...	35,000,000	121,000	290
Japan.....	36,000,000	146,000	246
Turkey.....	33,000,000	1,800,000	18
Italy.....	27,000,000	113,000	239
Spain.....	17,000,000	183,000	93

From which it appears that the United States ranks as the fourth country in population, British India being considered as

a part of Great Britain. It will be seen also that, except Russia, it is the thinnest populated of the great nations. The most densely populated country is Belgium, its 11,373 square miles supporting a population of 5,500,000, or about 480 to the square mile.

The rapidity of increase in our population is marvellous. It has held to a decennial average of over 30 per cent., or a grand total of over 1200 per cent. on the census of 1790. This rate is from five to seven times that of Great Britain, Russia or France. It is attributable to births or natural increase, and somewhat to territorial acquisition.

But immigration has contributed more than any other factor to our wonderful rate of increase in population. There are no returns of immigrant arrivals prior to 1820, but in that year the arrivals were 8,385; in 1830, 23,322; in 1840, 84,066; in 1850, 369,980. These beginning figures of each decade show that the intermediate years witnessed a rapid increase of arrivals. In 1854 the arrivals reached the hitherto unprecedented number of 427,833. From that time till 1860 they fell off each year, the arrivals then being only 153,640. This was owing to the panic of 1857. During 1861 the arrivals were 91,920, and in 1862 about the same. In 1863 they were 176,282, and in 1864, 193,416. These were the years of the civil war. From that time on they arose each year till 1873, when they were 437,004. Then came the panic of 1873, and there was an annual falling off till 1878, when they were 138,469. Then there was a rebound, and in 1881 the figures were 669,431; in 1882, 712,544; in 1883, 560,196, an average for the three years of over 600,000 a year. These figures are curious as showing that our prosperity is a direct invitation to immigration. They are also significant as pointing to the constancy and strength of this element of increase in our population. The total immigration since 1790 exceeds 11,000,000 persons, and the number of foreigners in our midst in 1880 as shown by the census was 6,679,943.

Assuming that the value of each immigrant is $800, the total of 11,000,000 added to our population from time to time has directly increased the wealth of the country by the stupendous sum of $8,800,000,000.

For the past three years foreign countries contributed to our population as follows:

	1881.	1882.	1883.
G't Britain & Ireland	153,718	163,355	162,415
Germany ..	210,485	229,996	180,812
Austria....	21,109	15,950	11,032
Italy.....	15,387	29,317	29,446
Norway....	22,705	26,188	19,704
Sweden....	49,760	58,739	28,748
Canada....	102,922	83,074	62,218
All other countries	93,345	105,925	65,821
	669,431	712,544	560,196

This proportion of the respective nationalities does not hold in all the past. All-in-all Great Britain and Ireland, chiefly through Ireland, has been the largest contributor. But of late years the German tide has been flowing hitherward the strongest; not strong enough however to catch up with the British tide, for we find that of our 6,679,943 foreign-born population in 1880, 2,772,169 were from Great Britain and Ireland, and 1,966,742 from the German Empire.

Looking back along the line of causes which have led to this great immigration, we find first the attractiveness of our institutions. They offer in general larger political freedom, and in business men are not tied down by iron-clad caste. Excellence and cheapness of land form another cause. The opening of the then Northwest invited a heavy stream of immigration, beginning with 1825. This stream was accelerated in 1832, and for a few years afterwards by troubles in Europe. The loss of the potato crop in Ireland in 1847 perceptibly increased the inflow. Now the new Northwest with its splendid wheat-fields offers fresh attractions. The certainty of finding labor, higher pay for the same than abroad, equality of citizenship, suffrage after five years' residence, and various causes which will readily occur to the reader, have operated and will operate as invitations to foreigners to come and dwell with us.

Many times during our history the question of immigration has agitated the popular mind, and once it took political shape, giving rise to the American or Know-Nothing party, in or about 1844. It is true that the quality of immigrants has not at all times been of the best, and their number has sometimes been startling. But our traditions have ever favored their coming, except in the shape of absolute criminals and paupers. If in-

dustrious and frugal they can never be objectionable; and respecting such, it is safe to say, "let them come just as fast as the country can assimilate them." The objection to the native American idea was that it drew no line of distinction between a profitable and profitless immigrant. Many who would be profitable are tempted to stop in the cities, where they become so clannish as to prevent assimilation, or quickly augment the criminal classes. This is one of the wrongs of liberty, but its corrective is not in locking our doors to every one that knocks.

The voting population of the United States, under the census of 1880, appears approximately as follows:

MALES OVER TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF AGE.

Native Whites.	Foreign-born.	Colored, Chinese, Japanese and Civilized Indians.	Total.
8,270,518	3,072,487	1,487,344	12,830,349

The number of votes actually polled in the Presidential election of 1880 was 9,204,428. Therefore one-fourth of the males over twenty-one years of age did not vote.

The natural militia of the United States, that is, all between the ages of eighteen and forty-four, is 10,231,239. This is our defensive or offensive contingent. From such a number many magnificent armies could be recruited.

The colored population of the United States was, in 1880, 6,580,793. They are chiefly in the Southern States, as will be seen in the population tables of the respective States. Since the abolition of slavery they rank as citizens, but on account of color they are productive of problems. Their natural increase is set down as greater in proportion than that of the whites. Accepting this as true, and allowing that with equal opportunities they will, in time, become as intelligent, persevering and thrifty, they must rise to great industrial importance in a zone of our country which seems peculiarly fitted for them by reason of its climate and production.

In all other respects nationalities will blend and disappear in our domains, and we shall have the proud distinction of having

built the world into our population, inspired it with love of free institutions, awakened in it new thoughts of man's capacity for improvement, and given it full faith in his ability to govern himself without the interposition of jeweled crown or cruel sceptre. What we shall then be in language, it is not hard to tell. An adequate English will be the common speech, rich in commercial, industrial and scientific phrases, strong and apt for conversation, direct for argument, and facile for pathos, poetry and love. What we shall be physically and in the elements of manhood, may be surmised from what we are already permitted to see. There is no cross under our free institutions, on our fruitful soil, and amid our grand opportunities, between German, English, Scotch, Irish, Swede, Frank, Swiss, Italian, Russian, or what not, that does not result in a better American than the original. The mixing of bloods, tempers, geniuses, and all constitutional qualities, under the auspices here existent, must as surely produce a stronger, braver and more catholic man as did a blending of similar qualities on the plains of Normandy.

OCCUPATIONS.—The people of the United States are divided, for statistical purposes, into four great classes of occupations, viz.: Agriculture, Professional and Personal Services, Trade and Transportation, and Manufactures, which last includes mechanical and mining industries. The showing for each is as follows:

	All Persons.	Males.	Females.
Agriculture	7,670,493	7,075,983	594,510
Professional and Personal Services	4,074,238	2,712,943	1,361,295
Trade and Transportation	1,810,256	1,750,892	59,364
Manufacturing, Mechanical and Mining	3,837,112	3,205,124	631,988
Total	17,392,099	14,744,942	2,647,157

From this it will seen that 34.68 per cent. of our population is engaged in gainful occupation. In 1870 the proportion so engaged was 32.43 per cent. of the population, the entire number then being 12,505,923. We are, therefore, growing more industrious. It will be seen too that, so far as the numbers employed indicate, we are as yet essentially an agricultural people,

though the other occupations show a greater relative increase of persons engaged during the past ten years.

AGRICULTURE.—This branch of industry finds a natural home in the United States. It has ever been a great and constant contributor to our national wealth and prosperity, and the country's mainstay in time of depression or war. Its growth has been phenomenal. A propitious climate and inviting soil have encouraged native energy, and held out perpetual inducement to foreigners. The government has always fostered this industry, regarding it as the safest in point of investment and the best criterion of permanent progress. It has thrown open its public lands to agricultural settlers at nominal figures, and has created a Department of Agriculture whence may flow improved seeds, and such information as will keep our farming communities abreast of the world.

It is a regretable fact that agriculture in the United States has not been carried on as an exact study. This is attributable to the excellent native qualities of the soil, to the kindliness of the climate, and to that rush after fresh landed possession so characteristic of the American. It may be said that the time has not yet arrived, especially in the newer States, which is to admonish the agriculturist against hard usage of the soil, and teach him that annual treasures can be gathered from it only at the expense of scientific care. The native dignity and independence of agricultural life are appreciated by all, but not as they will be when the life comes to involve the pleasures of study into soil resource and plant growth, and when its surroundings shall be an atmosphere of intelligent inquiry and exalted experiment.

Still we look in vain for anything like our rapid agricultural development among other nations. Australia is the nearest approach to it, yet far behind. Over seven millions of our people are helping to swell the pages of that brilliant history. Their genius and earnestness are attested by the introduction of labor-saving machines and high-grade implements, which make our agricultural system distinctive among the nations of the world. Yet, with all this, there crops out the disparaging fact

that the average of cereal products per acre is not increasing, but rather diminishing. This is not complimentary to the system nor to the patron of husbandry. It is evidence of a wear and tear of soil, which its virgin character will not long excuse. It is further the completest argument in the world in favor of immediate change from soil murder to soil culture. To break in wild prairie, to level primeval forest, to plow, sow, and reap, to revel in a wealth of golden product, these must all come under agriculture, but how much better if they embraced also the intelligent care and quiet fitness of things involved in the term tillage.

Agriculture is woven so intimately with our prosperity that our annual crops are the best possible gauge of business feeling. Grain and cotton are as barometric as gold and stocks. Deprecating always a speculative tendency, it is yet a happy thing that a nation with so many resources is thus compelled to graduate its prosperity by an industry so noble as agriculture, and so helpful; so productive of good homes for the people, so conducive to freedom and health, so promotive of morals, and sturdy citizenship.

CORN.—This is the American crop, the maize of the Indian, not the *corn* of Egypt. It was what Raleigh studied among the tribes of North Carolina, and what the Puritan and Cavalier learned to rely on when other food failed. It is a widely distributed crop, a leading food for man and beast, and a supply for a large and increasing foreign demand. But though raised, more or less, in all the States, the Lake States have no surplus, the South has to buy of the West, and only nine of the States, including Kentucky and Tennessee, bordering on the Ohio and Missouri Rivers, have corn for export. The distribution of the crop of 1881 gives at a glance the corn areas of the country and their importance.

	Bushels.		Bushels.
New England States....	7,476,000	Central Western States..	737,759,000
Middle States.....	65,453,000	Lake States (Michigan,	
Southern States.....	217,152,000	Wis. and Minn.).....	70,360,000
Kentucky and Tennessee	87,856,000	Pacific States and Terr's.	8,860,000

The Central Western States are therefore the true corn areas

of the country. Now notice their remarkable development in the line of this product.

	1849. Bushels.	1859. Bushels.	1869. Bushels.	1879. Bushels.
Ohio.....	50,078,695	73,543.190	67,501,144	111,877,124
Indiana...	52,964,363	71,588,919	51,094,538	115,482,300
Illinois...	57,646,984	115,174,777	129,921,395	325,792,481
Iowa	8,656,799	42,410,686	68,935,065	275,024,247
Missouri..	36,214,537	72,892,157	66,034,075	202,485,723
Kansas....	.....	6,150,727	17,025,525	105,729,325
Nebraska .	.....	1,482,080	4,736,710	65,450,135
	215,561,378	383,242,536	405,248,452	1,201,841,335

The next table we present is full of wonders. It shows a gradual lowering of the average yield per acre, an increase in the price per bushel, a falling off in the profit per acre, yet a steady and surprising growth of acreage and bushels. In order to make the view more valuable, it is extended over eleven years.

Years.	Production.	Acres.	Value.	Value per Bush.	Yield per Acre.	Value. per Acre.
			$	Cents.	Bushels.	$
1871	991,898,000	34,091,137	478,275,900	48.2	29.1	14.02
1872	1,092,719,000	35,526,835	435,149,290	39.8	30.7	12.24
1873	932,274,000	39,197,148	447,183,020	48.0	23.8	11.41
1874	850,148,500	41,036,918	550,043,080	64.7	20.7	13.40
1875	1,321,069,000	44,841,371	555,445,930	42.0	29.4	12.38
1876	1,283,827,500	49,033,364	475,491,210	37.0	26.1	9.69
1877	1,342,558,000	50,369,113	480,643,400	35.8	26.6	9.54
1878	1,388,218,750	51,585,000	441,153,405	31.8	26.9	8.55
1879	1,547,901,790	53,085,450	580,486,217	37.5	29.2	10.93
1880	1,717,434,543	62,317,842	679,714,499	39.6	27.6	10.91
1881	1,194,916,000	64,262,025	759,482,170	63.6	18.6	11.82
Total...	13,662,965,083	525,346,204	5,883,068,121			
Annual Average..	1,242,087,735	47,758,746	534,824,375	43.1	26	11.20

Crop for 1883, estimated, 1,637,790,000 bushels, being the largest on record, except 1880.

In 1849 three-tenths of the corn crop was grown in the Atlantic States, in 1879 but a little over one-tenth. Thus fast has the corn area marched westward and northward. We say northward, for in 1849 the Southern States produced fifty-nine per cent. of the crop. By 1859, the Northern States had exchanged positions with the South. For several years the average product per capita has been over thirty bushels, and there has been a surplus for export averaging about six per cent. of the total product. The total export of corn and corn-meal for 1881 was

93,650,000 bushels, valued at $51,973,000, out of a total product of 1,194,916,000 bushels, valued at $759,483,000.

WHEAT.—The development of wheat culture has been almost as wonderful as that of corn, but it has been encouraged much more than corn by a foreign demand. The value of wheat turns on the combined production of Europe, Asia, Australia and America. Three to four-tenths of our wheat goes abroad in years of European scarcity, the chief market being England and other manufacturing countries of Europe. Russia was for a long time a leading competitor of America in the wheat markets of Europe, but under a determined English policy India and Australia have become formidable rivals. The wheat of neither of these countries is, however, comparable in quality with that of America and Russia.

Wheat, like corn, is grown in all the States and Territories, but it also has its favorite areas. The New England States grow barely enough for a three weeks' supply of their population. The Middle States grow about seven-tenths of what they consume, and so do the Southern States. The States bordering on the Ohio, those lying in the valley of the Missouri, and the Pacific States, are the true wheat areas of the country.

The average wheat acreage of the country for eleven years, beginning with 1871, has been 28,052,480 acres, as against 47,758,746 for corn. For the same years the average wheat crop has been 342,224,776 bushels, valued at $359,654,528. The average price per bushel has been $1.05.1, the average yield per acre 12.2 bushels, and the average yield per acre in dollars $12.82. The largest crop on record was that of 1880, 498,549,868 bushels. The crop of 1883 was 426,000,000 bushels.

The average amount of wheat consumed in a year by one of our inhabitants is 4⅔ bushels, or a full barrel of flower. It therefore takes 233,000,000 bushels to supply our 50,000,000 people for a year, to which must be added 50,000,000 bushels for seed. The largest export of wheat ever made in one year was in 1880, 186,321,214 bushels, but the average export for the last five years has been 145,274,678 bushels, valued at $187,000,000 yearly. The export of wheat contains a lesson on the

value of agriculture to a nation which ought to be learned by heart and never forgotten. For years before the civil war wheat exports were only nominal. The country depended largely on its cotton exports to pay for its imports. The war cut that source of pay off entirely. Yet the situation was such that our imports had to be greatly increased. It was a ruinous business unless something should arise to fill the place of cotton and meet the necessarily heavy imports. Wheat came up to fill the bill, for wheat was gold. During those four years of exhaustion at home, and with hundreds of thousands of producers in the ranks of consumers, the average annual export of wheat was 50,000,000 bushels. For the subsequent five years the annual export averaged only 20,000,000 bushels. This industry thus stepped timely into the breach and proved a resource in emergency which gladdened the heart of the nation.

OATS AND OTHER GRAINS.—The oats areas of the country are less extended than wheat, and lie within the wheat areas. The average acreage for eleven years has been 12,272,309 acres a year, with an annual average of 339,227,342 bushels, valued at $122,459,823, the average per acre being 27.6 bushels, or $9.98, at an average of 36.1 cents per bushel. It is not a favorite grain, except as its planting gives opportunity for rotation of crops, though in seasons of scarcity it comes into prominence as a substitute for corn.

Barley areas are confined chiefly to the northern tiers of States and to the Pacific coast. The average acreage for eleven years has been 1,635,953 acres a year, with an annual product of 36,097,982 bushels, valued at $26,414,823. The annual crop falls behind the demand some 6,000,000 bushels. Though the acreage has increased as fast in proportion as that of wheat, the supply has never caught up with the demand occasioned by increased manufacture of beer.

Rye areas are general, but it is chiefly grown in Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa. The average acreage per year for eleven years has been 1,402,835, with an annual average product of 19,489,275 bushels, valued at $14,066,430. The average price per bushel for the same time has been 72.2 cents and the yield per acre 13.9 bushels.

The chief buckwheat areas are in New York and Pennsylvania, though it is grown all over the country to the extent of 10,000,000 bushels a year.

These make what are known as the cereal products of the country. We now group them for the last four censuses as the best means of showing at a glance our advance in their production. The fifth column is added as a matter of curiosity. It is the estimate of the Department of Agriculture for the crops of 1882, which was satisfactorily close.

Census.	Corn.	Wheat.	Oats.	Barley.	Rye.	Buckwheat.
1850.....	592,071,104	100,485,944	146,584,179	5,167,015	14,188,813	8,956,912
1860.....	838,792,742	173,104,924	172,643,185	15,825,898	21,101,580	17,571,818
1870.....	760,944,549	287,745,626	282,107,157	29,761,305	16,718,735	9,821,721
1880.....1,754,861,535		459,479,505	407,858,999	44,113,495	19,831,595	11,817,327
Est. Dep. Ag. for 1882.....1,625,000,000		510,000,000	470,000,000	45,000,000	20,000,000	12,000,000

Thus in 1860 the total cereal product of the country was, in round numbers, 1,230,000,000 bushels; in 1880 2,700,000,000 bushels, an increase of over 100 per cent. in twenty years. During the same time the value of farms increased from $6,000,000,000 to $10,000,000,000.

HAY.—This humbler crop than golden wheat or corn is the most valuable in the country. By this we do not mean that the quantity actually cut and housed is more valuable than the corn product, but that this quantity taken in connection with grass used for pasture, upon which depends an overwhelming proportion of the growth in flesh of all food and draught animals, becomes by far the most valuable. Yet even hay proper ranks, of late years, next to corn in value, and as an agricultural product it has kept pace with the growth of others. The hay areas are general, but the largest crops are in the corn and wheat sections where rotation in culture has become necessary. The average acreage of hay for eleven years has been 24,392,660 acres; average product per year, 29,800,281 tons; average annual value, $335,212,062; average value per ton, $11.25; average yield per acre, 1.22 tons; average value per acre, $13.74. Yield as given in census of 1880, 35,205,712 tons.

POTATOES.—Though a native vegetable and of almost as much importance, as a food product, as wheat or corn, and though its areas are general, the potato crop is the least certain

of all, and its culture is hardly beyond mere guesswork. The yearly average acreage for eleven years has been 1,608,974 acres, yielding 135,491,019 bushels, valued at $76,745,679. The value per bushel has been 56.1 cents; the yield per acre, 84.2 bushels; the value per acre, $47.08. Though the value per bushel has steadily risen from 59 cents in 1871 to 91 cents in 1881, the yield per acre has shown no corresponding increase, while the value per acre has decreased from $58 to $48. The acreage for 1881 was 2,041,670 acres, as against 1,220,912 acres for 1871, while the yield for 1881 (it was a disastrous potato year and we had to import from Canada, Ireland and Scotland) was only 109,145,494 bushels, as against 120,461,100 bushels for 1871.

RICE.—This is a sub-tropical plant, and its culture depends on great quantities of moisture. Indeed, it is hardly a possible crop beyond the line of lands which can be overflowed, of which there is an abundance on the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, and along the Mississippi and other streams which empty sluggishly into the Gulf. It was early introduced into Virginia and the Carolinas, and in 1840 the total crop was 80,841,000 pounds. Improved cultivation gave in 1850 a crop of 215,312,710 pounds, and in 1860, 187,167,032 pounds. During the civil war the cultivation was greatly neglected, and in 1870 it had only risen to 73,635,021 pounds, and in 1879 to 110,131,373 pounds. In 1860 rice was an export to the extent of $2,500,000. At present the home supply does not meet the demand.

SUGAR-CANE.—The profitable sugar-cane area of the country is, thus far, limited to the region about the lower waters of the Mississippi, and even there it is planted annually. In the West Indies it is a perennial plant. Its growth has not kept pace with that of other agricultural products, and, as we shall see, the United States ranks very low in the list of sugar-producing nations. It is quite certain that profitable cane-areas exist outside of those found in Louisiana, for instance, in all the Gulf States, and it is not improbable that we shall ere long, with better adaptation of labor, employment of improved machinery, and closer attention to the science of culture, take higher rank

as a sugar-producing country. We are the largest sugar and molasses consumers in the world, in proportion to our population, and have always been willing to pay dearly for these prime articles.

The sugar product of the country has never exceeded 13 per cent. of the amount consumed, nor the molasses product 21 per cent. At this time we are importing an annual average of $80,000,000 worth of sugar and molasses, and paying thereon a duty nearly equal to half that amount. This condition of affairs is directly encouraging to fresh development of the industry.

Louisiana, which grows 95 per cent. of our sugar product, raised 30,000 hogsheads in 1823. The amount fluctuated greatly each year since, but showed, on the whole, an increase up to 1853, when the crop was 449,324 hogsheads. There was then a general decline to an annual average of some 250,000 hogsheads, till the great crop of 1861 gave 459,410 hogsheads. Since then the falling off has been to an average scarcely in excess of 100,000 hogsheads annually. The crop of 1879 (census crop) was 178,872 hogsheads and 16,573,273 gallons of molasses, grown from 227,776 acres.

Our methods of sugar culture have been such as to keep the product down to very low figures. It has never raised the price of sugar lands to a higher average than $20 to $25 per acre, nor the yield per acre to over 2,000 pounds for any long term of years. The average in the West Indies runs from 3,000 to 5,000 pounds per acre, and it has been quoted as high as 7,000 pounds in the East Indies. Even after the cane is harvested in this country, it is estimated that unskillful handling results in a loss of 40 per cent. of the saccharine matter. With perfect farming appliances and good agricultural methods, with a division of the unwieldy sugar estates into smaller farms, and better protection against overflows, it is thought that every acre of sugar land can be made to yield 60,000 pounds of cane, which would give 5,000 pounds of sugar and 3,500 pounds of molasses, the former being worth 8 cents per pound and the latter 4 cents per pound. Here is a product equal to $540 per

acre, which, less $200 per acre for culture, leaves a net profit of $340. Surely this is an invitation to investment and improved methods of industry which cannot long escape proverbial American enterprise, and must change the fact that our annual sugar product does not rank by 63 per cent. as high as in 1860.

Much thought has lately been given to the growth of Sorghum, which is hardier than sugar-cane and susceptible of cultivation in our highest latitudes. Experiments have led, thus far, to the establishment of three factories which have succeeded in reducing the juices of this cane to a fine grade of sugar, at a profit. Many suppose that a supply equal to the demand can be reached, ere long, by this culture. The areas of Sorghum cane-growing are gradually enlarging, but the date of tedious and costly experiment with it has not yet passed. A more seductive enterprise is that of beet sugar culture. In this line the experiments of other nations, as Germany, France, Russia, Belgium and Holland, have resulted in success and answer as encouragements. France supplies her own demand, by producing annually a crop equal to 500,000 tons of beet sugar. One factory in California has been making beet sugar for three years at a profit. Another in Maine made over a million pounds a year for three years, but had to suspend because the farmers were not sufficiently skilled in raising the roots, though it was found that an average of ten tons per acre could be reached, worth $5 to $6 per ton.

Within a comparatively short period, Continental Europe has carried the beet sugar production up to and beyond a supply, and an excess of 95,000 tons is computed for 1884. Even Russia is said to raise within 15,000 tons of her own supply.

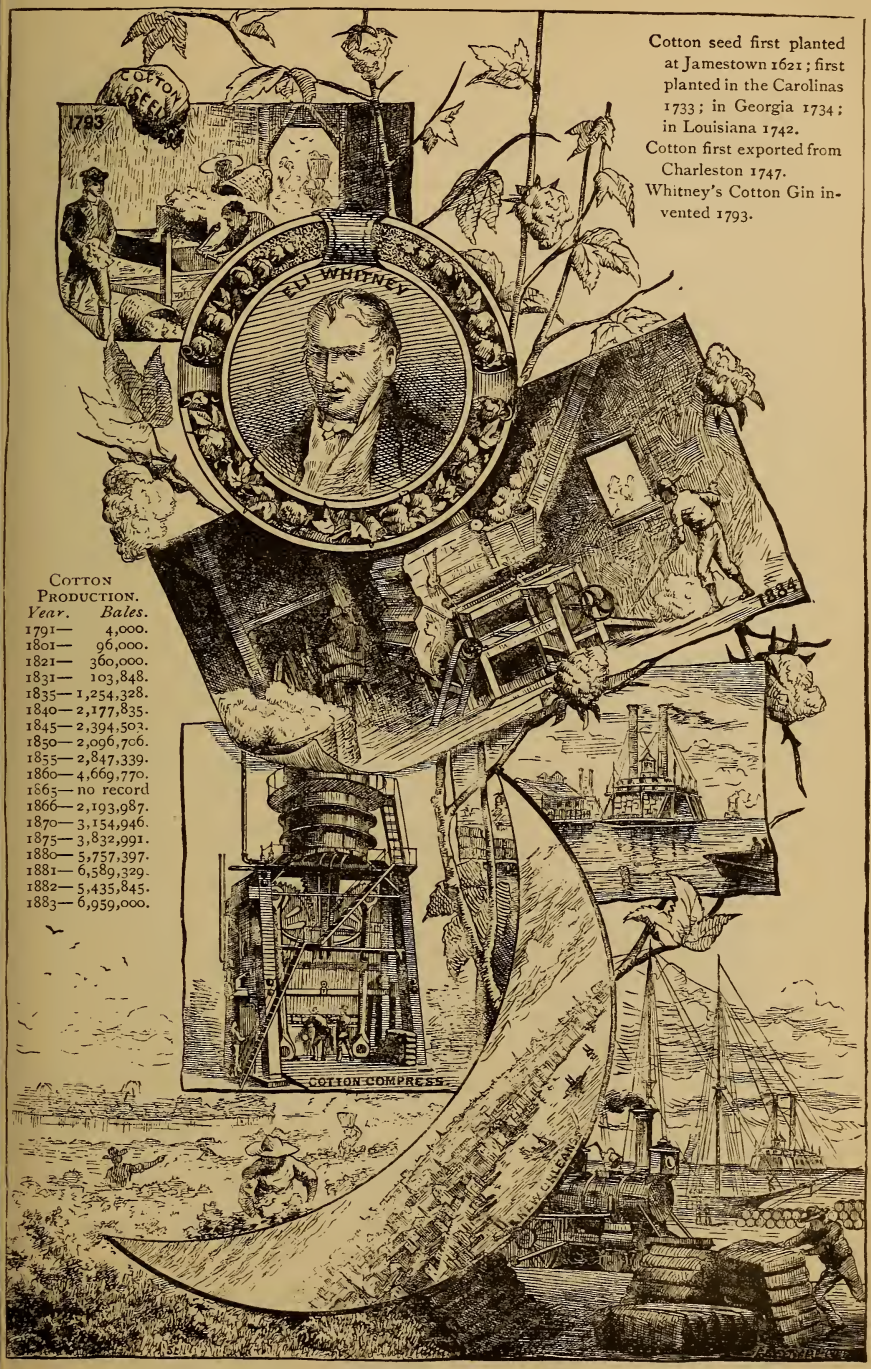
In addition to our home supply and that derived from the West Indies and Sandwich Islands, most of the latter going into the Pacific States, we imported of this European beet sugar in 1880, 2,353 tons; in 1881, 5,941 tons; in 1882, 7,204 tons; and in 1883, 45,889 tons. Here are figures which show a rapid growth of trade in this product, much to our detriment. It is impossible to tell what particular line of sugar product will be the successful one in the future. All are promising, all profitable.

That one will soon be hit upon and pursued with our characteristic energy, we feel sure. It cannot be that America shall long lag in this respect. It would be in the nature of a reproach if, with a resource of land and climate for this industry equal to any other country, her energy should finally fail in its grasp.

COTTON.—Cotton seed was first planted at Jamestown in 1621, and the "cotton wool" of the colonial garden was long a matter of curiosity and discussion here and in England. In an experimental way its culture extended at first northward rather than southward. Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware and Pennsylvania all tried the growing of it, and in 1776 it was said that the crop secured in favorable places around Philadelphia was equal to the demand; which, of course, was not saying much, as wool was the chief article of clothing.

Its trial in the Carolinas and Georgia in 1733–34, and in Louisiana in 1742, directed attention to it as a possible Southern staple, valuable alike as an article of clothing at home and as a leading export. It was not only climatically at home there, but the soil was then virgin, and the labor supposed to be of a kind best fitted for its culture, though subsequent facts have led to another conclusion.

Charleston exported several bags of cotton in 1747. In 1770 three bales were exported from New York, four from Virginia and Maryland, and three barrels from North Carolina. The crop of 1791 was estimated at 2,000,000 pounds, and then it began to dawn that a staple was at our command which would in time largely affect commerce and the welfare of nations. In 1795 the few American cotton mills imported for their use 4,107,000 pounds, though our exports for that year were 6,276,300 pounds. In 1801 the production was estimated at 48,000,000, 21,000,000 of which were exported. In 1810 the export rose to 94,000,000 pounds, and in 1813, owing to the war, fell off to 19,400,000 pounds. Then the situation was such as to prove that England virtually commanded our cotton market, for the price was only 12 cents a pound at home while there it ran from 30 to 40 cents. This was further shown after the peace of 1815, for in 1821 our estimated crop was 180,000,000 pounds; 124,-



Cotton seed first planted at Jamestown 1621; first planted in the Carolinas 1733; in Georgia 1734; in Louisiana 1742.
Cotton first exported from Charleston 1747.
Whitney's Cotton Gin invented 1793.

COTTON PRODUCTION.

Year.	*Bales.*
1791—	4,000.
1801—	96,000.
1821—	360,000.
1831—	103,848.
1835—	1,254,328.
1840—	2,177,835.
1845—	2,394,503.
1850—	2,096,706.
1855—	2,847,339.
1860—	4,669,770.
1865—	no record
1866—	2,193,987.
1870—	3,154,946.
1875—	3,832,991.
1880—	5,757,397.
1881—	6,589,329.
1882—	5,435,845.
1883—	6,959,000.

COTTON INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

893,000 of which was exported. In 1825 the crop had grown to 255,000,000 pounds, or 580,000 bales. From that time till 1860 the acreage and annual yield largely increased. The figures for that year are 4,669,770 bales of 440* pounds each. This was the greatest crop of the country prior to the civil war.

From the above it will be seen that cotton came into importance with the invention of Whitney's Cotton Gin in 1793. Its production grew rapidly, and reached its climax, under the system of slave labor, between 1850 and 1860, during which decade the average annual yield was in excess of 3,000,000 bales. So much did it absorb agricultural attention that during that decade there was a marked decrease in the other three Southern staples, viz., sugar, rice and tobacco.

From 1862 to '65 there are no records of cotton production, but in 1866, under free labor, the product was 2,193,987 bales. There was a steady annual increase of these figures till in 1878 the crop was 4,811,265 bales, or larger than the greatest crop under the old system. Nor did the increase stop. If anything it has grown more rapidly, through subdivision of plantations, introduction of machinery and improved tillage, and closer alliance of labor with the crop output.

In order to show the true cotton areas we give the acreage of three years beginning with 1880:

States.	1882. Acres.	1881. Acres.	1880. Acres.
Virginia	61,985	57,930	53,147
North Carolina	1,050,543	1,061,155	973,537
South Carolina	1,587,244	1,619,639	1,527,959
Georgia	2,844,305	2,994,005	2,878,851
Florida	260,402	263,032	257,875
Alabama	2,534,388	2,639,988	2,563,095
Mississippi	2,233,884	2,351,228	2,260,796
Louisiana	887,524	944,174	916,674
Texas	2,810,113	2,676,298	2,478,054
Arkansas	1,110,790	1,181,692	1,147,274
Tennessee	815,760	840,990	816,495
Other States and Ter.	79,793	80,599	76,761
Total	16,276,731	16,710,730	15,950,518

* The commercial bale of cotton has varied in weight at different times. It is now computed at 490 gross pounds, or 460 pounds of net lint.

Prior to 1878 Louisiana ranked as the fourth cotton-growing State, and before 1871 as the third. Now Texas is rapidly coming to the front. In 1860 Mississippi raised nearly half of all the cotton grown in the United States.

Commercial figures place the later cotton product of the country thus:

	1881.	1882.	1883.
Bales.....	6,589,329	5,435,845	6,959,000

The average annual consumption of cotton in Europe is estimated at 6,000,000 bales. The United States of late years supplies on an average 56 per cent. of this consumption. Of the above England alone takes over 2,000,000 bales annually. The actual exportation in 1881 was 4,596,279 bales, or over 2,000,000,000 pounds, and in 1883, 2,288,075,000 pounds. Running back a period of seventeen years we find that the average annual exportation has approximated 3,000,000 bales. And we take advantage of the figures which show this, to show also a comparison of our cotton production for that period with a corresponding period before the civil war, the labor conditions being different:

Seventeen years.	Movement. Bales.	Exportation. Bales.	Consumption. Bales.
1844–1861.....	51,330,790	39,913,005	11,422,799
1865–1882.....	68,377,375	46,892,528	21,494,210

The culture of cotton is arduous and painstaking and the crop results uncertain, owing to its sensibility to cold and moisture, to its frequently falling a prey to insects, and to lack of exact agricultural science. Its price is as fluctuating as the crop. The yield per acre runs from 100 to 250 pounds (the crop of 1879 gave an average of 189 pounds of lint per acre), and it is hardly possible to grow and market it profitably under 9 cents a pound, taking the seasons as they run, and counting the average yield per acre as low as 150 pounds. The market price has for many years been such as to give a handsome profit on this figure. The total value of raw cotton exported for the past three years has been—

1881.	1882.	1883.
$247,695,746	$199,812,644	$247,328,721

Showing that it is a most important addition to our commercial

wealth, and a direct invitation to the highest grade of agricultural industry and enterprise. As things exist no other nation can compete with us in its production. The weak spot in connection with its growth is that considerably more than half of our annual product is sent abroad at a dead loss of a sum equal to the cost of freight and handling. When we agree to save this loss by manufacturing the fibre on the spot of production, and serving the world with fabrics rather than raw material, we will better appreciate the adage that "cotton is king."

Cotton is not a novelty. In India and many islands of the Indian Ocean it has been cultivated, spun and woven from time immemorial. The Spaniards found it in Mexico at the time of their conquest. Pliny speaks of it as in use among the Egyptians in his time. The Chinese cultivated it as a garden plant at an early period, and in the thirteenth century spun and wove its filaments. The Saracens cultivated it in Spain and Sicily in the tenth century. Its common use in England dates from the inventions of Arkwright in 1769.

The value of the product in manufacture is graded by the length, fineness and tenacity of its filament. The longest, finest and most valuable fibre in the world is known as Sea Island cotton, raised on the coasts of the Carolinas. All other American cottons are known as Uplands. They are not noted for length of fibre, but for fleeciness and elasticity they give to American-grown cotton first rank. Sea Island seed sown in Egypt does not produce its native length of fibre, though it is better for some kinds of thread, and for such special uses we import a certain quantity of it. South American cottons are harsh and irregular of fibre, and adapted only for coarse uses. India cotton ranks next to that of the United States in texture and adaptability. South African cotton and that of Borneo and China lack the silkiness and elasticity of fibre common to that grown in America.

TOBACCO.—This native plant, of which the historian of Sir Walter Raleigh's colonial experiment says, "It hath a soothing and medicinal effect upon the system," became at an early period a Southern staple, and at one time was used to pay taxes, liquidate

royal stipends, and perform the uses of currency. The tobacco areas of the country remained for a long time south of Mason and Dixon's line, and it was a favorite staple with old Southern planters, more because their labor was supposed to be suited to raising it, than because it found a natural home in either the soil or climate of the South. The Southern areas grow a tobacco peculiarly fitted for pipe smoking and for the manufacture of chewing plug. They have gradually expanded till they not only embrace the whole Southern States, but, as the census reports of 1880 show, all the Northern States as well.

Almost from the settlement of the country tobacco has been an article of export, running from $25,000,000 to $30,000,000 for the last few years. Virginia for a long time headed the list of tobacco-producing States, followed by North Carolina. These in turn gave way to Kentucky and Tennessee. In later years the areas shifted rapidly northward, and Pennsylvania, which ranked twelfth as a tobacco-growing State in 1870, ranked third in 1880. Ohio passed from fifth to fourth; Maryland from fifth to seventh; Tennessee from third to fifth; Missouri from seventh to ninth.

The culture of the plant in northern areas, which is comparatively modern, has been encouraged by the introduction of careful tillage, and by the discovery that their growth is the best fitted for domestic consumption.

Crop of 1840.*	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
219,163,319 lbs.	199,752,646 lbs.	434,209,641 lbs.	262,735,341 lbs.	472,661,159 lbs.

A grouping of leading tobacco States, the tobacco product therein for 1879, the value of the crop in the farmers' hands, the value per acre, and the cost of raising, are so briefly instructive, and so suggestive of the entire situation, that we take the liberty of using it as found arranged in Spofford's Treasury of Facts for 1884. In consulting it let it be borne in mind that there was in 1879 but little foreign demand for the peculiar leaf raised by Missouri, Maryland, Indiana, Illinois, and those States in which the value per acre and per 100 pounds runs the lowest. The

* These are census figures. As a general thing they relate, as to crops, to the previous year. Thus, the 1880 returns give the crop of 1879.

other States were more fortunate in finding a home demand for their crop.

States.	Acres.	Pounds.	Value.	Value per acre.	Value per 100 lbs.	Cost of raising 100 lbs.
Kentucky	226,120	171,120,784	$11,089,782	$49.04	$6.48	$4.90
Virginia	140,791	79,988,868	5,406,744	38.40	6.75	5.33
Pennsylvania	27,566	36,943,272	4,612,894	167.33	12.48	8.42
Ohio	34,676	34,735,235	2,653,234	76.51	7.63	5.91
Tennessee	41,532	29,565,052	1,538,757	37.04	5 24	4.50
North Carolina	57,208	26,986,213	3,825,089	66.51	14.10	9.33
Maryland	38,174	26,082,147	1,825,750	47.82	7.00	5.91
Connecticut	8,666	14,044,652	1,929,982	222.70	13.74	9.85
Missouri	15,521	12,015,657	600,256	38.67	4.99	3.58
Wisconsin	8,810	10,608,423	899,118	102.05	8.47	4.95
Indiana	11,955	8,872,842	443,642	37.10	5.00	3.60
New York	4,987	6,481,431	720,868	146.01	11.12	8.00
Massachusetts	3,358	5,369,436	683,575	203.56	12.73	9.72
Illinois	5,612	3,935,825	202,745	36.12	5.15	4.17
West Virginia	4,071	2,296,146	170,374	41.85	7.42	6.00
Arkansas	2,064	970,220	41,547	20.12	4.28	2.70

BUTTER, CHEESE AND MILK.—These useful and valuable products of the farm have kept pace with agricultural development in other respects, though the cheese production has suffered a notable reduction, owing to the fact that milk has, of itself, a greater commercial value than formerly. The Northern States are in a long lead in these products, and New York heads the list. Their increase and decrease are best shown by the following table:

	1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
Butter, lbs	313,345,306	459,681,372	514,092,683	777,250,287
Cheese, lbs	105,535,893	103,663,927	53,492,153	27,272,489
Milk (sold) gallons	.....	.....	235,500,599	530,129,755

The above figures are those which relate only to farm products of butter and cheese. Of late years their manufacture has been largely carried on by factories, of which there are some 4,000 in the United States, making yearly 175,000,000 pounds of cheese, valued at $14,000,000, and 17,000,000 pounds of butter, valued at $4,000,000. In 1882 our export of cheese amounted to $14,000,000, and in 1883 to $11,000,000. For the same years our butter export was $2,864,000 and $2,290,000, respectively.

WOOL.—While there has always been a certain wool production in the United States, wool-growing in a commercial sense does not date very far back. Indeed, prior to 1840, a raw wool product may have been considered as an incident to sheep-raising for food or simply domestic purposes. At any rate it was not a rapidly increasing product, and did not keep pace with

development in other agricultural industries. The drift of the older States was backward in respect to wool production, and the new States had not yet filled their place. As soon as they began to do this the production showed a wonderfully rapid growth. While Ohio long held the lead as a wool-growing State, it was in California that the problem of sheep-raising and feeding for the sake of the clip first met with practical solution. There the flockage rose from almost nothing in 1850 to over four millions in 1880.

For a long time our native-grown wools did not take high rank in the manufactures. But the introduction of improved breeds of sheep, greater attention to their food and food-ranges, and larger knowledge of their habits, health, and fleece-producing qualities have enabled the American wool-grower to produce an article which, after close analysis, and often comparison with foreign wools, is pronounced as fine as any that is grown elsewhere. Wool-growing in its highest sense is now a pronounced industry, and one that is bound to keep abreast of the other great industries. It, like sugar, has a home-field which is as yet unfilled except by heavy annual importations. The amount and rate of growth appears thus:

1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
52,516,959 lbs.	60,264,913 lbs.	100,102,387 lbs.	155,681,751 lbs.
		Ranch sheep and wool of slaughtered sheep estimated...	85,000,000
		Total for 1880.....	240,681,751

LIVE-STOCK.—Passing from the great staples to the living products of the farm, we have as great occasion for surprise and congratulation at the evidences of substantial progress. In the rearing of domestic animals this country takes a decided lead. Every condition favors numerous, strong and prolific breeds of stock. Encouragement to surround the homestead and dot the farm with draught animals is found in the needs of active and growing agriculture, while the redundancy of grain, grass, hay and fodder assures food for rearing and fattening a supply for our home markets and those abroad. It is significant that American beef and pork are as much depended upon for food in foreign markets as American corn and wheat.

An idea of the increase in live-stock may be gleaned from the following, which gives the number on farms only:

	1860.	1870.	1880.
Horses	6,249,174	7,145,370	10,357,488
Mules and Asses	1,151,148	1,125,415	1,812,808
Oxen	2,254,911	1,319,271	993,841
Milch Cows	8,581,735	8,935,332	12,443,120
Other Cattle	14,779,373	13,566,605	22,488,550
Sheep	22,471,275	28,477,951	42,192,074
Swine	33,512,867	25,134,569	47,681,700
	89,000,483	85,704,513	137,969,581
Value	$1,089,329,915	$1,525,276,457*	$1,500,464,609

It is estimated that the number of cattle not on farms will increase the above figures at least fifteen per cent.†

FARMS.—In the United States a farm means more than in any other country. It is in general a man's own acres, and is thus a direct contributor to thrift and independence of character. Farm occupancy is not, as a rule, humble tenancy, but proud ownership. In whatever section of our country this rule holds to the greatest extent there the yeomanry are best off in every respect. Even foreigners recognize this characteristic, and the ambitious among them seek a fee simple in the productive prairies of the West in preference to a location in sections where tenantry customs prevail. Out of our four million farms fully three-fourths are occupied by actual owners. The farms of the remaining fourth lie largely in the Southern States, where freedmen, not yet able to own or stock the land, but anxious to try the experiment of working on the shares, take holdings under contracts of various kinds.

No. of farms.	Occupied by owner.	Rented for money.	Rented on shares.
4,008,907	2,984,306	322,357	702,244

* In all comparisons of values between 1870 and 1880, it must be remembered that in the former year gold was at a premium of 25.3 per cent.

† These figures shift so rapidly that it is almost impossible to keep up with them. Those for 1883, with those for 1884, estimated, have been published by the Department of Agriculture, and are as follows:

	1883.	1884.	Value for 1884.
Horses	10,838,111	11,169,283	$ 833,734,400
Mules	1,871,079	1,914,126	161,214,976
Milch cows	13,125,685	13,501,206	423,486,649
Oxen and other cattle	28,046,077	29,046,101	683,229,054
Sheep	49,237,291	50,626,626	119,902,706
Hogs	43,279,086	44,200,893	246,301,139
			$2,467,868,924

Another feature of our farms is their size. They are divided in the census returns into seven classes, according to the number of acres. The two classes, containing from 50 to 100 acres and from 100 to 500 acres, embrace more than half the whole number of farms. With our lands thus finely subdivided there is given opportunity for actual ownership, higher grade of farming, and better realization of the blessings which flow from agricultural industry. The largest farms are in the Southern States, if we except the ranches of the Pacific States and some of the Territories, which can scarcely be called farms. New York has only 281 farms of over 1,000 acres; Georgia has 3,491.

The improved land comprised in farms has increased as follows:

1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
113,000,000 Acres	163,000,000	189,000,000	284,771,042

But the improved land is not by any means all of the area embraced in farms, as the following shows:

	1870.	1880.
Improved land	189,000,000 Acres	284,771,042
Unimproved land	218,735,041	251,310,793
Total farm areas	407,735,041	536,081,835

The total number of farms in 1880 being 4,008,907, the average size of each farm would be 134 acres, as against 153 in 1870, 199 in 1860, and 203 in 1850.

The increase in the value of farms has been as follows:

1850.	1860.	1870.	1880.
$3,271,575,426	$6,645,045,007	$9,262,803,861	$10,197,096,776

To work our farms requires implements and machinery to the value of $406,520,055. Repairs and fencing cost, in 1879, $77,763,473, and fertilizers $28,586,397. For the same year the total of farm products footed the magnificent sum of $2,213,402,564.

And so we might turn over these bewildering figures for hours, each time getting new ideas of the immense importance of our agricultural interests and of the wonderful growth of the industry. As we have seen, it occupies the direct attention of

nearly eight millions of our people. Indirectly it concerns the life and comfort of all at home and countless millions abroad. There is no wealth so substantial as that of agriculture, no resource so far-reaching. When we point to our growth from thirteen colonies to thirty-eight States, from a little fringe of Atlantic territory to a magnificent domain of 3,000,000 square miles, and from a population of 3,000,000 to one of 50,000,000 people, we do but indirectly exult over the triumphs of our agricultural system and exalt the quiet power that, more than any other, has made us stable, rich and independent. In learning of our institutions, and in striving to rule them well and to perpetuate them continuously, there is nothing of greater concern than farm industry, coupled with untrammelled ownership of the land. Says Thomas H. Benton: "Tenantry is unfavorable to freedom. The tenant has, in fact, no country, no hearth, no domestic altar, no household god. The freeholder, on the contrary, is the natural supporter of a free government, and it should be the policy of republics to multiply their freeholders, as it is the policy of monarchies to multiply their tenants."

MANUFACTURES.—We pass to a more bustling, less conservative, and equally interesting branch of industry. In it we meet with the same evidences of growth as in agriculture, and the same compliments to our thrift and genius. That we are not yet as independent in manufacture as in agriculture is because manufacture necessarily follows, and is dependent on, a certain amount of prior development of soil, acquisition of wealth, and growth of population. It is the secondary outcrop of the genius of an enterprising and industrious people. The time never existed, since we cut our colonial apron-strings, when we did not manufacture something, and our manufacturing possibilities made vivid the dreams of our earliest statesmen and capitalists. Our immense water power was visible, before the age of coal and steam. So was our forest wealth. What was beneath the soil, and what its surface could yield, were such as the imagination delighted to sketch, but which, in the light of revelation, no imagination, however glowing, could sufficiently outline and color.

We have seen that our government has ever had a kindly leaning toward its agricultural interests, believing that land ownership and a free and independent yeomanry were bulwarks of the republic. It has not always been so kindly disposed toward its manufactures, for the reason that these, in their establishment and encouragement, required a greater amount of legislation, and such legislation, always intricate and clashing, could never be kept free from the ambitions of statesmen and the bias of parties. Our earliest laws, looking to future manufacturing possibilities, were kind. But there came a relapse in fostering legislation, and such manufactures as took hold did so in defiance of the competition which came from abroad. No doctrine of home development prevailed till "the American system," as formulated by Henry Clay, directed the attention of our people to the necessity of cultivating an independent manufacturing polity, if ever they were to attain that pre-eminence which they were entitled to by reason of native resource and advantage of position and institution. That was the dawn of hopefulness for American manufactures, and the beginning of a philosophy respecting them which has been amplified amid much vicissitude, until it has come to be well understood by inquisitive and conservative capital, and will, ere long, be equally well understood by the interested artisan and laborer.

With whatever pride we recount our manufacturing successes, they are as yet only begun. The splendid sweep of our population and empire through the prairies, over the Mississippi, and into Texas and the Northwest, has been agricultural. It is being followed apace by a grander manufacturing sweep, whose evidences are already in the midst of the prairies. It is even broader than the first, and freer, for there is no line through its middle, splitting its capital and labor into sectional parts, and setting up two presiding geniuses to glare furiously at each other. Georgia evokes a spinning jenny, Missouri a furnace, and the Red River country a grist mill, all in keeping with the spirit that dominates true manufacturing progress, viz., the conversion of grosser into finer materials on the spot of their production.

Our growth in manufactures since 1850 is thus shown:

Establishments.	Capital.	Hands Employed.	Yearly Wages.	Value of Materials.	Value of Products
1850.. 123,025	$533,245,351	957,059	$236,755,464	$555,123,822	$1,019,106,616
1860.....140,433	1,009,855,715	1,311,246	378,878,966	1,031,605,c92	1,885,861,676
1870 252,148	2,118,208,769	1,939,368	775,584.343	2,488,427,242	4,232,325,442
1880 253,852	2,790,272,606	2,732,595	947,953,795	3,396,823,549	5,369,579,191

Not only is this a wonderful growth, but the art of manufacturing is getting to be better understood, for the annual value of the products rises in a much greater proportion than the number of establishments. The capital invested must therefore go into larger and better appointed factories, with higher classed products and surer results. Adding to the above yearly wages and cost of material six per cent. on the capital employed and ten per cent. for wear and tear, and subtracting the sum from the total value of products, there remains a profit of $1,568,000,000, or $30 per head of our population.

New York stands at the head of the manufacturing States (as the tables under each State will show), followed in order by Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois and Ohio, as to value of products. Textile and higher grade manufacturing is, as yet, largely confined to the Atlantic States. The Western States have advanced very rapidly in milling and the manufacture of farming implements and machinery. Some of the Southern States, as Georgia, are making satisfactory progress in textile manufactures.

Under the head of "Manufactures and Mechanical and Mining Industries" in the Census of 1880 are enumerated 332 separate branches or industries, with the number of establishments under each, the capital and hands employed, the wages paid, the cost of materials used and the value of the products for that year. It would be impossible to mention them all here, nor is it necessary. Many of them are yet unimportant. Many more are not diversified and show special rather than general growth. The classification of a few in the order of their notation in the Census will serve to illustrate our progress, show tendencies of capital, labor and genius, and sufficiently magnify the importance of the subject in the minds of those who seek to learn of our country that they may the better govern it.

Many of them began in a primitive way with the birth of the country. Wool and flax were spun and woven by our earliest forefathers in their kitchens and cellars. The first water frame for spinning cotton was erected in Rhode Island in 1790. Many are new, necessities of later years, outcrops of fresh resources, results of growthy enterprise and a daily quickening genius. Notable among these is the manufacture of agricultural implements, which tells the story of our conquest of outlying millions of acres in the absence of what in Europe would be called "work people," but here "farm help;" or, if obtainable, only at figures which stimulated invention and forced machine substitutes. The figures appear thus: 1850, value of product, $6,842,611; 1860, $17,487,960; 1870, $52,066,875; 1880, $68,640,486.

The total number of establishments in 1880 was 1,943, with a capital of $62,109,668, using materials to the value of $31,531,170, and employing 39,580 hands at a cost for wages of $15,359,610. Here we see almost the beginning of this industry, *the* beginning so far as it passed from the domain of the wheelwright and into the realm of factory output of the great labor-saving inventions. A closer view of the growthiness of the industry may be had by comparing the number of a few of the leading implements made in 1870 and 1880, thus:

	Corn-planters.	Cultivators.	Harrows.	Hay-forks.	Mowers, Reapers and Combined Machines.	Scythes.	Harvesters.	Plows.
1870.....	21,790	88,740	9,150	1,298,260	159,519	881,244	3,566	864,947
1880.....	68,691	318,057	127,997	2,480,724	162,317	1,244,264	25,737	1,326,123

The manufacture of boots and shoes has had a growth in the United States which attests our inventive capacity and our wonderful adaptation of machinery and power to this desirable industry. The value of the products in 1860 was $91,889,298; in 1870, $181,644,090; in 1880, $166,050,354. Our boot and shoe machinery is the best in the world, and the product is regarded with exceptional favor everywhere.

In this nation of homes and home-owners it is pleasurable to note the growth of some of the industries which add to our comfort in this respect.

	Bricks and Tiles.	Carpenters' and Builders' trade.	Furniture.	Glass.	Sawed and Planed Lumber.
1870..	$29,302,016	$132,901,432	$68,522,221	$19,235,862	$210,159,327
1880..	32,833,587	94,152,139	79,544,759	23,689,580	270,072,185

The manufacture of carpets has had a surprising growth. In 1850 the value of factory-made carpets, other than rag, was only $5,401,234; in 1860, $7,857,636; in 1870, $21,761,573; and in 1880, $31,792,802. The product includes every known style and design, the machinery is as perfect as any in the world, and the industry has a future, under proper care, which will tell on other nations. It is as yet confined to seven States, Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Pennsylvania, the product of Pennsylvania alone being $14,304,660, or nearly one-half of the total.

From the fact that this is a cotton-growing country, the manufacture of the staple has always been a matter of great importance. But England held so long a lead, that this manufacture more than any other had to bear the brunt of her competition. Its existence at home has been a struggle whose severity has been sharpened by partisanship and intensified by the introduction of wild, unbusiness-like theories. Its present triumph is due rather to innate persistency than to a fostering polity. Cotton-raising was for sixty years the enemy of cotton manufacture on our soil. The spirit of raw material perpetually antagonized that of fabric. Soil, climate and labor were against factory and art. Nevertheless cotton manufacture got a hold and grew—grew more firmly, perhaps, if not so fast, amid vicissitude.

The manufacture now ranks among our most interesting, profitable and growthy. Next to iron and steel it engages more capital than any other, and it involves the finest machinery, best artisanship and closest commercial calculations. Its utility is such as to command the respect of conservative capital and shrewd labor everywhere. We are clearly over our pupilage in cotton manufacture. Two evidences only need be quoted. Our manufactures are forcing their way into foreign markets.*

* By 1860 our exports of cotton fabrics had grown to quite handsome proportions,

We are fast learning that our fields of manufacture ought to be diversified and that the cheapest, if not the best, ought to be nearest those which produce the raw material. This reversal of the old situation is rapidly going on. In it there is assurance of ultimate and entire independency in the manufacture. It will be the first spectacle ever presented of cotton-fields giving forth their lint in the form of woven bales and beautified prints, and of perfect accord between the hand that plants and picks, and the hand that spins and weaves.

In 1850 the number of spindles in operation in the country was 3,633,693, and the value of the cotton product $65,501,687. In 1860 the spindles had increased to 5,235,727, and the value of the product to $115,681,774. In 1870 the spindles were 7,132,415, and the value of the product $177,489,739. In 1880 the spindles were 10,921,147, and the value of the product $210,950,383.

The number of establishments in 1880 was 1,005; hands employed, 185,472; capital, $219,504,794; material used, 1,586,481 bales; value of all material used, $113,765,537. Massachusetts runs 4,665,290 spindles, and produces a proportionate amount of the manufactured goods—or a third of the whole. She is followed in order by Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Georgia—the latter with 200,974 spindles. But these figures have been greatly augmented in the past four years in some of the Southern States. It is estimated that the cotton mills under contract since Jan. 1, 1884, in the South, will cost $3,250,000, and add 100,000 spindles to those already there. The dyeing and finishing of textile fabrics is an industry by itself which must keep pace with

some $9,000,000. Their export ceased during the civil war, the factories being chiefly devoted to the production of woollen goods. They began again in 1873 with $2,947,528, and by rather uneven progress rose to $13,571,387 in 1881, the year of largest export. In 1883 their value was $12,951,145. Thus the increase since 1873 has been some 350 per cent. The export for 1883 was 34,063,292 yards of colored cotton goods and 103,634,459 yards of uncolored cotton goods. The countries taking the largest amount were China, 30,442,846 yards; England, 27,794,992 yards; and then in order Mexico, Africa, Columbia, Chi i and Brazil.

their manufacture. It employed a capital (1880) of $26,223,981, and yielded a product equal to $32,297,420.

Flouring and grist mill products foot up the wonderful total of $505,185,712, as against $444,985,143 in 1870, and $248,580,365 in 1860. The number of establishments in 1880 was 24,338, employing a capital of $177,361,878, and 58,367 hands, to whom were paid as wages $17,422,316. The materials consumed were 304,775,737 bushels of wheat, valued at $315,394,386, and 234,907,220 bushels of other grain, valued at $112,372,071. In other words 59,612 run of stones and burrs converted daily 4,730,106 bushels of grain into flour and meal. The total product of flour and grist mills ($505,185,712) is the largest of any manufacture in the United States, though the capital employed is not. The manufacture has followed closely on the development of our agricultural areas, and many of the newer States equal, or exceed, the older agricultural States in the value of their annual product, though not in the number of establishments; which fact shows that the progress of the manufacture westward is attended by the erection of larger mills. Thus, Pennsylvania with 2,873 establishments and a product equal to $41,522,662, is only on a par with Minnesota which has but 436 establishments and a product of $41,519,004.

In hosiery and knit goods the country has created a manufacture within the memory of man, and carried it to great perfection. The product in 1850 was only $1,028,102; in 1860 it was $7,280,606; in 1870, $18,411,564; and in 1880, $29,167,227. The capital employed was $15,579,591, in 359 establishments, running 28,885 hands, and consuming $15,210,057 worth of material.

The iron and steel industry of the country has ever been growthy, but of late years has assumed proportions which place us in advance of every country except Great Britain. It is easy to surmise that another decade will see us leading the world in the manufacture, for as yet we have only begun to tap our resources and test our capacities. We have, like England, a wonderful proximity of coal vein and ore bed. We have both covering vaster areas than hers, and in quantities which are prac-

tically inexhaustible. Thus far our manufacture has been at the bidding of a home market. This market is in its infancy, consider what branch of the manufacture we may. The only great question involved is whether we can hold it for ourselves against the rivalry of other countries. That we ought to do so is something about which Americans should not dispute.

It is to be regretted that our space will not permit separate pursuit of the great branches of the iron industry. We should then find much that is interesting and educative respecting the beginning and growth of these branches, much that is instructive about the part a government can play in fostering industrial development, and much that touches our pride respecting internal resource and ability to maintain ourselves against the competition of countries which had centuries the start of us and which employ a far cheaper labor than ours. One branch only need be mentioned as an illustration, and that is the manufacture of Bessemer steel rails for railroads. This industry had no existence in this country prior to 1867. That year the product was 2,550 tons. Their superiority over iron rails was so manifest that they began immediately to crowd iron rails off the track. They commanded a high price, so high, that the duty was no protection, and their importation was large. But by 1870 our capacity for their manufacture had so grown that the product of that year was 34,000 tons. In 1872 it was 94,070 tons; in 1877, 432,169 tons. The growth was regular and startlingly rapid, notwithstanding these years of panic and depression. For the census year (1879) the production of Bessemer and open Hearth steel rails was 750,680 tons, valued at $37,892,070. In 1882 the total production was 1,460,920 tons, and in 1883 1,295,740 tons, the falling off being due to over-production. In 1882 the total product of steel rails in Great Britain was 1,235,785 tons. Thus in twelve years the United States started this important industry and pushed it so energetically as to surpass the greatest iron-producing country of the world.

The total number of establishments engaged in making iron and steel, in 1880, was 1,005; of these, 490 were blast furnaces, which turned out 3,781,021 tons of pig and other cast iron, valued

at $89,315,569; 118 were bloomeries, producing 72,557 tons of blooms, valued at $3,968,074; 324 were rolling mills, turning out 2,353,248 tons of bar and other rolled iron, valued at $136,798,574; 36 were Bessemer and open Hearth steel works, turning out 983,039 tons of steel rails and other structural steel, valued at $55,805,210; 37 were crucible steel works, turning out 75,275 tons of steel bars and blooms, valued at $10,670,258.

The total iron and steel product for that year, and of the 1,005 establishments was—

Capital.	Product in Tons.	Value of Product.
$230,971,884	7,265,140	$296,557,685
The manufactures of iron and steel embraced the following:		
Iron bolts, etc.		10,073,333
" doors and shutters		495,060
" forgings		6,492,028
" nails and spikes		5,629,240
" pipe		13,292,162
" railing		1,300,549
" architectural work		2,109,537
Total iron and steel, and manufactures thereof		$335,949,594

Pennsylvania is the leading State in the production of iron and steel, her establishments numbering 366 of the 1,005, and her product equalling $145,576,268 of the $296,557,685.

One cannot help speaking with pride of the growth of our silk manufacture. It is so young as to be within the memory of all. It is an industry which owes its existence to the fostering spirit of the government, and is fighting its battle without the aid of home silk-growers and a raw material within easy reach of the factories, and this not because either soil or climate is unkind. New Jersey leads in the manufacture, followed by New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. The total silk product for 1860 was $6,607,771; for 1870, $12,210,662; for 1880, $34,519,723. In 1883 we consumed 2,800,000 pounds of raw silk, and produced $40,000,000 worth of goods, thus ranking third among the silk manufacturing countries of the world.

American silks are woven chiefly by machinery, foreign silks by hand. This enables us to overcome to a great extent the difference in the price of labor, which is something marvellous in this industry. In one factory alone, at Cannabbis, Italy, there are

600 orphan children at work in the various spinning and winding departments, who receive nothing but clothing and food for their first four years of apprenticeship, and sixty cents a month for four years more. Employés who receive here from $4 to $6 per week receive abroad for the same kind of labor from 6 to 8 cents a day. This is the testimony of Mr. Herman Simon, of the Allentown, Pa., silk mill, who visits Europe every year for purposes of inspection. For ten years prior to 1860 we imported $27,600,000 of silk manufactures a year. The average for the last ten years has been $27,800,000, with 20,000,000 more people. The raw material is all imported. American silks are but very little higher in price than those from abroad, and, if anything, give better satisfaction in wearing, our climate forbidding the artificial weighting practiced so largely in other countries.

A few of our other leading manufactures are here shown, without comment, the comparison afforded by the decades being sufficiently suggestive of growth and resource.

	1870.	1880.
Woollens and Worsteds	$155,405,358	$194,156,663
Clothing (men's)	147,650,378	209,548,460
Machinery	138,519,248	214,378,468
Leather (tanned)	86,169,883	113,348,336
Leather (curried)	54,192,017	71,351,297
Tobacco	38,388,356	52,793,056
Cigars	28,299,067	63,979,575
Carriages and wagons	65,362,837	64,951,617
Sugar and Molasses, refined	108,941,911	155,484,915
Liquors, distilled, malt, and vinous	94,133,014	144,290,641
Paper	48,676,935	55,109,914
Printing and Publishing	32,674,037	90,789,341
Slaughtering and meat packing (not retail)	.....	303,562,413

To carry on our manufactures in 1870, it required a combined steam and water-power equal to 2,346,142 horse-power. The amount required in 1880 was 3,410,837 horse-power, an increase of 45.38 per cent. The proportion of each power was (1870), water, 48.18 per cent., steam 51.82 per cent. In 1880 the proportion was, water 35.93 per cent., steam 64.07 per cent. Thus, steam is fast supplying the place of water as a power, or rather is developing in a larger ratio.

MINING AND MINERALS.—As to the precious and leading useful minerals the United States justly ranks as the first

country in the world. Her resources, in this respect, cover a wide range of mineral substances and highly diversified mineral structures. While this is true, it must be said that the development of many of our mineral deposits is yet in its infancy. No one can compute our wealth of iron ore nor our deposits of coal. Every now and then fresh discoveries of some valuable mineral substance is announced. Mining, like agriculture, has been roughly and carelessly carried on. Except in some of the deep silver and coal mines, where a great outlay of capital is required, the era of scientific mining has not yet been reached. Nature has been so lavish that economy is regarded as unnecessary. Yet, as a whole, mining industry has not been uncertain, and it is daily growing more constant and healthful.

THE PRECIOUS METALS.—The beginning of our mining operations for the precious metals dates from 1804. Before that time desultory and ineffectual attempts were made to dig for gold and silver in suspected fields, chiefly those of North Carolina and Georgia. After that operations assumed more definite shape, and gold was mined to the extent of a million dollars a year up till the discovery of the mineral in California in 1848.

Silver was almost an unknown treasure in our soil until its discovery in Nevada in 1858. Before that our estimated annual product did not exceed $50,000.

On the discovery of gold in California in 1848 our country entered upon a career of mining development which has ever since poured a constant stream of glittering wealth into her lap and placed her at the head of the list of producers of this precious mineral. In 1847 the gold product of the country did not exceed $889,085. But in 1848 it rose to $10,000,000, in 1849 to $40,000,000, and averaged for the next ten years some $55,000,000 annually.

Then came the discovery of silver in 1858. The yield of that year was $500,000. By 1864 it reached $11,000,000. Year by year it increased till in 1874 it overtopped the gold product at $37,324,594. Nor has it ceased to increase since. The estimated yield for 1882 was $46,800,000, while that of gold for the same year was $32,500,000, a grand total of $79,300,000. The greatest yield of gold was in 1853, estimated at $65,000,000.

The estimate of gold and silver production in the United States from 1845–82, a period of thirty-eight years, is:

Gold.	Silver.	Total.
$1,590,878,301	$550,972,260	$2,153,845,471

The vast importance of this element of the national resource is shown by the fact that one-third of the gold and one-half of the silver yearly produced in the world are mined within our borders. The figures run thus:

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Product of entire world for 1882	$103,161,532	$109,446,595	$212,608,127
Product of United States for 1882	32,500,000	46,800,000	79,300,000

The census gives the output of the precious metals for the year ending May 31, 1880, at gold $33,379,663, and silver $41,-110,957—a total of $74,490,620.

The areas of precious metals are three in number, (1) Pacific Division; (2) Rocky Mountain Division; (3) Eastern Division.

Pacific Division, with product of 1880:

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Alaska	$5,951	$51	$6,002
Arizona	211,965	2,325,825	2,537,790
California	17,150,941	1,150,887	18,301,828
Idaho	1,479,653	464,550	1,944,203
Nevada	4,888,242	12,430,667	17,318,909
Oregon	1,097,701	27,793	1,125,494
Utah	291,587	4,743,087	5,034,674
Washington	135,800	1,019	136,819
Total	$25,261,840	$21,143,879	$46,405,719

Rocky Mountain Division and product of 1880:

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Colorado	$2,699,898	$16,549,274	$19,249,172
Dakota	3,305,843	70,813	3,376,656
Montana	1,805,767	2,905,068	4,710,835
New Mexico	49,354	392,337	441,691
Wyoming	17,351	.....	17,351
Total	$7,878,183	$19,917,492	$27,795,675

Eastern Division and product of 1880:

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Alabama	$1,301	.....	$1,301
Georgia	81,029	$332	81,361
Maine	2,999	7,200	10,199
Michigan	.....	25,858	25,858
New Hampshire	10,999	16,000	26,999
North Carolina	118,953	140	119,093
South Carolina	13,040	56	13,096
Tennessee	1,998	.....	1,998
Virginia	9,321	.....	9,321
Total	$239,640	$49,586	$289,226

The original form of gold mining was placer mining, in which gold-bearing sand was washed in order to obtain the product. This was succeeded by hydraulic mining, which was only placer mining by machinery. Now only 36 per cent. of the gold product is obtained from placer and hydraulic mining. The balance, 64 per cent., is obtained from deep mining, or quartz mining.

QUICKSILVER is found in paying quantities in the coast ranges of California. In 1883 it was exported to the extent of 2,762,555 pounds, valued at $1,020,834. Nickel is found in paying quantities only in Lancaster county, Pa. Traces of tin have been found in several States, but nowhere has the ore been struck in paying quantities. The newspapers report its existence in Virginia and North Carolina, but this remains to be proved. The government offers a reward of $50,000 for the discovery of a workable tin deposit.

LEAD AND ZINC.—These useful minerals are generally produced from the same mine, especially in Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin. The successful reduction of their ores requires a high degree of science, and as this is being more and more applied the product increases rapidly. The output of 1880, taking the smelting returns, was:

Lead.....	162,938,105 pounds.	Valued at	$7,935,140
Zinc.....	62,681,459 "	"	4,240,006
Total.....	225,619,564 "	"	$12,175,146

which was 174 per cent. increase on the value of the production of 1870. Much of the lead product is obtained from ores which are smelted for the silver they contain.

COPPER.—This valuable mineral is chiefly mined in what is called the Lake Superior copper-bearing region, embraced in Michigan and Wisconsin, though it is found in Arizona and California, but is not refined there. The production of metallic copper, as taken from the smelters' returns for 1880, was 54,172,017 pounds, valued at $9,458,434, an increase of 71 per cent. on the value of the 1870 product.

IRON ORE is widely distributed through the United States, is found in inexhaustible quantities in some States, and in almost

every degree of purity. It is regularly mined in twenty-three States, and the annual increase of the production keeps pace with the rapid growth of our iron industry. The total product in 1880 was 7,974,706 tons, valued at $23,156,957, and these figures show an increase of 55 per cent. over the value of the production in 1870. The production of iron ore bears such a close relation to the production of pig-iron, that we get the best idea of the growth of this industry by a glance at the following figures:

Tons of pig-iron produced in		Tons of pig-iron produced in	
1875.....	2,266,581 tons.	1879.....	3,070,875 tons.
1876.....	2,093,236 "	1880.....	4,295,414 "
1877.....	2,314,585 "	1881.....	4,641,564 "
1878.....	2,577,361 "	1882.....	5,178,122 "

The total number of furnaces in January, 1883, was 687, 277 of which were in Pennsylvania, whose product of pig for 1882 was 2,449,256 tons, or nearly half of the total product of the country. Ohio follows Pennsylvania with 97 furnaces; New York with 57; Virginia with 38; Michigan with 29; Maryland with 23, and so on. The production of pig in Great Britain in 1882 was 8,493,387 tons, and in Germany 3,170,957 tons.

COAL.—"Coal," says an official report, "next to gold is the most important mining interest in the United States." Considered as to its uses and benefits it is by far the most important mining interest, and happy it is for the country that such a necessary mineral is so widely distributed, so accessible and so abundant.

It would seem that the first coal discovered in America was near Ottawa, Ill., by the French Jesuit, Father Hennepin, in 1669. The first employment of coal was that of anthracite, by a blacksmith of Wyoming valley in 1775. A nailer of the same locality employed it in his trade in 1788, and twenty years afterwards (1808) contrived a grate for burning it as fuel in his house. The first mining of coal was in 1813, when five ark-loads of inferior anthracite were sent down the Lehigh and Delaware, and sold in Philadelphia for twenty dollars a ton. Liverpool coal was then sparely imported, the importation for 1821 being

22,122 tons for the entire country. By 1820 regular shipments of coal began to be made from the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania to Philadelphia, and the total for that year was 18,000 tons, which figures were not again reached till 1825, when the total from the Lehigh, Wyoming and Schuylkill regions reached 38,499 tons.

The age of steam transit began with 1830. Then the construction of railroads, the rapid increase of population, the growing scarcity of wood fuel, stimulated coal development, and the annual product of anthracite rose rapidly to 678,517 tons in 1835; to 1,008,220 tons in 1840; to 3,863,365 tons in 1850; to 9,807,118 tons in 1860; to 17,819,700 tons in 1870; to 28,649,812 tons in 1880, valued at $42,196,678.

The total of the anthracite production to Jan. 1, 1883, is estimated to be 509,333,695 tons. These anthracite areas do not embrace over 500 square miles, and they lie in Schuylkill, Carbon, Luzerne, Northumberland, Dauphin and Columbia counties. The original amount of coal contained in their beds is estimated at 25,000,000,000 tons. A sad feature of this anthracite mining (common to bituminous mining also) is its wastefulness. Not a third of the coal mined has been consumed as fuel. Some 40 per cent. has remained as pillar coal in the mines, and some 30 per cent. has been wasted, leaving but 30 per cent. for actual fuel. Counting the anthracite production of 1882 at 31,281,066 tons, it would establish a rate of production which would exhaust the entire supply in 250 years. But the science of mining is being rapidly learned and applied, and the saving for the last year or two has been such as to considerably raise the actual fuel product. The time will no doubt come when, admonished by scarcity of supply and encouraged by high prices, economic methods will reduce the per cent. of waste to a minimum.

But this limited anthracite section, rich and inexhaustible as it has been, is a very small part of our great coal areas. Other coal-fields are known and worked in twenty-six States and Territories; but, with the exception of those in Rhode Island, their product is of the bituminous, or soft coal, kind. The oldest of

these fields is that of the Cumberland, in Maryland, where mining operations were begun in 1842. But the bituminous fields of Western Pennsylvania give by far the greatest annual yield, though they are only estimated at 12,000 square miles as against 36,800 for the bituminous fields of Illinois.

Interesting as the figures for the coal areas of the several States might prove, they must be omitted because of uncertainty. They however credit Illinois with the largest areas, 36,800 square miles; Missouri with 26,887; Kansas with 22,256; Pennsylvania with 12,772; Arkansas with 12,000; West Virginia with 16,000; Kentucky with 12,871. Other States are credited with even larger areas, but they are as yet undeveloped. Working mines exist, as has been said, in twenty-six States and Territories, and the total areas therein are estimated at 195,403 square miles, with an estimated output for 1882 of 86,862,614 tons, and for 1883 of 88,000,000 tons.

The Census figures are:

	1870.		1880.	
Anthracite.....	15,664,275 T.	$23,619,911	28,649,812 T.	$42,196,678
Bituminous.....	17,199,415 "	49,905,081	42,776,624 "	53,520,173
Totals.....	32,863,690 "	$72,524,992	71,426,436 "	$95,716,851

A comparison with the areas and annual output of other countries may be interesting:

	Areas in square miles.	Tons for 1882.	
Great Britain.....	11,900	156,499,997	
United States.....	195,403	86,862,614	
Germany.....	1,770	65,332,925	
Belgium.....	510	17,485,008	
Austro-Hungary.....	1,800	15,304,013	1881
China.....	....	4,000,000	"
India.....	2,000	4,000 000	"
Russia.....	30,000	3,293,312	1880
France.....	2,086	2,251,581	1882
Nova Scotia.....	....	1,365,811	"
All others.....	....	6.236,014	
World's production.....		362,631,275 tons.	

PETROLEUM.—The story of this mining (if such it may be called) industry reads like one from the "Arabian Nights." It begins within the last quarter of a century and must be real, though every chapter is full of surprises, and every sentence a

source of wonder. Who would believe a word of it, if it had been written two thousand years ago in Greek or Hebrew, and then all evidence of the industry lost except the text of the story?

Petroleum, or rock oil, was not in itself a novelty. It was used in ancient times in Sicily. The Persians obtained it from the Caspian shores. The Birmese gathered it on the banks of the Irawaddy. The Indians of our continent caught it in blankets, and used it for medicinal purposes. An article in the "Massachusetts Magazine," in 1791, speaks of a body of soldiers passing through Oil Creek Valley and collecting rock oil, which they found good for rheumatism and a gentle purgative. Mr. Paterson, Pa., in 1845, took a sample bottle to a Pittsburg factory to test its lubricating qualities. It found such favor that it was used for a long time in the establishment instead of sperm oil.

But all this was as to surface oil, the oil of the magician and curiosity-seeker. There came a time when the discovery of its fountains was to startle the world and begin a history which has no parallel in commercial and industrial enterprise, except that of steam. Petroleum, as we now know it, came to the surface just when the world needed it. Fish and animal oils were annually decreasing. Illuminating and lubricating agents were getting higher. In 1859, the first artificial well in Oil Creek Valley was filled with oil to within five inches of the surface, and from it was taken as high as 1,000 gallons a day. Then began the stampede to the oil regions, and the era of reckless pursuit of fortune, extravagant experiment, wild successes, dismal failures. The 1849 of California was repeated for years in Pennsylvania. Money and enterprise brought wonderful machinery. Flowing wells were struck in 1861. Development took in all subjects connected with oil production and its possibilities. Amid mighty waste of health, money, machinery and raw product, a permanent industry grew. It was the oil industry of America, created almost in a single year, and in less than half a dozen years expanded into an importance which affected the commerce of the world and the comfort of millions of its people.

As to our own country what so opportune as the discovery of this wonderful resource! The trade of the nations was against us. Gold was passing away from us. We were being drained of other natural resources to meet the exigency of civil war. Petroleum came to quicken our external commerce, and to stimulate our internal industry. Almost from the start it became an article of export, and has been going out every year since with the certainty of a staple, and, until lately, without competition, at the average rate of nearly $50,000,000 worth a year.

	1882.		1883.	
	Gallons.	Value.	Gallons.	Value.
Export of crude and refined oil.....	556,239,278	$51,019,904	499,786,266	$44,470,433

The petroleum areas are in Western Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, and in Eastern Ohio, extending into Kentucky. The census figures for the product of 1879–80 are:

	Barrels.
Pennsylvania	24,005,392
West Virginia and Washington Co., Ohio	219,254
Ohio	5,059
Kentucky	5,376
Total barrels	24,235,081
At 42 gallons per barrel	1,017,873,402 gallons.
At 2¼ cents a gallon for crude	$23,000,000

The delay and expense of carrying this enormous oil product to the shipping ports, as well as the danger attending it, have been overcome by underground transit provided by means of pipes and pumping stations. Through these oil can be constantly, cheaply and safely delivered at, or near to, ports of foreign shipment, and in quantities equal to the demand. Great quantities are always in stock in these pipes, and one thousand barrel certificates of such stock are as common on the market and as much a source of speculative purchase and sale as railroad or mining stocks.

A result of the discovery of petroleum has been the establishment of the great industry of refining the crude material. Some of the refining establishments, mostly located at coast or inland shipping points, are very large and costly. In 1880 they used 731,533,127 gallons of crude oil, valued at $16,340,581. When

converted into illuminating oil and other products of petroleum the above value became $43,705,218, or nearly three times its crude worth. Various and curious are the higher products of petroleum. Besides the naphtha, gasoline, rhigoline and paraffine produced in this country, we have the beautiful aniline dyes made in Germany, and brought back to us thence, which rival in brilliancy and permanency the celebrated colors of ancient Tyre.

COMMERCE.—We derive great advantage from the nature, extent and accessibility of our sea-board. Our whole Atlantic coast from Maine to Florida presents an infinite variety of entrances and harbors. So does the gulf coast; and if the variety is not so great on the Pacific, the harbors are spacious, safe and sufficiently numerous to invite the largest commerce. The great lakes of the North give an extent of navigation almost equal to that of an ocean. Our leading ports are all rendered accessible to an incalculably rich interior by means of navigable streams, or by elaborate systems of railroads. Our commercial situation is therefore favorable on all sides and from within. We ought to, and we will, stand at the head of the list of commercial nations.

Almost at the start the United States sprang into importance as a commercial nation. Nature was on our side; so were the political circumstances of the old world. We were comparatively neutral amid long periods of European commotion. American shipping became the safest medium through which to conduct the commerce of the world. Americans had, further, every advantage for wooden ship-building—genius, enterprise, timber, resource of every kind. Says an author, "At the beginning of the nineteenth century it seemed as if the commerce of the world were passing into American hands." By this is meant the carrying trade of the world. We were not only carrying our own goods but those of other nations. Our ships went everywhere, on extensive and profitable lines of trade. The foolish invitation of an unnecessary war, in 1812, which decided nothing, weakened us greatly as ocean carriers. The foreign trade we had only begun to enjoy passed largely to foreign bottoms.

We never really recovered the vantage ground of 1812, though with our splendid "Liners" and "Clipper Ships" of a much later period we got to be somewhat of a carrying nation. But our greatest commercial blow was during the civil war, 1861–65, when our ships engaged in the foreign carrying trade were compelled to change ownership and flag in order to escape capture by Confederate cruisers, or owing to the temporary demand for them went voluntarily into other service. Since then we have not recovered our position as foreign carriers. We have but one American steamship line of four vessels, and that is operated at a loss.

While it is true that we have not advanced as ocean-carriers, on the contrary have lost ground, our general commercial interests have expanded in proportion to the growth of the country, and our merchant tonnage is second only to that of Great Britain. The latter country employed in 1880–81, 2,869 steamers of over 100 tons burden, with a net tonnage of 2,652,941 tons. We employed 548 steamers, of a net tonnage of 389,937 tons. But a majority of the British steamers were engaged in foreign trade, while ours were, with very few exceptions, engaged in domestic or coastwise trade. The same may be said of the sailing vessels, of which Great Britain employed 11,893, of 4,295,589 net tonnage, and the United States 5,958, of 2,048,975 net tonnage.

In 1789 our total foreign, coastwise, and fishing tonnage, in other words the tonnage of our merchant marine, was 201,562 tons. This grew with wonderful rapidity till it reached 972,492 tons in 1800, and 1,424,783 tons in 1810. Then came the decline incident to the war of 1812. In 1820 the tonnage was 1,280,167, and of this amount, not a half was in the foreign trade. In 1830, it was 1,191,776 tons; in 1840, 2,180,764 tons; in 1850, 3,535,454 tons; in 1861, 5,539,813 tons, which was the highest point it ever reached. In 1870 it was 4,246,507 tons; in 1880, 4,068,034 tons; and in 1882, 4,165,933 tons. It can hardly be said that we have begun to recover from the set-back in 1861, for, except for coastwise purposes, we are not building ocean craft, notwithstanding our boast that we can do so as cheaply and well as England, and the further fact that there is need of American

ships for American products. Of this total tonnage of 4,165,933 tons in 1882, but 1,259,492 tons were engaged in foreign trade, and, as already stated, but four of the vessels were steamers.

In passing to our trade growth as shown by exports and imports, we shall endeavor to show also the loss of our ability to handle, as ocean-carriers, the immense product we part with and consume. In 1790 we imported goods to the value of $22,460,-844. As a set-off to this we exported only $19,666,000 worth of product. This, at that time, was a large balance against us. But we had not yet begun to know our resources. In 1800 our exports were $31,840,903, and our net imports $52,121,891, a still larger balance against us, which had existed through the preceding decade and was to exist through the next. In 1810 the account stood, exports $42,366,675, imports $61,008,705. To show how nearly our trade was extinguished by the war of 1812, the exports of 1814 were only $6,782,272, and our imports $12,819,831. And to show our need after the struggle, as well as the willingness and ability of foreign nations to supply us, our exports for 1815 were $45,974,403, and our net imports $106,-457,924. But up to this period our total imports were almost double what the above figures show and what we actually consumed, for we were thus far a great ocean-carrying nation, and constantly brought hither the products of other nations with intent to export them again. Thus in 1806 we brought $60,283,-236 worth of this class of products (called foreign exports), or one-half of our total imports for the year. This class of products, which at that time very nearly measured our superiority as ocean-carriers, fell to $145,169 in 1814; that is to say, the long and profitable trading routes of our splendid wooden sailers had been broken up and the ships themselves condemned to rot at idle wharves. However, recovery was in part had, but only to be followed again by a gradual decadence of early prestige as carriers. The showing for 1820 was total imports $74,450,000, less re-exports $18,008,029, equal to $56,441,971. Total domestic exports $51,683,640. At this time nearly ninety per cent. of our imports and exports were carried in American vessels.

We can continue this history more briefly in tabular form.

	Total imports.	Total. exports.	Total of both carried in American vessels.	Total of both carried in foreign vessels.	Per cent carried in American vessels.
1830....	$70,516,920	$73,849,508	$129,918,458	14,447.970	89.9
1840....	107,141,519	132,085,946	198,424,609	40,802,856	82.9
1850....	178,138,318	151,898,720	239,272,084	90,764,954	72.5
1860....	362,166,254	400,122,296	507,247,757	255,040,793	66.5
1865....	248,555,652	355,857,344	167,402,872	437,010,124	27.7
1870....	462,377,587	529,519,302	352,969,607	638,927,282	35.6
1880....	743,481,765	845,990,528	280,005,497	1,309,466,796	17.6
1881....	733,737,199	912,849,421	268,080,603	1,378,506,017	16.2
1882....	741,446,035	741,324,945	241,422,832	1,241,348,148	16.2
1883....	751,670,305	855,659,735	247,761,173	1,281,200,026*	16.2

While the above figures are complimentary as showing the wonderful growth of our ability to sell and buy in the markets of the world, and while they are especially flattering as proof of success in retaining a balance of trade in our favor, the gradual decline of ability to act as our own carriers or as carriers for others, is humiliating. It has been nearly continuous, and at times rapid, since the war of 1812. The period of the civil war was particularly disastrous, as the column of per cent. declines shows. There was an attempt to recover lost ground by 1870, but this was spasmodic, and the old ratio of losses set in shortly after. The matter is now awakening universal interest, and it is possible that our pride, co-operating with our undoubted facilities for making iron and steel ships, will eventuate in a restoration of our early prestige as ocean carriers.

Among our imports for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1883, were:

Free of duty.	Quantity.	Value.
Chemicals	.....	$7,164,675
Coffee	515,878,515 lbs.	42,050,513
Hides and skins	.....	27,640,030
India rubber, crude	21,646,320 "	15,511,066
Silk, raw	3,253,370 "	14,043,340
Tea	73,479,164 "	17,302,849
Tin, pigs	26,635,168 "	6,106,250

* The import and export of coin and bullion for 1883 and the imports and exports of goods from and to Canada by vehicles are not included in the last two columns for that year. The two make a total movement of $78,368,841, which is not assigned to vessels.

	Dutiable.	Quantity.	Value.
Living animals	20 per ct.	.....	$4,030,822
Barley	15 cts. per bush.	9,944,066 bush.	7,573,443
Rice	2½ cts. per lb.	63,909,474 lbs.	1,391,742
Buttons	30 per ct.	.....	3,771,331
Chemicals and dyes	various rates	.....	16,134,204
Manufactures cotton	chiefly 35 per ct.	.....	32,359,344
China and earthenware	" 50 "	.....	8,693,273
Fancy articles	" 50 "	.....	7,908,102
Manufactures flax	" 40 "	.....	22,088,891
Fruits and nuts	chiefly 2½ cts. per lb.	151,902,523 lbs.	18,157,687
Manufactures of glass	various	.....	7,597,897
Hemp and manufactures of	"	.....	12,615,393
Iron and manufactures of	"	.....	20,305,844
Steel and manufactures of	"	.....	20,531,532
Leather and manufactures of	"	.....	12,653,722
Silk and manufactures of	50 and 60 per ct.	.....	33,307,112
Spirits and wines	$2.00 per gall. for spirits,	9,309,849 galls.	12,586,869
Sugar	1¾ and 2 c. per lb.	1,900,054,706 lbs.	83,025,729
Molasses	6½ c. per gall	28,059,013 galls.	7,059,907
Tin plates	1 1/10 c. per lb.	453,724,126 lbs.	16,688,277
Wool and manufactures of	various.	.....	57,044,444

The grand total for the year, as seen above, was $751,670,305.

Our heaviest articles of import are therefore sugar, wool and woolen goods, silks, cottons and linens, coffee, tea and raw silk. As to coffee and tea, we must always be buyers; as to the rest, we need not always be dependent on a foreign supply.

Our principal articles of export for 1883 were:

	Quantity.	Value.
Agricultural implements	.....	$3,883,919
Cattle and hogs	.....	10,921,163
Indian corn	40,586,825 bush.	27,756,082
Wheat	106,385,828 "	119,879,341
" flour	9,205,664 bbls.	54,824,459
Cotton	1,288,074,062 lbs.	247,328,721
Cotton manufactures	137,700,751 yds.	10,302,867
Manufactures of iron and steel	.....	19,165,321
Leather	.....	6,038,097
Oils, crude and refined	499,786,266 galls.	44,470,433
Provisions, as Bacon	294,118,759 lbs.	32,282,751
" Hams	46,140,911 "	5,873,201
" Beef, fresh	81,064,373 "	8,342,131
" " salted	41,680,623 "	3,742,282
" Butter	12,348,641 "	2,290,665
" Cheese	99,220,467 "	11,134,526
" Lard	224,718,474 "	26,618,048
" Pork	62,116,302 "	6,192,268
" All others	.....	10,911,415
Tobacco and manufactures of	235,647,348 lbs.	22,095,249
Wood and manufactures of	.....	26,793,708
Coin and Bullion	.....	21,623,181

The grand total for the year was, as we have seen, $855,659,735.

A glance at our exports shows that cotton is the leading article, followed closely by the cereals and flour. Then comes the long list of provisions. We not only live well ourselves, but we help others to subsist. Our fourth article of export is petroleum and its manufactures, which has risen to its rank inside of twenty years. All these leading articles of export are those of a people with great natural resources, which they as yet mainly rely on for commercial purposes. But we see in the sending abroad of agricultural implements, manufactures of cotton, wood, iron and steel, evidences of a perfection in machinery and mechanical arts which is already commanding respect elsewhere, and must ere long give us a conspicuous place among the older nations as competitors for the supply of these higher classed manufactures.

Of our exports Great Britain and Ireland receives nearly 52 per cent., and participates in 40 per cent. of our entire foreign trade. That kingdom takes the bulk of our wheat, flour, cotton, and provisions, Germany tobacco and cotton, Brazil and China much of our cotton manufactures, the world in general our petroleum. Great Britain in turn sends us cotton and woollen manufactures, iron in all forms, tin plates and tin pigs, earthenware, and wool; Germany, woollen and cotton goods, glass and wines; France, silks, laces and gloves; Brazil, coffee; the West Indies and Mediterranean countries, fruits and nuts; Norway and Sweden, iron; Russia, wool and iron; China, tea; Turkey, opium and wool.

Nearly 56 per cent. of our foreign commerce is carried on at the port of New York, the value for 1883 being $857,430,637. The transactions at Boston amounted to $134,918,824; at New Orleans (chiefly exports), to $104,704,076; at San Francisco, $90,661,650; at Philadelphia, $71,880,300; at Baltimore, $69,602,530.

The domestic or internal commerce of the United States far exceeds the foreign commerce in value and importance. There are no figures to show its extent exactly, but when we

consider that the number of steamers, sailing vessels, canal-boats, barges, flat-boats and craft of every kind, owned in the country and plying in its waters, is 38,656, with a tonnage of 6,487,310 tons, and a value of $155,784,709, and that the most of these are busy the year round; and when we further consider the wonderful carrying capacity of our railroads, whose net earnings alone for 1883 are estimated at $800,000,000; the annual value of our internal commerce may be set down as among the billions of dollars without exceeding the probabilities.

RAILROADS.—In no line of progress has this country shown such rapidity and brilliancy as in erecting and operating railroads. Many claim that our enterprise in this direction has exceeded the bounds of prudence. No doubt many railroad projects of mistaken propriety have been pushed through. Much capital has been wasted. The government and some of the States have been generous in the extreme with gifts of public lands as a basis of railroad securities. But, all in all, it cannot be said that our dash and enterprise have been misdirected. Streams of population and substantial improvement have made haste to follow railroad lines even when they seemed to be piercing what was regarded as a wilderness or barren plain. In general our railways have surely developed the fields they traversed. If pioneered amid seeming extravagance they have subsisted on food of their own bringing.

In 1830 we made a beginning in railroad building. The mileage for that year was 23. In 1840, it was 2,818; in 1850, 9,021; in 1860, 30,635; in 1870, 52,914; in 1880, 91,944; and in 1883, 117,717 miles. This total mileage exceeds that of any other country in the world, and indeed that of all Europe; the total for Europe being 105,895, of which Germany has 21,565; Great Britain and Ireland 18,168; Russia, 14,067; France, 17,027; Austro-Hungary, 1,738. The world's railways stand thus:

	Miles of Railroad.		Miles of Railroad.
North America	127,830	Asia	14,131
West Indies and Nicaragua	1,094	Africa	3,068
South America	7,316	Australia	5,592
Europe	105,895	Total miles	264,826

Taking the figures as found in "Poor's R. R. Manual" for 1883 (they are for the year 1882) we find that the total mileage in the United States was 112,412, of which 107,158 were operated. Of this length of line Illinois had 10,656 miles; Ohio came next with 7,968 miles; then New York, 6,723 miles; Pennsylvania, 6,608 miles; Indiana, 6,366 miles; Missouri, 6,029 miles; Wisconsin, 5,744 miles; Texas, 5,715 miles. The other States have smaller mileage, but the distribution is very general, extending into forty-four States and Territories.

The total cost of constructing and equipping each mile of road has been about $52,756, or altogether $5,930,409,624.

The capital stock was $3,456,078,196, the funded debt $3,184,415,201, and the total investment $6,895,664,390.

They carried 289,190,783 passengers, at an average fare of 2.86 cents per mile, and with gross earnings equal to $202,140,775.

They carried 380,490,375 tons of freight, at an average cost of 1.2 cents a ton per mile, and with gross earnings equal to $506,367,247.

Their total gross earnings for the year were $770,256,762, and net earnings $280,316,696.

They paid $149,295,300 in interest on indebtedness, and $102,031 434 in dividends.

Every 100 miles of road had 19.67 locomotives; 13.83 passenger cars; 4.77 baggage cars; and 632 freight cars.

CANALS.—There is no such thing as a canal system in the United States. This method of internal communication was once a favorite. It early received the attention of Congress, and was for a long time a chief object of solicitude. During all the time that "Internal Improvement" was a party tenet, it referred mostly to the building of canals. In proportion to their length, amount of capital invested, and their importance to internal commerce they have been more liberally treated by the government and the States than the railroads. For instance the national government has expended directly for canals over $9,000,000, while it has not similarly favored railroads to the extent of over $85,000,000, half of which is a simple loan of security to be refunded in certain ways, and on which interest

is collectable. Besides this 4,405,986 acres of public lands have been given to canals. The States have been equally liberal. Hence we say they were a favorite means of building up internal commerce, at an early period. But that was before the era of railroads.

Canal-building began before the adoption of the Constitution, or as early as 1785, on the James River, Va. But the period of greatest activity dates from 1817 to 1819, when were conceived and begun those projects for connecting the lakes with the Hudson, the Delaware with New York, and the Upper Susquehannah and Schuylkill with tide water, and which then looked like the dawn of a vast internal carrying system. Many of these were completed between 1820 and 1830, and served an excellent purpose—indeed, serve the same yet. But after 1840 the slow-going water way was in general superseded by steam, and canal building was limited to slackwater enterprises or to short lines around falls or through necks for the purpose of facilitating steam communication.

The total length of canals in operation in the United States in 1880 was 2,926 miles, of which 2,515 miles were canal and 411 miles slackwater. Of this length New York had a total of 722 miles; New Jersey, 171 miles; Pennsylvania, 775 miles; Delaware, 14 miles; Maryland, 200 miles; Virginia, 75 miles; North Carolina, 13 miles; Georgia, 25 miles; Florida, 10 miles; Louisiana, 28 miles; Texas, 38 miles; Illinois, 102 miles; Michigan, 3 miles; Ohio, 749 miles.

The total cost of constructing these canals was $170,028,636. They carried, in 1880, 21,044,292 tons of freight, at a gross income of $4,538,620, and a net income of $2.954,156.

At the same time there were in the United States 1,954 miles of abandoned canals, whose cost was $44,013,166; showing that canal communication was largely abandoned on the appearance of railroads, or that many of the schemes for canal-building were originally wild and impracticable.

TELEGRAPHS.—The telegraphic method of communication, so swift, cheap, and capable of such diversification, came into favor instantly in the United States. By 1866 when the scat-

tered and struggling individual lines were gathered into a single corporation, known as the Western Union Telegraph Company, there were 37,380 miles of line and 75,686 miles of wire.

The figures for 1870 were 54,109 miles of line and 112,191 miles of wire. For 1880 they were 110,726 miles of line and 291,212 miles of wire, for the United States; 85,645 miles of line and 233,534 miles of wire being operated by the Western Union Company. The total value of the telegraphic franchises in the country is in round numbers $100,000,000. The capital stock of the Western Union is $80,000,000. Their receipts in 1880 were $16,669,623; expenses $10,218,281; and net receipts $6,645,342.

This does not include the length of lines connected with the various railroad companies, nor that of government, private and telephone lines. There are no figures for these. As to the principal countries of the world we stand thus:

	Length of Tel. Lines.	Messages sent.
United States, 1882	163,940	51,942,247
Russia, 1880	53,736	4,710,120
France, 1881	45,878	19,466,000
Germany, 1881	45,070	17,507,000
Austro-Hungary, 1881	31,121	8,865,000
Australasia, 1880	27,831	.....
Great Britain, 1882	26,289	31,345,861
India (British), 1880	20,468	1,431,000
Italy, 1881	16,692	6,250,000

The total length of the world's lines was quite 600,000 miles in 1883, more than a fourth of which was in the United States, not counting railroad and private lines.

TELEPHONES.—This new and unique method of communication has come into existence within the memory of the youngest. For use in cities and between neighboring towns it has largely superseded the telegraph, and it is thought that ere long it will be possible to talk by telephone over very long distances and even through submarine wires. Not even the most enthusiastic of us can begin to conjure the possibilities of electric communication, or of electricity as a motor.

It is impossible to ascertain the number of telephones and the length of telephone wires already in the United States. Lines and instruments are being erected so rapidly as to defy all

ordinary statistics. The Census figures (1880) give 34,305 miles of telephone wire in use. By Jan. 1, 1883, it was estimated that there were 100,000 miles of wire in use, over which passed communications at the rate of 120,000,000 annually. But the reader is left to guess the amount of capital now rushing into this business and the number of miles of wire annually erected. He can safely double any of the above estimates without exceeding the figures for 1884.

EDUCATION.—Passing from commercial to educational development, we find the same cause for pride in a growth which has been signal and exceptional. It seems like a marvel that education should have kept up with the whirl of material development incident to a new country and one so full of inducement. That it has so done is due to a spirit traceable to our fathers, who early recognized the paramount importance of mental culture amid institutions which were free.

The marvel is only increased when we consider that our various systems of education have had to meet not only the mental wants of native children, but those of immigrants less favored than our own, and, more lately, the wants of a vast aggregate of persons in the South who did not for generations enjoy school opportunities.

We doubt if the world presents another such an instance of willingness to educate its people, and of ability to contend with the problems of primary education. The supreme thought of every intelligent section, and of every hour since we were colonies, has been that the safety of the nation and its system of government rests on the general diffusion of knowledge. Common school systems, therefore, found an early birth and a hearty support. Their growth has been a pride, even amounting to competition among most of the States. The general government has not been backward in aiding the States, by its grant to the school fund of each State of a section (640 acres) out of each township of public lands; by its further grant of 9,000,000 acres to certain States for State universities; and again in 1862 by a grant of 30,000 acres to each State for the purpose of founding a College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts.

It is no part of our work to discuss the nature of our respective common school systems. They are happily coincident in securing to the young an education sufficient for every-day requirements, and the standard is such that that education is of no mean order. It makes excellent business men, readers and thinkers, and is a sufficient foundation upon which to base acquisition of a higher and more special order.

Our educational system does not end with common schools. It ramifies thoughout an infinite number of public and private academies, and ends in a chain of high schools and colleges which embraces the land. Some of the latter are our very oldest institutions, dating far beyond the period of the Declaration, and not a few of them rank with the best of the kind in the old world. In special schools of agriculture, science, and observation, we are making more rapid progress than ever before.

While our past educational growth is a matter of pride, and our facilities such as they are, we must not forget that there is vast room for improvement, especially in forcing our educational systems down lower among the masses and addressing them to their precise wants. Our army of illiterates is still large and greatly out of proportion to our population. This time will remedy if all the States are persistent. But there must be no remission of effort. As to the other question, the kind of education: the tendency is to change methods so as to educate the hand and eye along with the mind; in other words to make primary education the basis of a practical training in handicraft of some kind or all kinds.

The universities and colleges in the United States numbered, in 1882, 365, with 4,413 instructors and 64,096 students. In the same year the theological seminaries numbered 145, with 712 instructors and 4,921 students.

The Census figures for 1880 give 225,880 common schools in the United States, valued at $211,411,540.

For the same year there were employed 236,019 teachers, at an average monthly salary of $36.21.

To sustain these schools for the school year there was ex-

pended $79,339,814, of which $55,745,029 was for teachers' salaries.

The schools were open an aggregate of 1,462,174 months, or an average of six months and a fraction for each school.

The whole number of pupils who attended was 9,946,160, and the average attendance was 6,276,398.

The figures of the Commissioner of Education for 1882 give the total school population of the country at 16,210,133, of whom 9,996,133 were enrolled as at school, and the average daily attendance as 6,120,454. The total amount expended for school purposes, for the year, was $91,400,459, of which $57,954,986 was for teachers' salaries. The school ages vary in the respective States, from 4–21 to 8–14 years, an average of 14½ years.

A comparison with the leading educational countries of the world affords cause for congratulation. The figures are from the report of the Bureau of Education for 1881, but refer to statistics for 1879 and those years next previous, as they could be obtained. They are for elementary schools only:

	Population.	School Pop.	Schools.	Pupils.	Teachers.
United States....	50,152,866	14,962,336	225,000 Est.	9,424,080	272,686
Austria.....	21,752,000	3,122,863	15,166	2,134,683	31,196
England & Wales.	25,165,336	2,500,000	17,166	3,710,883	69,527
France.....	36,905,788	6,409,087	71,547	4,716,935	110,709
Prussia.....	25,742,404	4,396,738	34,988	4,007,776	57,936
Italy.....	26,801,000	4,527,582	47,411	1,931,617	47,085
Japan.....	34,245,323	5,251,807	25,459	2,162,962	59,825

Our elementary school age is longer than that of any other country, which is a good point in our favor. The usual age in Europe is from six to fourteen, or at most sixteen. While this makes our school population larger in proportion to our entire population, it will be seen that we are also better equipped in the way of schools and teachers to meet its wants than any other country.

The dark side of the situation is presented by the figures bearing on illiteracy.

Population.	Persons over 10 years who cannot read.	Persons over 10 years who cannot write.
1870....38,558,371	4,528,084 11.8 per cent.	5,658,144 14.7 per cent.
1880....50,155,783	4,923,451 9.8 "	6,239,958 12.4 "

It would appear then that even this dark side is not without its ray. Those who could not read were 2 per cent. less of the population in 1880 than in 1870, and those who could not write were 2.3 per cent. less. Of the 6,239,958 who could not write 2,255,260 were native whites, 763,620 foreign whites, and 3,220,878 colored persons. The per cents. of illiteracy are lowest in the New England, Western and Northwestern States, and highest in the Southern, even among whites; but their per cent. is greatly increased by the number of illiterate colored persons found there.

Taking our rate of total illiteracy at 10 per cent., it ranks almost as low as that of any other country. Bavaria has a rate of 7 per cent. Japan may fall below 10 per cent. The German rate is placed at 12 per cent., England and Wales at 30 per cent., Scotland at 16 per cent., Austria at 49 per cent., Ireland at 46 per cent., Russia at 91 per cent., Spain at 80 per cent. So that if we cannot claim a lead in diffused elementary intelligence, we stand well and are in possession of the agencies to give us the rank which is our due.

LIBRARIES.—While we cannot boast of immense libraries —the collection of ages—like the National Library of France with its 2,000,000 volumes, the British Museum with its 1,500,000 volumes, or the Imperial Library of Russia with its 1,100,000 volumes, we are nevertheless a nation of readers, with a greater number of public and private libraries of respectable proportions than any other people. They are found in every State. Statistics respecting them are very uncertain, but those of New York and Pennsylvania are the most numerous, while the collections of Massachusetts and the District of Columbia are very valuable. The largest library in the country is the Congressional Library at Washington, whose volumes approximate 500,000 in number. The number of libraries in the country is in excess of 200,000 with over 50,000,000 books. Of these full 60,000 are public and contain 25,000,000 books. But these estimates are far below the truth. The fact is, a house without a library, or the nucleus of one, is getting to be an exceptional thing. Books of value are bought and treasured by our people, and sales of popular works often reach enormous figures.

THE PRESS.—In no branch of literature has our progress been more marked than in that known as periodical publication. The figures show for

	Number of Periodicals.	Circulation.		Number of Periodicals.	Circulation.
1850.....	2,526	5,142,177	1870.....	5,871	20,842,475
1860.....	4,051	13,663,409	1880.....	11,403	31,177,924

Of those for 1880, 980 were daily papers, 8,718 weekly papers, 1,705 miscellaneous, and 10,625 of them were published in English and 778 in other languages. Of the entire number 8,816 were devoted to news, 574 to religious subjects, 162 to agriculture, 146 to general literature, and 1,705 to miscellaneous matters. The whole number of printed copies was 1,344,101,235, valued at $87,441,132. Wages paid by publishers, $28,571,330.

While all this is flattering to our literary tastes, the business of periodical publishing is the most precarious in existence. Failures to establish permanent paying newspapers and magazines are the rule and not the exception. The pathway of this class of publishing is strewn with thick wreckage. It is an influential, captivating business, but one prolific of disaster, unless it engages more than ordinary tact, talent and capital.

CHURCHES.—Under our free, non-sectarian, yet Christian institutions, the religions of Protestantism have found their grandest opportunity and have made the most of it. They have built congregations and edifices, have instructed and converted, have enlightened and evangelized, wherever people could be grouped or the light of the cross could penetrate. They have carried the divine energy into the midst of all the other mighty forces which have been shaping our government, directing our enterprises and developing our resources, so that, if not as pious a people as we might be, we are not irreverent, but are imbued with a spirit which, on proper call, awakens readily to philanthropy and responds to refined and holy emotions.

It is a matter of great moment to us in a national sense that the religious energy has so successfully worked in with the other energies which a new country called into play, but which would, by reason of their freedom and lustiness, have inevitably grown

coarse and heathenish if they had not been influenced by some sweet, refining and saving presence. The church has been a growth here in a highly institutional sense. That growth has been regular, as it has been needful. Church property in the United States has gotten to be of fabulous value. Church architecture is based on approved models. Church accommodation may be inadequate, but it is cleanly, comfortable and inviting, as far as it goes. Of denominations there is great variety, as there should be where there is no restriction on the order of human thought and no curb on the emotions.

The Catholic faith claims 6,832,954 adherents in the United States. It does not report church membership, but counts its adherents by birthright. It worships through 6,546 ministers in 6,241 churches.

The Methodist faith has ever been a popular one in this new country, on account of its energy and directness. It is subdivided into some ten or eleven branches, widely spread, and reaching the lowest of the masses. Its figures in 1882 were:

	Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
Methodist Episcopal	17,935	24,658	1,724,420
" " (South)		11,703	860,687
" " (African)		1,738	387,566
" " (Zion)		1,800	300,000
" " (Colored)		638	112,938
Methodist Free		260	12,318
" Congregational		225	13,750
" Primitive		52	3,369
" Protestant		1,385	135,000
" Calvinistic	1,134	600	118,979
" Wesleyan		400	17,087
Total membership			3,686,114

The Baptist faith has been actively pushed by an intelligent ministry. It has divided into five branches.

	Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
Baptist	26,060	16,596	2,296,327
" Anti-Mission	900	400	40,000
" Free Will	1,432	1,213	78,012
" Seventh Day	94	110	8,539
" Six Principles	20	12	2,000
Total membership			2,424,978

The Presbyterian faith, like the Baptist, is in the keeping of

an influential ministry, and has been embraced in our most thoughtful and vigorous communities. Its subdivisions and numbers are:

	Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
Presbyterian	5,858	5,218	600,695
" South	2,010	1,081	123,806
" Cumberland	2,457	1,386	111,863
" Reformed	167	143	17,273
" United	826	719	84,573
Total membership			938,210

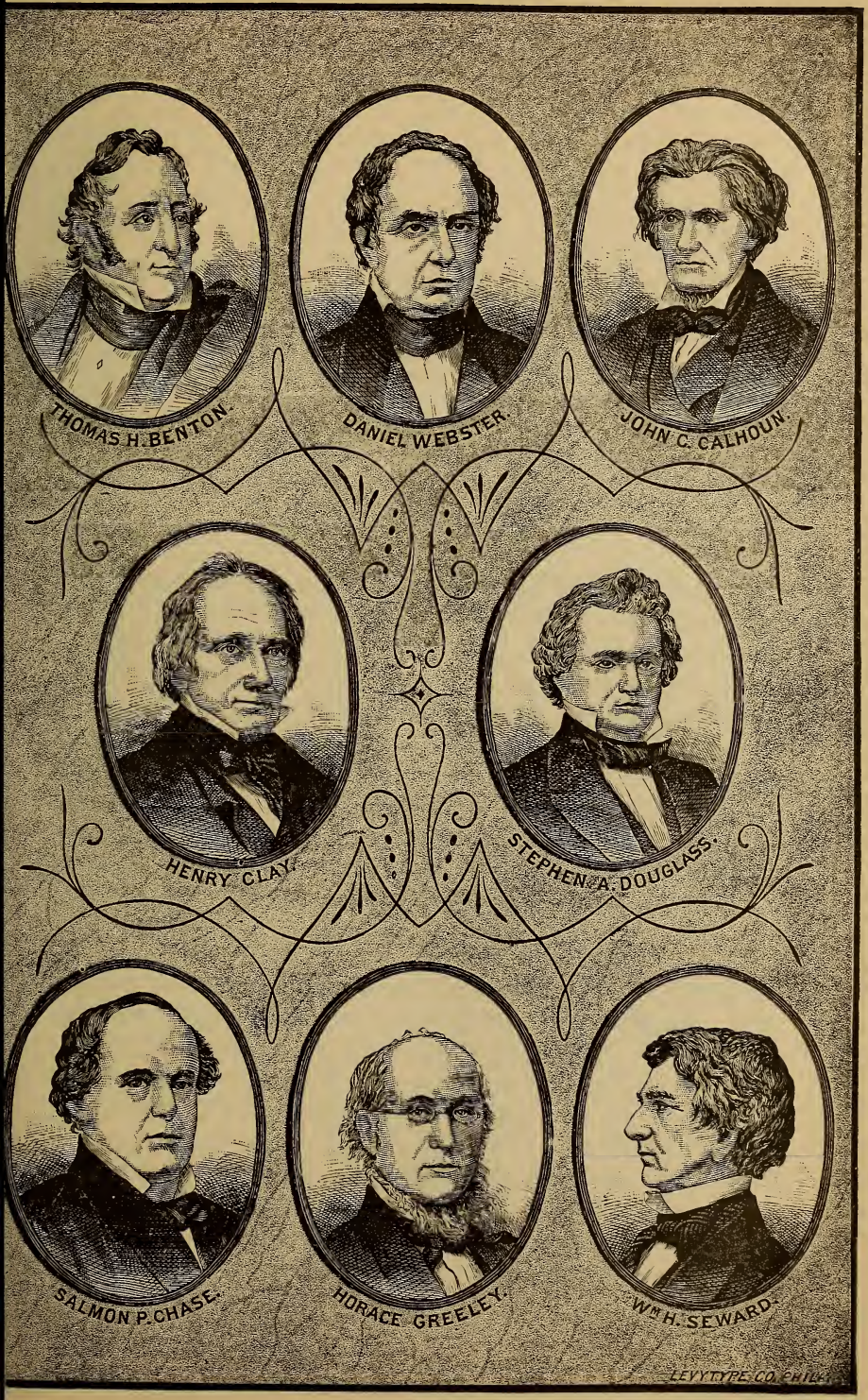
The Episcopal faith embraces:

	Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
Episcopal, Protestant	3,000	3,432	338,333
" Reformed		100	9,448
Total membership			347,781

The other faiths are Second Adventists with 800 churches, 600 ministers and 70,000 members; Seventh Day Adventists with 640 churches, 144 ministers and 15,570 members; Congregational with 3,804 churches, 3,713 ministers and 351,697 members; Disciples of Christ with 5,100 churches, 3,782 ministers and 591,821 members; Dunkards with 250 churches, 200 ministers and 100,000 members; Evangelical Association with 1,576 churches, 1,545 ministers and 117,027 members; Friends with 392 churches, 200 ministers and 60,000 members; Jews with 269 churches, 202 ministers and 13,683 members; Lutherans, one of our strongest and most influential ecclesiastical bodies, with 5,553 churches, 3,132 ministers and 950,868 members; Mennonites with 300 churches, 350 ministers and 50,000 members; Moravian with 84 churches, 94 ministers and 9,491 members; Mormon with 654 churches, 3,906 ministers and 110,377 members; Swedenborgian with 93 churches, 89 ministers and 3,994 members; Reformed (Dutch) with 509 churches, 545 ministers and 80,167 members; Reformed (German) with 1,405 churches, 748 ministers and 155,857 members; Shaker with 18 churches, 68 ministers and 2,400 members; Unitarian with 335 churches, 394 ministers and 17,960 members; United Brethren with 4,524 churches, 2,196 ministers and 157,835 members; Universalists with 959 churches, 729 ministers and 27,429 mem-

bers; Winebrennerians with 400 churches, 350 ministers and 30,000 members.

Here is a Protestant membership in excess of 10,000,000, which added to the Catholic adherents makes over 16,000,000 pledged Christians. This is a large proportion of our population, and an influence which is stronger than any other in moulding thought and shaping morals.



NOTABLE AMERICAN STATESMEN OF THE XIXTH CENTURY.

PART II.

RULING THE REPUBLIC.

RULING NATIONALLY;
OR,
THE MACHINERY OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

THE THREE GREAT BRANCHES.—Our government is divided by the Constitution into three distinct branches or departments, the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial. The existence of these departments is necessary for the energy and stability of the government. Their separation is necessary for the preservation of public liberty and private rights. When they are all united in one person or one body of men, that government is a despotism. The first resolution adopted by the Convention which framed the Constitution was that "a national government ought to be established consisting of a *supreme legislative, judiciary* and *executive*."

THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

This department consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives, and these two are called the Congress. The Senate is sometimes called the Upper House, and the House of Representatives the Lower House. The latter is also known as "the House," in contrast to "the Senate." In the Constitution they are spoken of as "each House," the "two Houses," "both Houses." The Constitution gives to the Congress the power to make all laws, and withholds that power from the other departments. It is a representative body, and is supposed to do what the people would do if they were assembled in deliberative meeting to

enact laws for their government. The Congress meets in regular session, according to the Constitution, on the first Monday in December, each year; but the President may call extra sessions when necessary. The two Houses not only meet on the same day, but neither can adjourn without the consent of the other for more than three days at a time, nor to any other place than that of regular meeting, now the capitol at Washington. The President may however change the place of meeting to avoid plague or other danger. Congresses themselves run by odd years, like the administrations. The 48th Congress met in first regular session Dec. (1st Monday), 1883. This first session of any Congress is called "the long session." It may end at any time during the next year, prior to December. The "long session" usually runs to July or August of an even year. The second session of a Congress is called the "short session." It meets in December of an even year and ends by limitation on March 3d of an odd year. Thus elections for President and for Congressmen occur in even years. Administrations and Congresses begin and end in odd years.

THE SENATE.—This branch or House of Congress is composed of two Senators from each State. There are now thirty-eight States. Multiply 38 by 2 and you have the number of United States Senators. It seems somewhat unfair that a large and populous State like New York should have no greater representation in the National Senate than small States like Delaware and Rhode Island. But this result was one of the necessary compromises of the Constitution. The Senate is built on the theory of State representation, the House of Representatives on the theory of popular or people representation. Senators are elected for six years. No man can be a Senator who is not thirty years old, who has not been a citizen of the United States for nine years, and who is not an inhabitant of the State for which he is chosen.

The Senate is regarded as a more dignified and honorable body than the House of Representatives. Its very name (from *senatus*, which is from *senex*, old) presumes an older and graver membership. It is further removed from the populace. It does

not need to represent the fickle will of the masses, but the higher and more deliberative wish of the States, which are its constituency. As a law-making branch of the Congress it is equal with the House, except that it cannot originate bills * for raising revenue. Revenue bills must, according to the Constitution, originate in the House of Representatives.† No bill can become a law till it has received the approval of a majority in both Houses, and been approved by the President.

The Senate has powers beyond those which are purely legislative, and is therefore stronger in this respect than the lower House. It is a part of the Executive branch for the purpose of making appointments to office. All executive nominations for office must be approved by the Senate before they are final. The Senate may reject such nominations and compel the President to send in other names. When the Senate is sitting to deliberate on the President's nominations it is said to be in Executive session. So the Senate in connection with the President constitutes the Treaty-making power of the government. When the Senate is sitting to deliberate on Treaties or other delicate matters it is said to be in "secret session." Further the Senate is the court before which impeachment cases are heard and by which they are determined. The Vice-President of the United States is the presiding officer of the Senate, but has no vote except when there is a tie. This presiding officer is called the President of the Senate. If the Vice-President should die or his seat be vacant for any cause, the Senate elects a President from its own members. As a matter of fact the Senate is never

* An act when first presented to either House and up until the time of its passage is called a "bill." After its passage it is an "act" or "law." Acts which are merely declarative of the intent of either House and binding on it, but which do not bear directly on the people at large, are called "Resolutions;" if passed by both Houses and binding on both they are called "Joint Resolutions."

† The jurisdiction of the two Houses over this point gives rise to frequent controversies. During the 2d session of 47th Congress the Senate originated, debated and passed a Tariff bill on its own account. This proceeding was objected to by the House, but as the final bill (the act of March 3, 1883) was the result of a conference of both Houses, much time was saved by the Senate action and no harm was done.

without a President *pro tem.*, that officer being important as a possible President of the United States, in case of the death, resignation, removal or disability of both President and Vice-President. A two-third vote of all the Senators present is required to ratify a treaty or convict a person impeached.

ELECTION OF SENATORS.—The place at which United States Senators shall be chosen must be determined by the States. This place, usually the State Capitol, cannot be changed by the Congress. But the Congress may fix the time and manner of electing Senators. It has done so. When a vacancy is about to exist by reason of expiration of a senatorial term, the State Legislature chosen next preceding such vacancy must, on the second Tuesday after its meeting, proceed to elect a Senator in Congress.

Each branch of the Legislature selects, by a majority of all the *viva voce* votes cast, a candidate for Senator. The next day after the above-named second Tuesday at 12 M., both Houses meet in joint assembly. If it is found they have both nominated the same candidate, he shall be declared the Senator. If they have not, then the two Houses shall sit in joint assembly, meeting each day at 12 M., and casting at least one vote daily, till a Senator is chosen by a majority of the votes of said joint assembly, cast *viva voce*, a majority of both Houses being present.

Vacancies by death or resignation are filled in the same way by the first Legislature which meets, finding such vacancy.

The Governor of the State certifies such election, under the seal of the State and signed by his Secretary of State, to the President of the Senate of the United States. Both the Senate and House of Representatives are the final judges of the qualifications of their own members. In the first Senate one-third of the members were selected by lot for two years, another third for four, another third for six. This was to give effect to the clause in the Constitution making one-third of the Senate elective every two years.

SENATE MACHINERY.—The Senate employs for its comfortable working a Secretary of the Senate at a salary of $4,896;

a Chief Clerk, $3,000; a Librarian; and a corps of regular clerks, committee clerks, pages, pasters and folders, numbering quite one hundred.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—Known also as "The Lower House" and as the "House." It is equal and co-ordinate with the Senate as a branch of Congress, but has the sole power to originate revenue bills, and to move in cases of impeachment. Its bill of impeachment is like the bill of indictment found by a grand jury, and is tried before the Senate sitting as a court. Bills and resolutions pass in the House, as in the Senate, by a majority. Though the Senate and House make the Congress, a custom has grown up of designating the members of the House as M. C.'s (Members of Congress) and members of the Senate as Senators.

ELECTION OF M. C.'S.—A member of the House must be twenty-five years of age, a citizen of the United States for seven years, and an inhabitant of the State in which he is chosen. He is elected for two years, and by the qualified electors in each State. His salary like that of Senator is $5,000 per year.*

The Congress fixes the number of members of the House after each decennial census, as required by the Constitution. Its act to this effect generally goes into operation on the third of March of the third year after the census. Thus the act for this purpose after the census of 1880 went into effect on and after March 3, 1883. The Congress enacted, Feb. 25, 1882, that, until another act after another census, the number of members of the House should be 325. This number was then divided among the States in proportion to their population. It was

* The salary of a Congressman was $8 per day up to 1856. From that time to 1866 it was $3,000 per year. It remained at this figure till act of March 3, 1873, increased it to $7,500 per year. This act increased the President's salary from $25,000 to $50,000, and made a general increase of salaries among Department officers. It was very unpopular and was followed by the act of Jan. 20, 1874, reducing the salary of Congressmen to $5,000. It made material reductions in all the raised salaries. The President's salary remained at $50,000. In addition to $5,000 per year members of Congress (Senators and M. C.'s) are entitled to mileage. This has always remained at forty cents a mile, on the principle, be it charitably supposed, that they all go to the capitol by stage-coach as of yore.

found that each State was entitled to the following number of members:

MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

As Apportioned (after March 3, 1883) Under Census of 1880.

Alabama	8	Mississippi	7
Arkansas	5	Missouri	14
California	6	Nebraska	3
Colorado	1	Nevada	1
Connecticut	4	New Hampshire	2
Delaware	1	New Jersey	7
Florida	2	New York	34
Georgia	10	North Carolina	9
Illinois	20	Ohio	21
Indiana	13	Oregon	1
Iowa	11	Pennsylvania	28
Kansas	7	Rhode Island	2
Kentucky	11	South Carolina	7
Louisiana	6	Tennessee	10
Maine	4	Texas	11
Maryland	6	Vermont	2
Massachusetts	12	Virginia	10
Michigan	11	West Virginia	4
Minnesota	5	Wisconsin	9
Total			325
Quota for a Representative			154,325

This act is called the apportionment act,* though the final work of apportionment is left to the States, each of which is required to divide itself into as many Congressional districts of contiguous territory, and containing as nearly as may be the number of inhabitants ascertained to be a quota or ratio, as the Congress has assigned to each. Thus by the above table New York has thirty-four members of Congress between the years 1883 and 1893, under the census of 1880. Her Legislature must

* The first apportionment was made by the Convention which framed the Constitution. It gave to N. H. 3; Mass. 8; R. I. 1; Conn. 5; N. Y. 6; N. J. 4; Pa. 8; Del. 1; Md. 6; Va. 10; N. C. 5; S. C. 5; Ga. 3, or 65 in all. The ratio of representation was 30,000. After the census of 1790, the act of 1792 fixed the ratio at 33,000; the act of 1803 left it at 33,000; the act of 1811 at 35,000; the act of 1822 at 40,000; the act of 1832 at 47,700; the act of 1842 at 70,680. Up to this time the apportionment acts only fixed a ratio of representation. The number of members was ascertained by dividing this ratio into the total population. But the act of 1852 fixed instead the number of members of the House at 233, leaving the ratio to be ascertained by dividing 233 into the population of 1850. This made the ratio 93,423. And so the ratio after 1860 was 127,381; after 1870, 131,425; and after 1880, as above.

divide the State into thirty-four Congressional districts, each of which is to contain as nearly as may be 154,325 inhabitants. To get at the electoral vote of each State you must add the two Senators to the number of Representatives in the House. If a Congressional election takes place in a State before it has made its apportionment, and said State shall be entitled to one or more members of Congress than it had under the previous apportionment, the additional member or members may, for the time being, be elected on the general State ticket as "Members of Congress at Large."

The States formerly voted for Congressmen at their annual State elections, no matter when they came off. Now, under an act of Congress (March 3, 1875) prescribing a "uniform time for holding Congressional elections," they are all required to hold them on the "Tuesday next after the first Monday in November," of every second year, and all will do so as soon as they can amend their Constitutions to that effect.

ORGANIZATION OF THE HOUSE.—The chief officer of the House is called the Speaker. He is elected by the members, at the beginning of each Congress. His election is a necessary part of organization. His compensation is $8,000, because his duties are more arduous than those of the average member, and his knowledge of parliamentary law and usages supposed to be greater. He may become President, for should there be no President, nor Vice-President, nor President of the Senate *pro tem.*, the Speaker of the House becomes Acting President.

The most important officer of the House, after the Speaker, is the Clerk of the House, salary $4,500. Indeed, it would not be amiss to call him the most important officer of the House, for upon him devolves the duty of preparing a list of the members elected to each Congress, and only the members on this list are entitled to participate in the work of organization. If names are wrongfully omitted, the matter must be settled by regular hearing before the House, or a Committee on Elections, under the rule that each House is the judge of the qualification of its own members.

TERRITORIAL DELEGATES.—Each organized Territory is entitled to a representative in Congress (two, if the population warrants, though generally Territories become States by that time), elected by the qualified electors thereof, the same as Members of Congress. This Territorial representative is called a Delegate. He is entitled to join in debate but cannot vote. His pay is $5,000 per year and mileage.

HOUSE MACHINERY.—The House machinery is more elaborate than that of the Senate. The Clerk of the House has a large corps of assistants, as has the Sergeant-at-Arms. The reading clerks, committee clerks, post-office clerks, library employés, door-keepers, messengers, pasters and folders, etc., number from 250 to 300.

MAKING LAWS.—Both Houses rely largely on their Committees to prepare bills and resolutions, before they are presented for discussion and final passage. These Committees are very numerous, and are organized presumably with reference to their fitness for the subjects referred to them. After the Speaker of the House is elected, his first important business is to appoint the Standing Committees of the House. The President of the Senate does the same for the Senate, at the opening of each new Congress. When a bill is introduced, it is read for the information of the members. If it is not opposed or rejected, it is said to be passed to a second reading, which may be the next or some subsequent day. On that second reading the question comes up shall it be committed to one of the above Standing Committees, the subject of the bill suggesting the proper Committee. Sometimes the nature of the bill is such as to require its reference to a special or select Committee. When bills of great moment are under discussion, the House resolves itself into a Committee of the Whole, on account of the greater freedom of debate then allowed. After the Committee to which a bill has been referred are done deliberating on it, it is reported back to the House either adversely or favorably, and with or without amendments. Then the question is on its engrossment (copying in a fair hand) for third reading. After being engrossed (if it has been so ordered), it is read a third time and the question is on its pas-

sage. If passed, it is signed by the presiding officer and sent to the other House, where it goes through the same routine. Sometimes amendments are added on its passage. If so, it is sent back to the House where it originated. If these are agreed to, it is repassed there. If not, and the bill is important, the disagreement between the two Houses is settled, if possible, in what is called a Committee of Conference; that is, a Committee composed of members from both Houses. This Committee reports to both Houses the results of its deliberations, and if in the shape of a bill, it is again on its final passage in both Houses as before. When passed by both Houses, it is sent to the President. If he approves it, he signs it, and then it is law. If he does not approve it, he sends it back to the House in which it originated, with his veto message, where the question is, "Shall it pass notwithstanding the President's veto?" Unless it is sustained by a vote of two-thirds of both Houses it cannot become a law over the veto. If so sustained it becomes law in spite of the veto. The President has ten days in which to consider a bill before he signs or vetoes it. Many bills are crowded on the President within ten days of the adjournment of Congress. Those he favors he returns with his approval in time, and so with those he does not favor, if he wishes his reasons for a veto to become public. But sometimes he does not return the bill at all in time for adjournment, and thus kills it. This is called the "pocket veto," the bill being in the President's pocket, as it were. It is not regarded as a very manly way of exercising the veto power, but must be excused sometimes to rush of business during the closing days of a session. Resolutions and Joint Resolutions follow the routine of Bills.

CONGRESSIONAL LIBRARY.—An act of April 24, 1800, appropriated $5,000 to buy necessary books for Members of the Congress. Act of Jan. 26, 1802, organized The Library of Congress, located it in a room previously occupied by the House of Representatives, created the office of Librarian, made him appointive by the President, and limited the use of books to Members of Congress and the Departments. Up to 1814 there were only 3,000 volumes in the library. It was burned Aug. 25,

1814, with the capitol, by the British. In September, 1814, Jefferson offered his library of 6,700 volumes, as the nucleus of a new library of Congress, at cost. It was accepted, and the sum of $23,950 paid for it. In 1818 the annual appropriation to the Library was raised to $2,000 a year, and in 1824 to $5,000 a year. This year it was moved to the central capitol. In 1851 it had 55,000 volumes, and again met with a loss by fire of 35,000 volumes. Starting anew, Congress rebuilt a fire-proof hall for $75,000, and appropriated $75,000 to buy books. By 1860 it contained 75,000 volumes, on an annual appropriation of $7,000. This was increased to $10,000 in 1861. In 1866 it received the 40,000 volumes of the Smithsonian Institute. In 1867 the Force library was purchased at a cost of $100,000. It contained 60,000 books and articles.

The Law Department of the Library was constituted by act of July 14, 1832. Under an annual appropriation of $2,000 a year it has grown from 2,011 volumes to 35,000.

By act of July 8, 1870, the granting of copyrights was centered in the office of the Librarian of Congress, where two copies of each publication entered for copyright must be deposited. This has brought an annual addition of 25,000 books, maps, and other articles, in duplicate. In January, 1880, the library contained 365,000 volumes and 120,000 pamphlets, and in 1883, 513,441 volumes and 165,000 pamphlets. The catalogue alone fills four royal octavo volumes. Measures are now being taken to erect a new building, which is much needed, the capacity of the present one being wholly inadequate. Expenditure for the Library is under control of a joint committee of both Houses of Congress. The same committee have control of the Botanical Garden, which supplies plants, seeds and flowers to Members of Congress for public distribution and personal use.

PUBLIC PRINTING OFFICE.—Until 1860 the government hired men to do its printing, and each House employed a printer. The expense got to be so enormous that Congress authorized a Government Printing Office, and appropriated $150,000 to start it. It was placed under the management of a Superintendent of Public Printing, or the Public Printer, whose

salary is $3,600. This officer is selected by Congress. He has power to purchase all necessary material and employ ample help. He must report to Congress each session the work done, the expense incurred, the number of hands employed, the full and exact condition of the establishment. The office is now the largest and best appointed in the world. It prints and binds all public books and papers, except where otherwise ordered. The number of these is simply enormous, and many of them of very little use. The force employed consists of six clerks, and some 1,500 hands. The cost of work done in the office must not exceed that of private printing offices in Washington.

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

The language of the Constitution is, Art. II. Sec. 1: "The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows."

Before showing how he is elected let it be said that he is sometimes called "The Executive," and "The Chief Magistrate of the Nation." The Congress (Legislative Branch) legislates, that is, makes the laws; the President (Executive Branch) executes or enforces the laws; the Supreme, Circuit and District Courts (Judicial Branch) adjudge, expound, interpret, pronounce, and, with the civic machinery at their command, also execute the laws.

PRESIDENT-MAKING.—The people do not vote directly for the President and Vice-President but for Presidential electors, whose number in each State is equal to the number of the representatives (Senators and M. C.'s) in the Congress from that State.* The President must be thirty-five years of age and a native of the United States. At first the political parties desig-

* At first the Legislatures of the respective States generally made choice of the electors. This was gradually abandoned, and by 1824 most of the States used the popular vote. In 1828 the popular vote of the States became an element of computation. South Carolina retained the method of electing electors by her Legislature till 1868. This word elector is misleading. Any qualified voter is an elector. But it is in the Constitution and besides has the sanction of long custom.

nated their candidates for President in Congressional Caucus. This method began to give way to the modern system of National Nominating Conventions with a platform of principles about 1832–36. The first four Presidential elections were conducted under Art. II., Sec. 1, Clause 3, of the Constitution, which did not require a separate nomination for Vice-President, but that each elector should vote for two persons, not from the same State, the one having the highest number of votes to be President, the one having the next highest to be Vice-President. In the election of 1800, Jefferson and Burr had each 73 votes, and the contest had to be settled in the House. At the previous election of 1796, John Adams, Federal, had 71 votes, Thomas Jefferson, Republican, 68 votes. Here was a President of one party, and a Vice-President of another. It was evident that the clause was defective, and it was amended in 1804 by the adoption of the 12th Amendment.

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.—"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator, or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector," Cons. Art. II., Sec. 1, Clause 2.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.—Under the above article, and the apportionment in accordance with the Census of 1880, the Electoral Colleges of the respective States contain electors, as follows:

Alabama	10	Maryland	8
Arkansas	7	Massachusetts	14
California	8	Michigan	13
Colorado	3	Minnesota	7
Connecticut	6	Mississippi	9
Delaware	3	Missouri	16
Florida	4	Nebraska	5
Georgia	12	Nevada	3
Illinois	22	New Hampshire	4
Indiana	15	New Jersey	9
Iowa	13	New York	36
Kansas	9	North Carolina	11
Kentucky	13	Ohio	23
Louisiana	8	Oregon	3
Maine	6	Pennsylvania	30

Rhode Island	4	Vermont	4
South Carolina	9	Virginia	12
Tennessee	12	West Virginia	6
Texas	13	Wisconsin	11
Total			401

Requiring, as between two candidates, 201 to elect.

CHOOSING OF ELECTORS.—Electors of President and Vice-President are chosen in each State on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, in every fourth year succeeding every election of a President or Vice-President. This is the Presidential election.

The number of electors must equal the whole number of Representatives and Senators to which the several States are by law entitled at the time when the President and Vice-President to be chosen come into office. But where no apportionment of Representatives has been made after a Census, at the time of choosing electors, the number of electors must be according to the then existing apportionment of Senators and Representatives.

Each State may by law provide for filling any vacancies in its electoral college, when such college meets to give its electoral vote.

When any State has held an election for electors and has failed to make a choice on the day fixed by law, electors may be appointed on a subsequent day in such manner as the Legislature may prescribe.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE.—Electors for each State meet and give their votes the first Wednesday in December in the year in which they are chosen, at such place in each State as its Legislature directs.

On the day of meeting, or before, the Governor of each State delivers to the electors three certified lists of the names of electors of such State.

The electors vote for President and Vice-President, as the Constitution directs in Art. XII. of the Amendments. They then make and sign three certificates of the votes given by them, each of which contains two distinct lists, one of the votes for President, the other of votes for Vice-President, and annex to each

of the certificates one of the lists of electors furnished them by the Governor. They seal these certificates, and certify on each that it contains the lists of all the votes of such State for President and Vice-President. One of them must be placed in the hands of a person appointed by them, to be delivered by him to the President of the Senate, in Washington, before the first Wednesday of the ensuing January. The second they forward by mail to the President of the Senate. The third they forthwith deliver to the judge of the district in which the electors assemble.

If the certificates of any State have not arrived in Washington by the first Wednesday in January, the Secretary of State sends a messenger for the list deposited with the district judge.

Congress shall be in session on the second Wednesday in February after each meeting of electors, and the certificates, or as many as have been received, shall be opened, the votes counted, and the persons to fill the offices of President and Vice-President ascertained and declared agreeably to the Constitution. See Art. XIII., Amendments.

If there is no President of the Senate at Washington when the person to whom the certificates have been entrusted arrives, he deposits them with the Secretary of State, to be turned over to the President of the Senate as soon as may be.

The four years term of President and Vice-President begins on the fourth of March next succeeding the day on which the votes of the electors have been given. As we have seen, this is always an odd year, and the election is always on an even year.

PRESIDENT'S DUTIES.—He is sworn into office, together with the Vice-President, on March 4th after his election, and usually delivers an inaugural address foreshadowing his policy. He communicates annually with the Congress by means of a formal, written message. Before Jefferson's time the Presidents delivered their annual messages in person. Jefferson established the custom of communicating by written messages, as in better accord with Republican simplicity. The President also communicates with Congress by message at any time during the session if he has anything important to say.

He received, up to 1873, $25,000 salary; since then his salary has been $50,000, with the use of the White House and its furniture. He is not allowed to receive any other emolument, not even a gift, and his salary cannot be raised or lowered during his term of office. He is Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, may grant pardons except in cases of impeachment, call extra sessions of Congress, and change the meeting-place of Congress in time of danger or great emergency.

He has, jointly with the Senate, the treaty-making power and the appointing power. He may be impeached and removed from office. In case of death, absence or disability the Vice-President becomes President. Around him and in the Executive office proper are his Private Secretary, Assistant Secretary, and a corps of stenographers and clerks, doorkeepers, watchmen and ushers.

But the President's chief body of assistants and advisers is made up of the members of his Cabinet.

PRESIDENT'S CABINET.—Cabinet means a small room in which select or secret councils are held by an executive or chief officer of state. The President's Cabinet is not a creation of law but of custom. The law merely creates the departments or bureaus and authorizes for each a chief, who is appointed by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. These departments being important, and a direct means by which the President executes the laws, their heads or chiefs are supposed to act in concert with the President. To maintain this concert they must be frequently called into council or cabinet meeting. The chiefs of departments who are now recognized as officers of the Cabinet are the Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of Navy, Secretary of Interior, Attorney-General, and Postmaster-General, seven in all. Of the function of each of these, as heads of their respective departments, we shall speak in the proper place. We now speak of them only as members of the Cabinet, or President's advisers. Their pay, not as Cabinet members, but as heads of their departments, is $8,000 a year. As *ex officio* members of the Cabinet they are called into "Cabinet meeting" by the Presi-

dent whenever he needs their advice in shaping a policy, or information from them respecting the running of their departments, though this latter is usually laid before the Congress and country in the annual reports of the heads of departments. Whenever a head of department, who ranks as a Cabinet officer, cannot agree with the President in his policy, and is tenacious of his views, he resigns on the principle that he is no longer a proper adviser. The Senate rarely fails to confirm the nominations of the President to those department places which rank as Cabinet offices, for the reason that he is entitled to the privilege of surrounding himself with advisers who are in harmony with his executive views.

From what we have now learned of the Cabinet, it will be understood that it has been a growth. Under Washington's administration there were but three department officers who ranked as Cabinet members, viz.: Secretary of State, Secretary of Treasury and Secretary of War. Naval affairs were then under the control of the Secretary of War. The separate Navy Department was not organized till April 30, 1798, Adams' administration, when the Cabinet was augmented by the Secretary of Navy. The Postmaster-General was a subordinate of the Treasury Department till 1829. Though the office of Attorney-General was created by act of September 24, 1789, he did not rank as a full Cabinet officer till 1841–45, Tyler's administration. The Department of Interior was created March 3, 1849, last day of Polk's administration, and the Secretary of the Interior became a Cabinet officer. A list of the Cabinet officers will be found under their respective department heads.

VICE-PRESIDENT.—The Constitution says all executive power shall be in the President. But when it comes to speaking of his qualification and election, it mentions a Vice-President. "No person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to the office of Vice-President." 12th Amendment, clause 3. The Vice-President is not endowed with much power. His salary is $8,000. He is presiding officer of the Senate, but without a vote, except in case of a tie. In all else he is like an alternate, merely an official provision against the

possibility of being without a President. The Vice-President becomes President in case of the death, resignation, impeachment, or disability of the latter. This has happened four times in the history of our government, when Harrison and Taylor died and Lincoln and Garfield were assassinated.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

CREATIVE ACTS.—There is no mention in the Constitution of this department nor any other belonging to the Executive branch of the government. They are all creations of Congress, which was endowed with power to pass all laws necessary to give effect to the Constitution. At the starting of the government, foreign relations were intricate and momentous. Therefore the act of July 27, 1789 (1st Congress, extra session), created a Department of Foreign Affairs, whose Secretary should attend to correspondence and negotiations with foreign ministers, and to such other foreign affairs as the President might order and direct. By act of September 15, 1789 (same session), the name of this department was changed to Department of State, and the chief to Secretary of State, and he was, in addition to the above duties, charged with the receipt and publication of the laws of Congress, made custodian of the great Seal, and authorized to use it on civil commissions. In 1853 the office of Assistant Secretary of State was created.

NATURE AND DUTIES.—The Department of State usually heads the list of the Executive Departments. The Secretary of State is regarded as the nearest officer to the President, and is usually selected on account of the great confidence reposed in him as a lawyer, diplomatist and safe political adviser. He is sometimes called the President's *Premier*, or Prime Minister, after the English fashion, because he ranks as *first* of his counsellors. In monarchies the class of officers we call Secretaries are called Ministers.

The Secretary of State conducts all correspondence with and issues all instructions to United States consuls and ministers; negotiates with foreign ministers and representatives on all matters they submit, under the direction of the President; fixes the

great seal to all executive commissions; receives and preserves the originals of all bills, orders and resolutions of House or Senate; promulgates and publishes the laws, amendments to the Constitution, and all consular and diplomatic information; lays before Congress annually a report of commercial systems among nations, treaties, diplomacy and all information touching our relations with foreign governments; grants passports. His is indeed an arduous and responsible office. As a cabinet officer the President relies on him more than on any other, because of the delicacy, often intricacy, of the subjects which come under his consideration. Foreign relations are seldom free from serious complications, and negligence or blunder might at any moment lead to war.

MACHINERY.—The machinery for working this important department is ample and intricate. It consists of a number of bureaus, branches and divisions, each of which is designed to attend to one of the many duties of the department. Thus there is a Diplomatic Bureau, Consular Bureau, Bureau of Indexes and Archives, Bureau of Accounts, Librarian, Division of Statistics, Bureau of Law, Division of Translations, Division of Pardons, Passport Division.

DIPLOMATIC SERVICE.—The Diplomatic Bureau of the Department of State is the centre of the Diplomatic Service of the United States. This service embraces Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary. These high-sounding titles designate our most important ministers to foreign countries. They, like all our foreign ministers of whatever grade, are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. They do not, however, represent the President but the entire government. It is to be regretted that a service dedicated to diplomacy, which is supposably exact and exacting, should be so loose in its use of terms. The word Embassador has with us none but the most general meaning. It might very properly include all that is meant by the above lengthy titles. The persons sent abroad to represent the government and who are called Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary are not only authorized to reside in the country they go to, but

are fully commissioned to act for our government there. They are offices of great dignity and responsibility, and are usually filled with men of prudence and knowledge of foreign affairs. By the Law of Nations Embassadors, Envoys, Ministers and duly accredited representatives of any kind are exempt from arrest, imprisonment and prosecution. Violation of the person, property or rights of an Embassador in any civilized country would be a cause for war on the part of the country offended.

We have now sixteen Embassadors abroad who rank as Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary, viz.: one each to France, Germany, Great Britain and Russia, at a salary of $17,500 each. One each to Austro-Hungary, Brazil, China, Italy, Japan, Mexico and Spain, at a salary of $12,000 each. One each to Central American States, Chili and Peru, at a salary of $10,000 each. One to Turkey, at a salary of $7,500. One to Corea, at a salary of $5,000. They are accredited to the Sovereigns of the countries to which they are sent.

MINISTERS RESIDENT.—These like the former reside abroad. By this word "reside" is not meant permanent residence, but only until their commissions expire. They do not go on a special mission, to return when it is ended. The Resident Ministers are instructed and clothed with authority, the same as those of a higher grade, but the countries to which they are sent being of less importance, and their salaries smaller, they do not rank so high. They are one each to Argentine Republic, Belgium, United States of Colombia, Hawaiian Islands, Netherlands, Sweden and Norway, and Venezuela, salary $7,500; and one each to Bolivia, Hayti, Denmark, Liberia, Persia, Portugal and Switzerland (who are also Consuls-General), salary $5,000. The Minister Resident to Greece, salary $6,500, also represents the country in Roumania and Servia.

CHARGE D'AFFAIRES.—These are officers like Ministers Resident, though not accredited to sovereigns, but to ministers of foreign affairs. Their authority is full, but they go to countries without intricate diplomacy. One is sent to Paraguay and Uruguay, salary $5,000.

SECRETARIES OF LEGATION.—These are usually com-

missioned attendants of the more important ministers and act as their secretaries and interpreters. In the absence of their principal they supply his place, and sometimes they are the only American representative in a foreign country, as, till lately, the Secretary of Legation and Interpreter at Pekin, salary $5,000. There are other Secretaries of Legation, as follows: One at Constantinople, salary $3,500, and one Interpreter, salary $3,000; two at Paris, salaries $2,625 and $2,000; two at Berlin, salaries $2,625 and $2,000; two at London, salaries $2,625 and $2,000; one at St. Petersburg, salary $2,625; one Secretary of Legation and one Interpreter at Yedo, Japan, salary $2,500 each; one each at Vienna and Rome, salary $3,500; one each at Rio de Janeiro and Mexico, salary $1,800; and one at Madrid, salary $3,000.

CONSULAR SERVICE.—The second Bureau in the State Department is the Consular Bureau. It is a large and important Bureau, and through its consuls the government finds a representation in every important city and country in the world. Like Ministers, Envoys and Secretaries of Legation, they are appointed by the President and Senate. They hear all complaints of American captains, masters, crews and passengers, and adjudicate their cases; hear protests of American merchants, also of foreigners respecting American citizens; certify to the correctness of all invoices of goods shipped to this country; gather commercial information of the country and send it to the Consular Bureau; take charge of deceased Americans, their effects and estates, and properly dispose of the same. They have no representative or diplomatic status, but are nevertheless protected under the Law of Nations, the raised flag of the country being their safeguard. They may determine all matter of wages for seamen on board American ships, receive ships' papers and see that they are correct, provide for sick or destitute seamen and send them home, dismiss crews if mutinous or disobedient, settle questions of wreck and salvage, assist in defence of American criminals on trial in their jurisdiction; and in some countries aid in adjudicating civil disputes. There is a full code of laws and instructions for their government.

They are of three grades. No. 1 embraces Consuls-General

and Consuls with fixed salaries, who are not allowed to transact any other business. No. 2 includes those with fixed salaries (lower than the first), who are allowed to transact other business. No. 3 embraces all who are paid by fees, and allowed to transact other business. Some of the third-class find a large profit from fees, some find nearly nothing. Besides those in these classes there are Commercial Agents and Consular Clerks with similar duties and powers. It will be readily seen the Consular Service embraces many hundred persons. They are appointed usually at the instance of Senators and Representatives, but many through the influence of commercial men, and for their knowledge of foreign languages and business usages.

SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
Thomas Jefferson, Va....	Sept. 26, 1789	John Nelson, Md	Feb. 29, 1844
Edmund Randolph, Va..	Jan. 2, 1794	John C. Calhoun, S. C....	Mar. 6, 1844
Timothy Pickering, Pa...	Dec. 10, 1795	James Buchanan, Pa.....	Mar. 6, 1845
John Marshall, Va.....	May 13, 1800	John M. Clayton, Del....	Mar. 7, 1849
James Madison, Va.....	Mar. 5, 1801	Daniel Webster, Mass....	July 22, 1850
Robert Smith, Md.....	Mar. 6, 1809	Edward Everett, Mass.....	Nov. 6, 1852
James Monroe, Va.....	April 2, 1811	William L. Marcy, N. Y..	Mar. 7, 1853
John Quincy Adams, Mass.	Mar. 5, 1817	Lewis Cass, Mich.....	Mar. 6, 1857
Henry Clay, Ky.....	Mar. 7, 1825	Jeremiah S. Black, Pa....	Dec. 17, 1860
Martin Van Buren, N. Y..	Mar. 6, 1829	William H. Seward, N. Y.	Mar. 5, 1861
Edward Livingston, La...	May 24, 1831	E. W. Washburne, Ill....	Mar. 5, 1869
Louis McLane, Del.....	May 29, 1833	Hamilton Fish, N. Y.....	Mar. 11, 1869
John Forsyth, Ga.....	June 27, 1834	William M. Evarts, N. Y.	Mar. 12, 1877
Daniel Webster, Mass....	Mar. 5, 1841	James G. Blaine, Me.....	Mar. 5, 1881
Hugh S. Legaré, S. C....	May 9, 1843	F. T. Frelinghuysen, N. J..	Dec. 12, 1881
Abel P. Upshur, Va.....	July 24, 1843		

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

CREATIVE ACTS.—The Treasury of the Continental Congress was conducted under the auspices of a Committee of Congress. Under the Confederation the office of "Secretary of the Treasury" was created by act of Feb. 11, 1779. By act of June 30, 1779, it was resolved into a Board of Commissioners. By act of Feb. 7, 1781, the Board of Commissioners gave way to a Superintendent of Finance, who was given (Sept. 11, 1781) the assistance of a Comptroller, Register, Treasurer and Auditors. By act of May 28, 1784, the old Board of Commissioners was reinvested with control. This was very changeable legislation

respecting an office so important as that of the Treasury, but it was characteristic of the Confederation.

During the first session of Congress, Sept. 2, 1789, our present Treasury Department was established with a Secretary of the Treasury, Comptroller, Auditor, Treasurer, Register and Assistant Secretary. Around this nucleus has been built by repeated acts of Congress the present stupendous fabric, whose officials are more numerous than those of any other department, whose responsibilities are greater, whose existence is inseparable from that of the government, whose transactions amount to hundreds of millions of dollars a year.

POWERS AND DUTIES.—All accounts of the United States are settled in the Treasury Department, and there all moneys due are received, and owing, paid.

The transactions of this department date from July 1 of each year. This is called the Fiscal (money) year. No officer or clerk in this department is permitted to accept any compensation over and above his salary for transacting any business in the department, nor can any employé trade in the funds of or debts of the United States.

The chief officer is the Secretary of the Treasury, salary $8,000. He is a member of the Cabinet, and is appointed, like all department officers, by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate. He has two Assistant Secretaries at a salary of $4,500 each. The Secretary must manage the collection of all revenue and lay plans for supporting the public credit; order and keep all public accounts; grant warrants for moneys appropriated by Congress; audit accounts of receipts and disbursements; collect all commercial statistics; report annually to Congress, or whenever called upon, his methods of management, results and recommendations.

For his assistance in the discharge of these multifarious and responsible duties he has a corps of officers, clerks and assistants which number over 3,000. These are all at work in the following subdepartments, bureaus or divisions:

FIRST ASSISTANT.—This officer supervises all the work relating to Appointments; Public Moneys; Revenue Marine;

Stationery, Printing and Blanks; Loans and Currency; Bureau of Engraving and Printing; Bureau of the Mint.

SECOND ASSISTANT supervises all the work belonging to the Division of Customs; Special Agents; Navigation; Internal Revenue; Appropriations, Warrants and Estimates; Supervising Architect; Marine Hospital Supervision; Bureau of Statistics; Inspector-General of Steam-vessels.

CHIEF CLERK'S OFFICE has supervision of all the Treasury buildings, their furniture, repairs, mails, horses, wagons, working property.

APPOINTMENTS.—This division supervises all appointments and removals in the department, the Customs Service, Internal Revenue, and other branches of the Treasury Department; prepares the Treasury Register (Blue Book); and attends to matters of estimates, pay-rolls, etc.

WARRANTS.—The Division of Warrants, Estimates and Appropriations issues Warrants for the payment of Public Moneys; keeps Sinking Fund, Public Debt and Pacific R. R. accounts; account of Appropriations and Estimates therefor; states annual expenditures and monthly statement of debt; keeps Financial Statistics.

PUBLIC MONEYS.—This division supervises the sub-Treasuries and National Banks, and enforces the laws and regulations respecting them.

CUSTOMS.—The Division of Customs hears and determines all questions of tariff laws and regulations arising in the Customs Districts or Consular service. The Commissioner of Customs makes final revision of the accounts of Customs officers from all the ports of the country.

INTERNAL REVENUE.—This division, uniting with it that of Navigation, has charge of all questions arising in the Marine service and relating to, or growing out of, the collection of Internal Revenue. The actual work of collection belongs to the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

LOANS AND CURRENCY is a division which supervises the National loans, the redemption of bonds; preparations for printing bonds; delivery and redemption of bonds and their can-

cellation and destruction. In its records a U. S. bond can be traced from the paper-mill to the furnace.

REVENUE MARINE SERVICE is an adjunct of the Customs service. It consists of 37 fast revenue cutters for the use of Customs officers, that they may board vessels, make searches, collect duties, and enforce the laws against smuggling.

STATIONERY, PRINTING AND BLANKS.—This division purchases, prints, binds and distributes books and blanks for use in the subdivisions of the Treasury Department.

SPECIAL AGENTS.—This division supervises the work of the thirty odd special agents of the Treasury who go, armed with full authority, into the Customs Districts to note the manner of doing work, correct wrong methods, and secure uniform enforcement of the laws.

SECRET SERVICE.—This division superintends the work of detecting and punishing counterfeiters of the National bonds, coin and currency. It is supported by annual appropriations devoted to this secret, detective work.

CAPTURED PROPERTY.—This division has in charge all the records, archives and property captured or abandoned during the Rebellion. It furnishes all information to claimants or for historical and legal purposes which is sought through it.

ENGRAVING AND PRINTING.—The engraving and printing of government bonds, United States notes, securities, stamps, and whatever represents value, is in charge of this Bureau. It embraces many subdivisions, and is regarded as the completest establishment of its kind in the world.

BUREAU OF THE MINT supervises the work of all the United States Mints and Assay offices. Its chief officer is the Director of the Mint, salary $4,500. The United States Mints are located at Philadelphia, Pa.; San Francisco, Cal.; New Orleans, La.; Carson, Nevada. The Assay offices are located at Denver, Col.; New York City; Helena, Montana; Boise City, Idaho; and Charlotte, N. C. The Assay offices do not coin money, but reduce gold and silver to ingots or bars, and stamp the fineness or quality on each bar. In addition to overseeing the workings of the respective Mints and Assay offices, the

Director of the Mint must certify to the Secretary of Treasury each year the actual value of the coins of every nation. The officers directly in charge of the different Mints are called Superintendents of Mints.

SUPERVISING ARCHITECT.—This office was created in 1853, to obviate the difficulty of erecting the large and numerous public buildings through irresponsible and unskilled commissions. Before the creation of the office there was no uniformity in public buildings, but little taste, and poor adaptation to the purposes intended. The duties of the office are to select proper sites, submit plans and estimates, and carry on the work of construction. The Supervising Architect is assisted by an able corps of clerks and draughtsmen numbering nearly 100.

STEAM-VESSEL INSPECTION.—The head of this service is the Supervising Inspector-General of Steam-Vessels. His duty is to enforce all the laws relating to the inspection of steam-vessels. There are local inspectors and officers in all the commercial cities of the country.

LIFE-SAVING SERVICE.—The Superintendent of this service has charge of all the life-saving stations on our coasts. This service in its present form dates from 1878. It is a growing and important service, and is at present conducted at an annual expense of $500,000, with a force of some 1,400 men, mostly hardy surfmen, who lead an exposed and dangerous life at points on our coast where wrecks are most likely to occur.

STATISTICS.—The Chief of this Bureau receives, arranges and publishes the statistics of finance, coinage, immigration, population, railroads, minerals, agriculture, manufacture, and domestic and foreign commerce of the United States, sent from every authorized source.

LIGHT-HOUSES.—The Secretary of the Treasury is President of the Light-House Board. This Board is composed of nine men, chosen for their scientific knowledge. They have in charge the work of lighting the coasts of oceans and rivers. It was organized in 1852. Their labors involve the proper lighting of 5,000 miles of Atlantic coast, 1,500 of Pacific coast, 3,000 miles of lake coast, and 5,500 miles of river coast. Thus far about

12,000 light-houses or stations have been erected; 3,000 buoys, 420 day beacons, 54 fog signals, and 25 light-ships have been placed in position.

MARINE HOSPITALS.—This service is under a Supervising Surgeon-General. It was established July 16, 1798, and reorganized in 1870 and 1875. It is designed to afford protection to sick and disabled seamen, with a view to encouraging fit persons to become sailors. The terms of enlistment require a payment of forty cents a month from seamen's wages. This goes to the government. As a consideration for this the government cares for them when sick or disabled at one of its Marine Hospitals, or, where none exist, at any designated hospital. It is an important service, and has charge of as many as 20,000 invalid seamen annually.

FIRST COMPTROLLER'S Office has charge of all civil accounts except those relating to the Customs and Postal Service. The office was established September 2, 1789. The First Comptroller checks the work of the First and Fifth Auditor and the Commissioner of the Land Office.

SECOND COMPTROLLER'S Office, established March 3, 1817, revises and checks all the accounts of the Second, Third and Fourth Auditors.

BUREAU OF COMPTROLLER.—The Comptroller of the Currency has the responsible duty of enforcing all laws relating to the issue and regulation of the National Currency. He is custodian of the plates from which notes are printed, supervises the naming and starting of National banks, attends to their closing operations when they fail, reports to Congress annually concerning the entire workings of the National banking system. The office was established in February, 1863, and was rendered necessary by the National Currency system which came into existence at that time.

AUDITORS.—The accounts of the Treasury Department of whatever kind must reach final settlement under the hands of Auditors. There are six of these, and each is the head of a separate office. The numerous accounts are subdivided according to nature or subject, and each Auditor receives those which by law or custom fall under his jurisdiction.

TREASURER.—The office of United States Treasurer was established by act of September 2, 1789. The Treasurer receives and accounts for all public moneys arising from customs, internal revenue, sale of lands, or whatever source. The United States Treasury is not only the Treasury at Washington, but the sub-Treasuries located for convenience at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, San Francisco and St. Louis. It comprises also certain banks which are designated as depositaries of public moneys, though these last cannot receive any moneys arising from customs. The sub-Treasuries are officered by Treasurers, who give bond and are responsible outside of the United States Treasurer at Washington. This is why they are called Independent Treasuries.

REGISTER OF TREASURY.—While the United States Treasurer is the officer who actually handles the money and is responsible for its safe-keeping, the accounts of receipts and disbursements are under the supervision of the Register. This office was created by the same act as the Treasurer.

INTERNAL REVENUE BUREAU.—The establishment of a system of Internal Revenue, made necessary by the civil war, gave rise to a Bureau devoted to the supervision of the system. Its chief is Commissioner of Internal Revenue. The Bureau was established by act of July 1, 1862. In it centre the accounts of the Collectors of Internal Revenue, who are the officers appointed to make actual collections in the Revenue Districts into which the entire country has been divided. The Bureau consists of several sub-divisions devoted to Law, Accounts, Agents, Stamps, Tobacco and Distilled Spirits.

COAST SURVEY.—Instituted Feb. 10, 1807, for mapping the coasts, rivers, and harbors of the United States, locating rocks, shoals, and shallows, and making charts of the soundings. The work is under the supervision of the Secretary of the Treasury, but is actively prosecuted by a Superintendent of Coast Survey.

BOARD OF HEALTH.—This body was created by act of March 3, 1879. It is composed of seven members. Their duty is to co-operate with similar Boards in the States, and to act in-

dependently, for the purpose of finding out how epidemics originate, and what will prevent them.

CUSTOMS SERVICE.—Custom Houses are of course only found at the points where goods from foreign ports are landed. These are called Ports of Entry. They are officered, in ports of first rank, by a Collector of the Port, who is responsible for the execution of the tariff laws and all moneys collected as duties on imported goods. He is also the custodian of the government buildings and property at the respective ports. His work is supervised and checked by a Naval Officer of the Port. He is assisted by an Appraiser of the Port, whose duty it is to ascertain the nature and true value of all goods imported. He is further assisted by Weighers who weigh goods paying a specific rate of duty, and by Gaugers who gauge all liquids on which there is a duty. The Inspectors are the officers who police the wharves and ships and see that no goods are landed except those for which the Collector has issued a permit. The Surveyor of the Port has immediate charge of the Inspectors and assigns them to duty, though he does not appoint them. The heads of the Customs Service are appointed by the President, the Deputies and Clerks by the Secretary of the Treasury. Moneys arising from customs in the respective Districts are deposited in the sub-treasuries, and thence find their way into the central treasury. All customs accounts, statistics, etc., are reported to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Of late years the Customs Service has been extended from sea-coast ports to inland cities. Thus Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other inland cities are Ports of Entry. Goods intended for Inland Ports are unloaded directly from the ship into sealed cars and carried to the Inland Port as if the ocean voyage were continued. There they are entered, appraised, and assessed with duty.

INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE.—Like that of Customs, the active work of this service is done in the Internal Revenue Districts. The entire country was divided into some 120 Districts, to each of which was assigned a Collector, deputies, and a corps of store-keepers, gaugers, etc. This was when

(1862–1882) the Internal Revenue laws were in full vigor. Since the revenue taxes have been lowered, and the number of taxable articles reduced, many of these Districts have been consolidated, and ere long the whole system will pass away.

Customs duties and Internal Revenue taxes are the chief sources of government income. But it also receives a large income from the sale of public lands. These sales were conducted under the auspices of the Treasury Department till 1849, when they were transferred to the Department of the Interior, where we will speak of them and of the homestead law.

NATIONAL BANKS.—When the government first started, a National bank was deemed necessary to act as its financial agent. One was chartered in 1791 for twenty years. Attempts to revive the charter in 1811 failed, owing to the opposition of those who construed the Constitution narrowly. In 1816, after the war of 1812, when the country was heavily in debt and in need of a steady finance, another National bank was chartered for twenty years. This was the bank which President Jackson fought so determinedly and finally drove out of existence. All subsequent attempts to establish a similar bank or to secure a uniform currency failed till 1863, when the exigency of civil war eventuated in, first, an issue of notes (greenbacks) directly by the government; and, second, the establishment of the National banking system. The government had to use its own credit in order to exist. Could it so use it as to provide a uniform currency and at the same time relieve itself of the trouble and expense of acting as banker for the entire people? This was the problem which the National banking system was to solve. The National Banking Act is an elaborate one, but by its provisions any number of persons not less than five may start a National Bank by (1) certifying to the Comptroller of the Currency, a name; (2) a place; (3) the amount of capital stock (which cannot be less than $50,000) and number of shares; (4) names and residences of the shareholders, and number of shares held by each; (5) that they seek the benefits of the National Banking Act; (6) the time when they intend to begin banking.

These being approved, the Comptroller grants a certificate of

incorporation, with the right to use a seal, and to engage in legitimate banking business for twenty years from the passage of the act. Every shareholder is personally liable for the debts of the bank to the amount of his stock. But as yet the bank has no bills or notes. In order to obtain these it must buy interest-bearing United States bonds to an amount not less than one-third of the paid-up stock of the bank, but the amount need not be in excess of $50,000. These are deposited in the United States Treasury. Circulating notes, engraved and printed in the Treasury Department, are then issued to the bank, to the value of the bonds deposited, less ten per cent. If $50,000 in bonds have been deposited, $45,000 in circulating notes are issued in different denominations.* Should the bank fail the deposited bonds are sold, and with the proceeds the notes are redeemed. The fact that there is a margin of ten per cent. between the notes and the security for them, and the additional fact that that margin is increased by the bonds being above par, has given rise to the expression that the notes of a broken national bank are better than those of a sound one.

No National bank can loan money directly on real estate security. This is to keep them on a strictly commercial basis. The notes formerly issued were ones, twos, fives, tens, twenties, fifties, one hundreds, five hundreds, and one thousands; but since the resumption of specie payments (1879) the ones and twos have been discontinued, in order to give circulation to the silver dollars.

The total output of National Bank notes has been in round numbers, $350,000,000. Add to this the total issue of Greenbacks or Legal Tenders, $346,681,016, and the total National paper currency of the country (not including fractional currency) is $700,000,000.

The National Banks are taxed annually one per cent. on circulation, one-half per cent. on deposits, and one-half per cent. on the capital stock over and above the amount invested in

* There is a bill now pending in the (48th) Congress which seeks to increase the issue of notes to an amount equal to the par value of the bonds deposited.

United States bonds. They are not exempt from State taxation. The total tax paid by National Banks is nearly $7,000,000 annually.

These banks now number 2,359, and they are situated in all parts of the country. They have almost entirely taken the place of the old State banks, and they secure to the people a uniform system of currency and banking. The note of a bank in Maine is as good in California as at home. The holder is secure, because the note is backed up by security in bonds greater by at least ten per cent. than the note itself. The notes are harder to counterfeit. The plates are beyond the control of the bank. The people have never had so uniform, stable, safe, and convenient a paper currency.

DEBT AND BONDS.—Our country has never been free from public debt. It started under the indebtedness of the war for independence, which when gathered together in 1791 footed $75,463,476. This fluctuated up to 1804, when it was $86,427,120. It then decreased till in 1812 it was $45,209,737. The war of 1812 came on, and in 1816 the debt was $127,334,993. By gradual reduction, it was only $37,513 in 1835, when the government was practically out of debt. But in 1836 it was $336,957, and gradually ascended till the time of the Mexican war, say 1846, when it was $15,550,202. Then in consequence of that war it leaped, 1848, to $47,044,862, and in 1849 to $63,061,858. In 1856 it was down to $31,972,537, but by 1860 up to $64,842,287. Then came the civil war with its immense expenditure. By 1866, the year in which the debt reached its highest figures, it was $2,778,236,173. To handle this immense indebtedness put the energies of the country to extreme test, necessitated new subjects and methods of taxation, multiplied collection machinery, and made the Treasury Department a centre of extraordinary power and responsibility. The tariff laws were strengthened and given protective features. The system of Internal Revenue was formulated.

One source of war revenue has passed entirely away. This was what was known as the Income Tax, which originated in 1863, and went out of existence by 1873. It was in its greatest

vigor in 1866, when the government receipts from it were $72,982,160.

At the close of the war the government found itself not only with this immense indebtedness of $2,778,236,173 on hand, but it was in an ugly and pressing shape. War times did not facilitate funding; that is, gathering the floating debt up and placing it at interest, with gradual and remote payments of the principal. The shape of the debt was as follows:

Debt already funded	$1,109,568,191.80
Matured debt	1,503,020.09
Temporary loans	107,148,713.16
Certificates of indebtedness	85,093,000.00
Five per cent. legal tender notes	33,954,230.00
Compound interest legal tender notes	217,024,160.00
Seven-thirty notes	830,000,000.00
U. S. Legal tender notes (greenbacks)	433,160,569.00
Fractional currency	26,344,742.51
Suspended requisitions	2,111,000.00
Total	2,845,907,626.56
Less cash in the treasury	67,671,453.56
Total as above	2,778,236,173.00
Amount funded	1,109,568,191.80
Amount unfunded or floating	1,668,667,981.20

Here then was a total of $1,668,667,981 which was not funded, was floating about loosely, and which the government was liable to be called on to pay at any moment. Worst of all, a part of it (the $830,000,000 of seven-thirties) bore interest at 7 3-10 per cent. Of course no government could stand for a moment in the face of such a drain as would be occasioned by the presentation of these floating claims for payment. Yet it must either pay, fund, or be dishonored. It could not do the first, nor submit to the third. Large as the debt was, the national honor was above all price. It must, therefore, do what all corporations and business firms do, viz.: fund its floating indebtedness. This was a mighty work. In order to do it bonds were prepared, of various denominations, and mostly bearing interest at six per cent. These were to run not less than five nor more than twenty years. Hence they were called five-twenty six per cents. They were offered to the banks, and through them to the people. Could the government get enough

money from their sale to pay its floating indebtedness of $1,668,667,981? Could it pay its interest promptly, and have something over toward the principal? We have seen how the tariff laws and other revenue laws were strengthened. There would be enough and more. The people responded with a hearty good-will. The bonds were taken with alacrity, and looked upon as so desirable an investment that they soon sold at a premium. In a short time the government funded, through its five-twenty six per cents. $1,602,698,950 of its floating indebtedness, and thus relieved itself of all immediate pressure, except what was necessary to provide interest, and gradually reduce the principal.

Such was the favor with which these securities (bonds) were received, that the government concluded it might lower its interest on them, and still sell them, thus saving a large amount of interest. This was no longer funding, but refunding. Refunding began by acts of July 14, 1870, and Jan. 20, 1871. Again bonds were authorized to be issued to the extent of $1,500,000,000, bearing interest, $500,000,000 at five per cent. and payable in ten years or at the pleasure of the United States; $300,000,000 at 4½ per cent.; the balance at 4 per cent. With the proceeds of these, the former high interest-bearing bonds were to be lifted. The crisis of 1873 interfered with their sale. But in 1876 they struck a favorable market, were successfully disposed of, and soon at a premium, as before. This favorable situation the government again took advantage of, and by repeated acts down to 1883, succeeded in carrying out a system of refunding which greatly lowered the interest on its bonds, the rates now running from 4½ to 3 per cent. It at the same time paid off the principal of its debt at an average rate of $70,000,000 a year, so that the total is now below $1,400,000,000.

It is not supposed that the process of refunding is yet complete. Many think that the 4 and 4½ per cent. bonds can be refunded into 3 per cents., and some enthusiastic persons think the whole interest-bearing debt can be floated at less than 3 per cent. This is hardly possible so long as the government adheres to the policy of paying off the debt so fast. This policy gives

to a bond too short a life. It is not issued for any great number of years, and is called in when there is money enough to meet it. Thus the inducement of length of time, which is supposed to overcome the non-inducement of a low rate of interest, is lost. And as to this policy of rapid payment of the principal, it is beginning to receive criticism. The time was when it was proper, as helping to show the nation's earnestness and for the support of its credit. This time has passed. There is now no reason for haste, except a desire to be free from the annual loss of interest. Whether it is better to save this annual loss by prompt payment of the principal, or distribute the burden of payment over the generations that are to follow us, is a question which now draws a variety of opinions.

A concluding remark must be made about the management of the Treasury Department during this period of immense receipts, expenditures and great responsibility. It has been such as to show less loss to the government than any former period. Considering the great influx of new force, the rush of business during war times, the newness and experimental character of much of its work, this is agreeably surprising, yet it may go to prove that a financial department, like a financial man, is capable of rising with an emergency, and meeting with honor the severest tests of ability and honesty. In answer to a request from the Senate the Treasury Department submitted the following table, showing the per cent. of losses in its transactions since the beginning of the government and up to June 30, 1879:

Administrations.		Received and Expended.	Total loss.	Loss on $1,000.
Washington	8 Yrs.	$112,560,504	$250,970	$2.22
Adams, John	4	90,733,612	235,412	2.59
Jefferson	8	219,072,736	603,468	2.75
Madison	8	526,764,050	2,191,660	4.16
Monroe	8	376,328,275	3,229,787	8.58
Adams, John Q.	4	201,488,077	885,374	4.39
Jackson	8	500,081,748	3,761,112	7.52
Van Buren	4	285,327,949	3,343,792	11.71
Harrison and Tyler	4	244,590,156	1,565,903	6.40
Polk	4	423,913,687	1,732,851	4.08
Taylor and Fillmore	4	432,861,677	1,814,409	4.19
Pierce	4	608,257,816	2,167,982	3.56
Buchanan	4	697,500,871	2,659,108	3.81

Administrations.		Received and Expended.	Total loss.	Loss on $1,000.
Lincoln	4 Yrs.	$9,386,697,144	$7,200,984	$0.76
Johnson	4	8,014,908,984	4,619,600	.57
Grant	8	10,842,922,583	2,622,479	.24
Hayes	2	3,353,629,856	2,677	.008

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY.

Names.	Appointed.	Names.	Appointed.
Alex. Hamilton, N. Y.	Sept. 11, 1789	Robert J. Walker, Miss.	Mar. 6, 1845
Oliver Wolcott, Conn.	Feb. 2, 1795	Wm. M. Meredith, Pa.	Mar. 8, 1849
Samuel Dexter, Mass.	Jan. 1, 1801	Thomas Corwin, O	July 23, 1850
Albert Gallatin, Pa.	May 14, 1801	James Guthrie, Ky.	Mar. 7, 1853
Geo. W. Campbell, Tenn.	Feb. 9, 1814	Howell Cobb, Ga.	Mar. 6, 1857
Alex. J. Dallas, Pa.	Oct. 6, 1814	Philip F. Thomas, Md.	Dec. 12, 1860
Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.	Oct. 22, 1816	John A. Dix, N. Y.	Jan. 11, 1861
Richard Rush, Pa.	Mar. 7, 1825	Salmon P. Chase, O.	Mar. 7, 1861
Samuel D. Ingham, Pa.	Mar. 6, 1829	Wm. P. Fessenden, Me.	July 1, 1864
Louis McLane, Del.	Aug. 2, 1831	Hugh McCullough, Ind.	Mar. 7, 1865
Wm. J. Duane, Pa.	May 29, 1833	Geo. S. Boutwell, Mass.	Mar. 11, 1869
Roger B. Taney, Md.	Sept. 23, 1833	Wm. A. Richardson, Mass.	Mar. 17, 1873
Levi Woodbury, N. H.	June 27, 1834	Benj. H. Bristow, Ky.	June 4, 1874
Thomas Ewing, O.	Mar. 5, 1841	Lot M. Morrill, Me.	July 7, 1876
Walter Forward, Pa.	Sept. 13, 1841	John Sherman, O.	Mar. 8, 1877
John C. Spencer, N. Y.	Mar. 3, 1843	Wm. H. Windom, Minn.	Mar. 5, 1881
Geo. M. Bibb, Ky.	June 15, 1844	Charles J. Folger, N. Y.	Oct. 27, 1881

THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

As the name indicates, this Department has charge of all matters appertaining to the army. It is presided over by the Secretary of War, salary $8,000, who is appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the term of four years unless sooner removed. He is a member of the President's Cabinet, and in a military point of view ranks next to the President.

The War Department was established by act of August 7, 1789, and therefore is as old as the government. The act says "there shall be an executive Department denominated the Department of War, and there shall be a principal officer therein to be called the Secretary for the Department of War, who shall perform such duties as shall be entrusted to or enjoined on him by the President agreeably to the Constitution, relative to land forces, ships, or warlike stores of the United States." The Department then had control of "land forces and ships." It was both a War and Navy Department, the latter not having a separate existence till some time afterwards.

SECRETARY'S DUTIES.—When it is said that the Department has charge of all matters relating to war a sharp line must be drawn between its affairs and those of the army in the field. The responsibility for campaigns, battles and manœuvres rests on the generals who represent the commander-in-chief, the President, in the field. The War Department is the civil side of army affairs. The Secretary conducts the business of the Department. In war he is one hand of the President and the army the other.

He attends to all commissions of officers, to the raising of forces, to the matter of army supplies. He has charge of all captured property, and sees to the transportation of troops, munitions, equipments and stores throughout the United States. He defines the quantity and kind of supplies and attends to their purchase through the Subsistence and Quartermaster's Departments. He procures buildings to store them in. He receives field officers' accounts of clothing, munitions, supplies of every kind, and adjusts and passes on their accounts. In connection with army officers he must see to the condition of prisoners of war, advise with the militia officers of the States, issue proposals for supplies, and report to Congress annually or whenever called upon, the transactions of his office and its condition. An important duty added since the civil war is the purchase, preparation and care of the national cemeteries, of which there are seventy-nine, containing the bodies of tens of thousands of Union soldiers, known and unknown.

His office is divided into sub-Departments, Bureaus or Divisions, each of which is presided over by a responsible head.

ADJUTANT-GENERAL.—This subdepartment is in charge of an Adjutant-General of the Army, who has army rank as Brigadier, and army pay. The business of the office is the organization and management of the armies. All orders to the military establishments and armies go out through this office. It attends to recruiting the armies, keeps all muster in and out rolls, and officers' accounts, furnishes statements to Treasury Auditors, Pension Commissioners, Paymasters, Commissaries and Quartermasters.

INSPECTOR-GENERAL.—The Inspector-General ranks as Brigadier, with army pay. His business is to keep the Secretary of War posted as to the true condition of the army, its tents, arms, clothing, quarters, accoutrements, drill, discipline, and entire condition.

SIGNAL OFFICE.—This useful office, a comparatively modern one, is part civic and part military. It has charge, under the instructions of the Secretary of War, of a School of Instruction at Fort Whipple, Va., where war manœuvres, the construction and working of rapid field telegraphy, the erection and management of army signals, and the control of all instruments of field observation, are taught.

It has also charge of the Army Signal Corps, which is a modern army essential, in time of active service, for safe and speedy operations. It is also useful in time of peace for the assistance it renders in conducting the Sea Coast Service, with its signal codes and quick telegraphy.

To this office belongs also the well-known, popular, and now indispensable Weather Bureau, over which the familiar "Clerk of the Weather" presides. This Bureau conducts its business through Signal Stations erected at all exposed points on ocean, lake and river coast, at prominent points of observation in cities and on mountains and plains, with which it is connected by telegraph. It is the duty of the officers in charge of these stations to telegraph, at least once a day, to the Central Bureau in Washington the state of the barometer and thermometer, the velocity of wind and its direction, the nature of the storm or calm that exists; in short, such a full condition of the weather as will enable a forecast to be made inland or for the sea, for the general use of sailors, merchants, farmers and others likely to be affected by it. When the conditions on coasts are dangerous, storm signals are erected, and mariners either heed them or sail at their peril. The active operations of the Weather Bureau date from 1868–69.

QUARTERMASTER.—This Department purchases and distributes to the army all military stores and supplies, such as clothing, fuel, forage, camp and garrison equipage (the furnishing of rations belongs to the Subsistence Department), and fur-

nishes means of transportation for the army and its stores. It is presided over by the Quartermaster-General, who ranks as Brigadier, with army pay. While the duties of the central office at Washington are important and responsible, its main responsibility is in the camps and garrisons in time of peace, and in the field in time of war. It reaches these remote points by means of Quartermasters. These subordinate officers are the agents of the Quartermaster-General. They represent the movable quality of the office. They are at all the military posts during peace. In time of war their number has to be increased, and they are found in all the armies and sections of armies superintending the matter of transportation and supplies, holding the officers to strict account for whatever is furnished, and in turn accounting themselves to their chief for what they receive and distribute.

COMMISSARY DEPARTMENT.—This office is presided over by the Commissary-General, who ranks as Brigadier, with army pay. It is not unlike the Quartermaster-General's office, except that it has sole charge of the supply of army rations. It buys all rations and furnishes them to the officers and men of the army at cost price. It carries its work down to the military posts and to the camps in the field by means of subordinates called Commissaries, who, like Quartermasters, are more numerous in time of war than in peace, and who must be promptly on hand with food whenever it is needed.

PAYMASTER.—This Department is presided over by a Paymaster-General, who ranks as Brigadier with army pay. The title suggests the duty, which is to pay the army and keep all the pay rolls and accounts connected with the operation. The field and post work of the office is carried on by means of Paymasters in fact, who are assigned to duty at the respective posts and in the divisions of the army in time of active service.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.—The chief officer of this Department is the Surgeon-General, who ranks as Brigadier with army pay. He is chosen for his scientific knowledge. The Department has in charge the matter of army hospitals and hospital supplies, the care of sick and wounded soldiers, the furnishing of artificial limbs, eyes and other appliances for the maimed, re-

ports on hospital diseases, treatments and operations, the control of the Medical Museum, which, by the way, is now one of the best appointed and most interesting of its kind in the world.

ORDNANCE OFFICE.—The officer in charge of this Department is called the Chief of Ordnance. He ranks as Brigadier with army pay. This office attends to procuring and supplying to the army all cannon, gun-carriages, and all ammunition and equipments for the same, whether for use in garrison, field or siege service. It is the heavy gun department of the war branch. It operates through Ordnance Stations, situated in different portions of the country, where ordnance is kept for convenience of use and for preservation, and which are called Arsenals. There are now twenty-two of these Ordnance Stations or Arsenals in the country. In this list of Arsenals are included the Armory at Springfield, Mass., where small arms and ammunition are made and stored. There was a large Armory at Harper's Ferry, which was destroyed during the civil war.

CHIEF ENGINEER.—The responsible officer is a Chief of Engineers, who ranks as Brigadier, with army pay. The duties of this office are various. The Chief of Engineers commands the Corps of Engineers whose duty is to attend to locating, building and caring for fortifications, coast and inland; designing, building and handling pontoon bridges; designating and carrying out river and harbor improvements; making surveys for military purposes. The Chief of Engineers is also Commissioner of Public Buildings and Grounds in Washington. He is Superintendent of the Washington Aqueduct, which supplies the capital with water, and from the Engineer Corps are selected three of the seven members of the Mississippi River Commission, which has charge of the public improvements along that stream.

SECRETARIES OF WAR.

Names.	Appointed.	Names.	Appointed.
Henry Knox, Mass.	Sept. 12, 1789	John Armstrong, N. Y.	Jan. 13, 1813
Timothy Pickering, Pa.	Jan. 2, 1795	James Monroe, Va.	Sept. 27, 1814
James McHenry, Md.	Jan. 27, 1796	Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.	Aug. 1, 1815
James Marshall, Va.	May 7, 1800	Geo. Graham (*ad in.*), Va.	April 7, 1817
Samuel Dexter, Mass.	May 13, 1800	John C. Calhoun, S. C.	Oct. 8, 1817
Roger Griswold, Conn.	Feb. 3, 1801	James Barbour, Va.	Mar. 7, 1825
Henry Dearborn, Mass.	Mar. 5, 1801	Peter B. Porter, N. Y.	May 26, 1828
William Eustis, Mass.	Mar. 7, 1809	John H. Eaton, Tenn.	Mar. 9, 1829

SECRETARIES OF WAR—*Continued.*

Names.	Appointed.	Names.	Appointed.
Louis Cass, Mich.	Aug. 1, 1831	Simon Cameron, Pa.	Mar. 5, 1861
Benj. F. Butler, N. Y.	Mar. 3, 1837	Edwin M. Stanton, Pa.	Jan. 15, 1862
Joel R. Poinsett, S. C.	Mar. 7, 1837	U. S. Grant (*ad in.*), Ill.	Aug. 12, 1867
John Bell, Tenn.	Mar. 5, 1841	Edwin M. Stanton, Pa.	Jan. 14, 1868
John McLean, O	Sept. 13, 1841	L. Thomas (*ad in.*), Md.	Feb. 21, 1868
John C. Spencer, N. Y.	Oct. 12, 1841	John M. Schofield, Ill.	May 28, 1868
James M. Porter, Pa.	Mar. 8, 1843	John A. Rawlins, Ill.	Mar. 11, 1869
William Wilkins, Pa.	Feb. 15, 1844	William T. Sherman, O.	Sept. 9, 1869
William L. Marcy, N. Y.	Mar. 6, 1845	William W. Belknap, Iowa.	Oct. 25, 1869
George W. Crawford, Ga.	Mar. 8, 1849	Alphonso Taft, O.	Mar. 8, 1876
Winfield Scott (*ad in.*), Va.	July 23, 1850	James D. Cameron, Pa.	May 22, 1876
Charles M. Conrad, La.	Aug. 15, 1850	Geo. W. McCrary, Iowa.	Mar. 12, 1877
Jefferson Davis, Miss.	Mar. 5, 1853	Alexander Ramsey, Minn.	Dec. 10, 1879
John B. Floyd, Va.	Mar. 6, 1857	Robert T. Lincoln, Ill.	Mar. 5, 1881
Joseph Holt, Ky.	Jan. 18, 1861		

THE ARMY.—The army of the United States is in one sense an organization separate from the War Department, in another connected with it. Its field administrations are separate, yet in all things appertaining to its supplies, enlistments, accounts, the two are inseparable. The question of a standing army in this country—that is, an army in time of peace—has always been a troublesome one, and the policy has been to keep it reduced to the lowest standard possible. This policy results from a wholesome dread of such large standing armies as enable European monarchs to keep their thrones, and which are a constant menace to the peace of nations, as well as a great source of expense to the supporting governments. But our experience has shown the necessity of at least a small standing army for the purpose of executing the laws in exposed places, as on the border, and suppressing disturbances wherever they may arise. The moral effect of an army, as an arm of the executive, is also very great. Power is far more imposing and effective when backed by a vigor which lawlessness regards it folly to dispute, or before which it quails; and power is never so impotent and ridiculous as when attempts to exercise it are foiled by the mob. The dignity and efficacy of executive authority require, as things go, an army of some shape and proportion; and a navy too. The economic argument in favor of an army is also very great. Besides assuring peace and protection it is the nucleus of that larger army which is made up of volunteers and called into service when

emergency requires. It is a constant training school for officers and men, so that the country is never without a sufficient amount of military discipline to meet the needs of larger called armies, when the condition is one of active war.

The army of the United States is called the Regular army in contradistinction to that added to it in time of war, called the Volunteer army. It is also thus distinguished from the militia of the several States, and the militia system, which is a mixed government and State system.

The present army is not in excess of 25,000 men, and, by act of June 18, 1878, cannot exceed 30,000. Enlistments are for five years. There are twenty-five regiments of infantry, ten of cavalry and five of artillery, and a force of 1,000 Indian scouts. An infantry regiment is composed of ten companies, of fifty men each, which the President may increase to 100.

A regiment of cavalry consists of twelve troops, and each troop of 78 men. A regiment of artillery consists of twelve batteries, and each battery of 120 men. These figures are the maximum of each. They are in excess of the actual number in each regiment and company.

The higher officers of the army are a General and Lieutenant-General, which two are honorary, conferred only at times on account of distinguished service, and expire with the death or resignation of their incumbent. The salary of the General is $13,500, that of Lieutenant-General $11,000. The regular officers are Major-Generals, salary $7,500; Brigadier-Generals, salary $5,500; Colonels, salary $3,500; Captains, salary $1,800; and Lieutenants, $1,600.

Then there are with the army representatives or duplicates of each of the departments we have seen in connection with the Department of War, as Adjutant-General's Department, Quartermaster's Department, Inspector-General's Department, Engineer Corps, Ordnance Department, Medical Department, Pay Department, Signal Officer, Bureau of Military Justice, Chaplains, bands, etc., all of which have their place and add to the comfort and efficiency of the force. The army is governed by a code prescribed by Congress called Articles of War. They are 128

in number; and are read at the time of enlistment and every six months afterwards.

A charitable provision in our army system is, first, gradually increasing pay for the minor officers as they add to their years of service, and second, three-fourth pay to all commissioned officers when they are placed on the retired list. Officers pass to the retired list by law after thirty-two years of service or on arriving at the age of sixty-two, but may be retired for honorable cause and by proper authority at any time.

MILITARY ACADEMY.—This government school for the education of men in the science and art of war is situated at West Point on the Hudson. It was authorized by act of Congress in 1802, and then instituted in a modest way. It has since grown to be a large and useful institution, ranking with the best of its kind in the world. Its chief officer is a superintendent, who ranks as Colonel. It has a large corps of professors devoted to teaching tactics, engineering, philosophy, mathematics, history, geography, ethics, chemistry, mineralogy, geology, drawing, modern languages, gymnastics, music, etc.; the idea being to provide not only men skilled in whatever appertains to army affairs, but educated gentlemen also.

Each Congressional district and Territory in the United States is entitled to have one cadet or scholar at the Military Academy. The District of Columbia is entitled to one, and the United States to ten, called cadets at large. The President selects the cadets at large. The Secretary of War selects those from the Congressional districts, at the request of the representative thereof in Congress. Candidates must be between seventeen and twenty-two years old, at least five feet in height, physically perfect, and must be proficient in the elementary branches. They are paid $540 a year, which is regarded as sufficient to maintain them. They graduate with the rank of lieutenant in the army, and are standing candidates for an active place with that rank. The academy is visited annually by a commission appointed by the President and composed of members of Congress and military officers, who report to the Secretary of War for the use of Congress.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The Navy Department was at first connected with the War Department. It was erected into a separate department by act of April 30, 1798, and went into operation in June, 1798. Its chief officer is the Secretary of the Navy, salary $8,000, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for four years, unless sooner removed. He ranks as a member of the cabinet. Like all the other departments, this is divided into a number of Bureaus or Divisions, for its more effective working. The name of the department suggests that it is devoted to the naval affairs of the country. The question of a navy has always been an interesting one, and parties have often divided on the propriety of keeping a naval establishment in time of peace, likewise over the policy of strengthening it in time of emergency. It must be said that in time of war, when our destinies were all in the keeping of our vessels of war and our hardy sailors, that the American Navy has been a source of safety and credit, and has given proof that we can conduct ocean warfare with all the brilliancy and effect of those who boast of more formidable ships and thoroughly trained mariners.

SECRETARY'S DUTIES.—He must provide all naval stores and construct, arm, equip and employ vessels of war. All captures of ships, standards and guns must be reported to him and pass into his custody. He prepares and publishes all charts, maps, sailing directions and nautical books, bearing on navigation, which he deems necessary. He reports annually to Congress the state of the navy and submits estimates for appropriations. He accounts for all disbursements on behalf of the navy. He establishes coal stations in different parts of the world, disposes of old ships and worn-out equipments, acts as trustee of the Navy Pension Fund and Privateer Fund; in short does all that appertains to efficient management of naval affairs.

YARDS AND DOCKS.—This Bureau has charge of the Navy Yards and Naval Stations, their construction and main-

tenance, and the supply of timber therefor. There are several Navy Yards and Stations in the country, located at what are supposed to be available points, as at Portsmouth, N. H.; Brooklyn, N. Y.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Boston, Mass.; Washington, D. C.; Norfolk, Va.; Pensacola, Fla.; Mare Island, Cal.; New London, Conn. (N. Station); Port Royal, S. C. (store ships). They were erected for the purpose of building ships of war, but that work has been discontinued at many of them. They are convenient stations and repair-shops, and no longer a reliance for the speedy construction of large and effective war-ships, owing to the cost of properly maintaining them, and the spasmodic demand for their services. The Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks ranks as a Captain in the navy.

EQUIPMENT AND RECRUITING.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore in the navy. It is the recruiting office of the navy, and attends to the equipment of vessels of war with sails, rigging, anchors, fuel, etc.

NAVIGATION.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore. He has a chief clerk and four assistants. The Naval Observatory and Hydrographic Office are in the care of this Bureau, which in addition supplies vessels of war with flags, charts, signals, chronometers, barometers, glasses, etc.

The Naval Observatory just mentioned is the counterpart, in America, of the Greenwich Observatory in England, and arose from the same necessity; to wit, that for accurate astronomical observations and safe computations for the purposes of navigation. The Observatory employs a Superintendent, who ranks as Rear Admiral, and ten assistant professors who rank as naval officers of different grades. It is a finely equipped institution and employs some of the best astronomical observers and calculators in the country. As to astronomical observations its work is the same as that of the numerous collegiate and private observatories throughout the country, but aside from that, its energies are devoted to the tabulation of results, and the turning of discoveries, corrections, and calculations to practical scientific account.

Scarcely less important is the Hydrographic Office, where the

results of surveys, soundings and coast, lake and river observations are engraved, printed and published in map, chart or book form and given out for the use of naval vessels and those of the merchant marine. Its Chief ranks as Captain in the navy. The Nautical Almanac is published from this office.

BUREAU OF ORDNANCE.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore in the navy. He has charge of the manufacture of naval ordnance, ammunition, armament for vessels, of arsenals and magazines, the torpedo service and stations, all experiments for testing guns, torpedoes and other naval weapons.

CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIRS.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore. He controls all dry-docks, and designs, builds and fits out vessels of war.

STEAM-ENGINEERING.—The Chief ranks as Commodore. He controls the designing, manufacturing and adjusting of all the steam-engines and steam-machinery of war vessels.

PROVISION AND CLOTHING.—The Chief of this Bureau ranks as Commodore. The office supervises the purchase and supply of food and clothing for the navy.

MEDICINE AND SURGERY.—The Chief ranks as Commodore. The Bureau supplies medicines, instruments and medical stores to vessels of war and marine hospitals and accounts for the same.

The Navy, like the Army, has given rise to a set of charitable and educational institutions which are objects of pride on the part of the Department and of great utility. The first of these is the

NAVAL ASYLUM located at Philadelphia. It is a home for old or disabled naval officers, seamen and marines. It operates outside of and distinct from the pension system. Navy pensioners may commute their pensions for places in the Asylum. The applicant must be unable to work and must have served twenty years in the navy. If admitted, the Asylum is his home till death, on condition that he obeys its rules, which are quite rigid. For good conduct one dollar a month is awarded to each sojourner. The institution is presided over by a governor, with navy rank and pay.

NAVAL HOSPITALS.—These are institutions for the temporary treatment of sick and disabled seamen. They are supported by an annual appropriation. There are eighteen Naval Hospitals in the country, located at leading ports or wherever there are naval stations, and one at Yokohama in Japan.

NAVAL ACADEMY.—This Academy, a national institution, is as much a part of the Navy Department as the Military Academy is a part of the War Department. It is located at Annapolis, Md. Its Superintendent always ranks high among naval officers. He is assisted by other officers of the navy and by a corps of professors, who teach seamanship, gunnery, mathematics, engineering, astronomy and navigation, chemistry, physics, modern languages, history, drawing, and whatever will fill out the education of a naval officer, a private engineer or retired gentleman. The pupils come from the Congressional districts and Territories, one from each, with one for the District of Columbia, and ten at large. The President appoints those at large. The Secretary of the Navy, deferring to the recommendation of the member of Congress from a district or delegate from a Territory, appoints those from the districts. Applicants are examined by the Superintendent of the Academy in June and September of each year. In order to pass they must be physically sound, of good moral character, not under fourteen nor over eighteen, and up to the standard in the elementary English branches. If admitted, candidates become cadet-midshipmen, and are not only pupils but inmates of the Academy for a term of six years, to which they must bind themselves to add two years of active service if not discharged. They are paid $500 a year from time of admission. After their eight years of service and schooling they graduate as Midshipmen in the navy.

There is also a course of studies in, or rather a department of, the Academy devoted to Naval Engineering. It is a four-year course at the Academy and two in a vessel at sea. The pupil in this course is a cadet-engineer. When he graduates he is entitled to a commission as Assistant Engineer in the navy, when there is a vacancy.

U. S. NAVY.—The highest rank in the navy is Admiral, salary, $13,000; the next, Vice-Admiral, salary, $9,000. These, like General and Lieutenant-General in the army, are honorary and temporary, and expire with those on whom they were specially conferred. The highest real or working rank is Rear-Admiral, salary, $6,000. Then comes, in order, Commodore, salary, $5,000; Captain, $4,500; Commander, $3,500; Lieutenant-Commander, $2,800; Lieutenant, $2,400; Master, $1,800; Ensign, $1,200; Midshipmen, $1,000. All these salaries are actual duty salaries at sea. They are considerably less for shore duty. The salary of the officers, from Lieutenant-Commander down, increases after a service of five years from date of commission. Pensions and retiracy from service on pay are on the same general plan as prevails in the army. Enlistments in the navy are for not less than three nor more than five years. Minors from fifteen to eighteen may be enlisted till they are twenty-one, with the consent of parents. The total force of officers and men in the navy, in time of peace, or as the laws now stand, cannot exceed 8,250. The navy is governed by a code of sixty articles prescribed by Congress.

MARINE CORPS.—This very useful arm of the service is a nondescript. It is a body of enlisted men, not exceeding 2,500 in number, who are officered and disciplined according to army rules and tactics, who do regular military duty at United States arsenals and naval stations, but who may be detailed for active service on board war vessels. They have proved excellent for policing and garrison purposes, and the complement of them assigned to ships during actual war have enabled victorious vessels to hold captured places permanently without the constant menace of heavy guns.

SECRETARIES OF NAVY.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
George Cabot, Mass.	May 3, 1798	Smith Thompson, N. Y.	Nov. 9, 1818
Benjamin Stoddert, Mass.	May 21, 1798	John Rogers, Mass.	Sept. 1, 1823
Robert Smith, Md.	July 15, 1801	Samuel L. Southard, N. J.	Sept. 16, 1823
J. Crowninshield, Mass.	May 3, 1805	John Branch, N. C.	Mar. 9, 1829
Paul Hamilton, S. C.	Mar. 7, 1809	Levi Woodbury, N. H.	May 23, 1831
William Jones, Pa.	Jan. 12, 1813	Mahlon Dickerson, N. J.	June 30, 1834
B. W. Crowninshield, Mass.	Dec. 19, 1814	James K. Paulding, N. Y.	June 25, 1838

SECRETARIES OF NAVY—*Continued.*

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
George E. Badger, N. C.	Mar. 5, 1841	James C. Dobbin, N. C.	Mar. 7, 1853
A. P. Upshur, Va.	Sept. 13, 1841	Isaac Toucey, Conn.	Mar. 6, 1857
David Henshaw, Mass.	July 24, 1843	Gideon Welles, Conn.	Mar. 5, 1861
Thomas W. Gilmer, Va.	Feb. 15, 1844	Adolph E. Borie, Pa.	Mar. 5, 1869
John Y. Mason, Va.	Mar. 14, 1844	George M. Robeson, N. J.	June 25, 1869
George Bancroft, Mass.	Mar. 10, 1845	Rich. W. Thompson, Ind.	Mar. 12, 1877
John Y. Mason, Va.	Sept. 9, 1846	Nathan Goff, Jr., W. Va.	Jan. 6, 1881
William B. Preston, Va.	Mar. 8, 1849	W. H. Hunt, La.	Mar. 5, 1881
William A. Graham, N. C.	July 22, 1850	Wm. E. Chandler, N. H.	April 1, 1882
John P. Kennedy, Md.	July 22, 1852		

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

This office did not exist till authorized by act of March 3, 1849. It became necessary by reason of the great growth of some of the Bureaus and Divisions of the other Departments, especially those of Public Lands and Patents, and because the time had come for a grouping of them under a head more significant of their real character. We are not sure that the title "Interior Department" is the happiest which could have been chosen, but it savors of home and gives one to understand that the business of the office relates to affairs quite within our own boundaries. It has not only drawn something from other offices, but has been the office most called upon to meet the great and growing demands of the country, whenever a Department was needed to take control of a newly created service.

The office has for its head a Secretary of Interior, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the term of four years unless sooner removed. His salary is $8,000, and he is a Member of the Cabinet.

SECRETARY'S DUTIES.—He attends to all business relating to Public lands and mines, Indians, bounty lands, patents, custody and distribution of publications, education, census, Territories, government asylums. He reports annually, or whenever called upon, to Congress respecting the workings of his office. He prepares the Federal Blue Book or Biennial Register of all the government employés, keeps the return office in which are filed the contracts made in the Departments of War, Navy, and Interior, controls the Yellowstone Park, and publishes at the

close of each session of Congress 11,000 copies of the laws just passed. Like all the other Departments, this is divided into Bureaus and Divisions devoted to certain duties, that the entire work of the Department may be carried on in an orderly manner. Perhaps the most important is the

GENERAL LAND OFFICE.—This was a part of the Treasury Department until the creation of the Interior Department. Quite early, the matter of disposing of the Public lands became important, and a Land office was created by act of April 25, 1812. This question of selling public lands and disposing of the proceeds was for over half a century actively political, and not until the passage of the Homestead laws, beginning in 1862, did a satisfactory method of dealing with them exist.

The duties of the General Land Office are attended to by a Commissioner, who acts under the Secretary of the Interior. These duties relate to the surveying and plotting of public lands, their sale, and the issuing of patents for those sold. There are local Land offices, numbering sixteen, in all the States and Territories containing public lands for sale. These are presided over by U. S. Surveyors-General. The Surveyor-General employs surveyors, draughtsmen, and clerks who are engaged in the active work of field surveys. This work of surveying, plotting, dividing, and giving metes and bounds to public lands is always going on. At first townships are formed, six miles square, with true east and west and north and south boundaries, and the four corners are located and marked. Then each township is cut in sections one mile square, or 640 acres each, and these are subdivided into quarter sections of 160 acres each. They are all numbered and booked, and are known, referred to, sold, and patented according to their number and range.

The actual selling of the lands is done through still another set of offices more numerous than those of the Surveyors, and located at all available points. They are known as Land offices too, but they are Registers' and Receivers' offices, being presided over each by a Register and Receiver. His business is to make final disposition of the lands to the actual applicant or settler,

give him title and possession, collect the fees and purchase-money, and account to the government.

PUBLIC LANDS.—These formerly existed in every State outside of the original thirteen, but they now exist only in the Territories, and to a greater or less extent in Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, Wisconsin, Florida, California, Nevada, Oregon and Colorado. The public lands are being disposed of very rapidly. Figures respecting surveys and sales are almost dazzling. The sales for 1883 amounted to 16,830,000 acres, the largest on record. In 1873 they only amounted to 3,793,000 acres, but they always fall off during hard times.

PUBLIC LAND SYSTEM.—It may be said in general that public lands are of two classes, one rating at $1.25 per acre, the other at $2.50 per acre. There are four ways of getting possession: 1st, under the Homestead act; 2d, under the Pre-emption laws; 3d, under the Timber Culture act; 4th, under the Military bounty act. The Homestead act provides that any head of a family, or person over 21 years, a citizen or one who has declared his intentions, may enter a homestead of 160 acres, or alternate 80 acres, of surveyed land. He must pay the entry fees, from $7 to $22, take possession and be an actual settler for five years, pay the government price, and get the title. Under the pre-emption laws the same class of persons may enter any unsurveyed, offered, or unoffered lands, and by payment of fees, and proof of actual settlement, hold a section of the same against sale to any one else. He must make final proofs and payments as under the Homestead act, in order to complete his title. Title to a section of land may be acquired by a soldier who holds a bounty land-warrant, said land-warrant being good payment for the land as far as it goes. But the government has never issued many of such land-warrants. Title may be secured under the Timber Culture acts of 1873–78, by any actual settler who cultivates for two years five acres of trees. Such an one gets 80 acres; and 160 acres if he cultivate ten acres of trees. His patent will be issued free at the end of three years, on proof of what he has done. The design is to encourage timber culture

on farm land. Of course nothing in these acts prevents a cash purchaser at the public auction of these lands from acquiring patented title.

These acts all refer to the sale of Agricultural lands. The Mineral lands are located and disposed of under another set of regulations, which miners and mining companies alone are interested in, though all are open to the ordinary private citizen. After 1860 the policy of giving government aid to Railroads, chiefly those through to the Pacific, in the shape of large grants of public lands, became popular for a time, but is so no longer. The public lands yet unsold amount to 1,814,793,938 acres.

PENSION OFFICE.—This important branch of the Department of the Interior is presided over by the Commissioner of Pensions. Our pension system began with the government and was conducted by the Secretary of War until 1833. Then a Pension Office was created which remained with the War Department till the establishment of the Interior Department in 1849. Our government has always been liberal in its payment of pensions to soldiers and their families. Not a year has elapsed since the starting of the government that a good round sum has not been paid in the shape of pensions. The average up to 1815 would be about $100,000 yearly. From that time on till 1865 the average would be fully $2,000,000 annually. Since then the figures have assumed enormous proportions, owing to the fact that the civil war greatly increased the list of pensioners, and the further fact that Congress has exceeded all former liberality by dating the payment of pensions back to the time of injury or deprivation, instead of beginning it with the date on which the pension is granted. Our pension system does not reach the Civil Service as in England, if we except the retiracy of Judges of the United States Courts, who may, since 1869, retire at seventy with full salary for life, if they have served ten years continuously. The total cost of the system for 1882 was $54,296,280.84.

COMMISSIONER'S DUTIES.—He must hear through his examiners, surgeons, etc., all applicants for pensions, grant pension papers to the meritorious, investigate frauds, issue bounty

land-warrants, and do all that this elaborate and expensive system requires of him.

In paying pensions he is assisted by Pension Agents, located at offices throughout the country called Pension Agencies. There are now seventeen of these, located at Boston, Chicago, Columbus, Concord, Des Moines, Detroit, Indianapolis, Knoxville, Louisville, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, St. Louis, San Francisco, Syracuse, Washington, D. C.

The manner of applying for pensions is carefully guarded by formalities, oaths, examinations, etc., as it must necessarily be, owing to the great number of applicants and the inducement to raise fictitious cases. The rate of pension paid is regulated by the character of the disability and the rank of the pensioner. Widows of soldiers killed in service are entitled, and orphans under sixteen. In addition to pension each soldier is entitled to periodical allowance for an artificial limb or eye, if compelled to use such.

INDIAN BUREAU.—A Bureau of Indian Affairs was established as early as 1832, and became connected with the Interior Department in 1849. Its chief officer is a Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The active work of the Bureau is done among the Indians at Agencies, and by Agents, of which there are some seventy, situated so as to accommodate the respective tribes.

The government has from time to time made treaties with different tribes, allotted reservations to others, and entered upon a variety of contracts, possible and impossible, according to the whim of the natives, many of which are but little better than agreements to support whole tribes in idleness. The fulfillment of these compacts makes what are called our Indian relations. These it is the business of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to superintend. The fact that such superintendence never served to ameliorate the condition of the Indian gave rise to a Board of Indian Commissioners, composed of intelligent and charitably disposed men, appointed by the President, and who serve without pay, whose duty it is to supervise all moneys appropriated for Indians, and inspect food and clothing purchased for their use.

The necessity for such commission is a confession that the government either had not conducted or could not conduct its Indian affairs properly: both of which were doubtless true, in the absence of a clearly defined Indian policy, which no more exists to-day than when the Cavalier and Puritan landed.

PATENT OFFICE.—This interesting office is under the immediate supervision of a Commissioner of Patents.

The name of the office suggests its use. The first act relating to patents was that of April 10, 1790. It authorized the granting of patents by the Secretary of State, after consultation with the Secretary of War and Attorney-General, though either could act on his own responsibility. The present office and something like the present system was created by act of March 3, 1849, in connection with the Interior Department. But it was not until the act of July 8, 1870, that the existing system took full shape and vigor.

The model-rooms of the Patent Office were begun in 1836. They were greatly enlarged, and quite well filled with models, when the fire of Sept. 24, 1877, destroyed some 87,000 of them, besides other interesting historic relics. They have been again enlarged and are rapidly filling up with evidences of American genius and skill.

Patents are granted only after full designs or models have been presented and examined by experts, and something found therein "new and useful, not known or used by others in this country, and not patented or described in print in this or any other country." A patent for an original invention runs for seventeen years. A patent for a design may run from three and a half years to fourteen years.

CENSUS OFFICE.—The Secretary of the Interior is charged with the duty of taking each decennial census, through and by means of a Superintendent of Census. The active work of enumeration is done by means of Supervisors of districts, specially appointed. These send out enumerators into all the subdivisions of a district, who gather the facts and figures from the people, and return them in a given time. When they reach the Central Office at Washington they are tabulated and

printed in the form of Census Reports. The work of census-taking is important, and it is to be regretted that it has never reached, in this country, the perfection it has in some others. This may seem strange in view of the fact that the United States was the first nation to provide in its fundamental law for a periodical count of its people. The first census under the Constitution was taken in 1790. They have been taken every ten years since, and the results duly published. The early censuses contained but little more than an enumeration of the people. The omission of statistics and facts relating to the industries of the country caused a general overhauling of the census methods in 1849. By act of March 3 of that year a Census Board was created, composed of the Secretary of State, Postmaster-General and Attorney-General, to prepare a plan for the census of 1850. This resulted in an act of May 23, 1850, creating a Census Office in the Department of the Interior, with a Superintendent, as above noted. Since then the census inquiries have been framed so as to cover not only population, but age, nationality, physical and mental condition, social matters, churches, schools, industrial establishments, farms, products of every kind, and whatever will contribute to knowledge of our wealth, progress and actual status as a people. One hundred inquiries could be addressed to the citizen by the census enumerator, but no more. The three censuses taken under the act of 1850 were great advances on those taken before, and their results form a set of volumes which are indispensable to historians, statisticians and students of social problems. Still the act was defective, and the machinery under it clumsy and uncertain. An attempt was made to remedy it by the census act of 1880. It is not yet time to say whether the attempt has been a success or a failure. It has certainly not resulted in a prompter receipt, tabulation and publication of the returns, though those already perfected show a completeness and utility beyond all others.

BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—This Bureau was created by act of March 2, 1867, and attached to the Department of the Interior. Its Chief is a Commissioner of Education. The business of the Bureau is to collect, publish and disseminate

among the people such information touching schools and school systems as will enable them to keep pace with modern improvements in school organization and management, and meet the national desire to overcome illiteracy wherever it exists. The Bureau was a noble conception, and its work bears on vital points, for our Republic is ever confronting the dangers that lurk in illiteracy.

RAILROAD ACCOUNTS.—The Bureau was established in 1878, and connected with the Interior Department. It was made necessary by the new policy of the government extending aid to the Pacific and other railroads. The aid to build these long, through and necessary lines was either by guarantee of their bonds or by gift of public lands. In either event the government felt that it should exercise a control over the management of such roads to the extent of auditing their accounts and seeing that all acts of Congress in their interest were respected. This is the duty of the Bureau of Railroad Accounts, whose chief is called Auditor.

CAPITOL ARCHITECT.—This officer has control of the Capitol repairs and Capitol grounds.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—Under the head of Public Lands we saw they were divided into Agricultural and Mineral Lands. This division requires a knowledge of their geological structure and underground resource. For this purpose the Geological Survey was established in 1879. Its chief is called Director of the Geological Survey. The annual appropriations for carrying on this work of examining and classifying public lands according to their mineral substances and worth average $100,000.

OTHER ADJUNCTS.—The Secretary of the Interior was in 1877 authorized to appoint a Commission of Entomologists to inquire into the visitation of the Rocky Mountain Locusts and devise means for suppressing their annual invasions. He appoints by law a Recorder of Deeds and Register of Wills for the District of Columbia. With his Department is connected the management of the Government Hospital for the Insane. This noble institution, erected at a cost of $500,000, and containing nearly 1,000 inmates, is designed for the care and treatment

of the insane of the Army and Navy and the indigent insane of the District of Columbia. It was founded in 1855 and stands on a conspicuous bluff south of the Anacostia River, in full view of the Capitol. So also it has the management of the Columbia Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, established in 1857, located at Washington, and designed for the free education of the deaf and dumb of the District of Columbia, and the paid education of pupils from all the States and Territories. The Freedmen's Hospital and Columbia Hospital for Women are also under the general superintendence of the Interior Department.

SECRETARIES OF THE INTERIOR.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
Thomas H. Ewing, Ohio	Mar. 8, 1849	O. H. Browning, Ill	July 27, 1866
Alex. H. H. Stuart, Va	Sept. 12, 1850	Jacob D. Cox, Ohio	Mar. 5. 1869
Robert McClelland, Mich.	Mar. 7, 1853	Columbus Delano, Ohio	Nov. 1, 1870
Jacob Thompson, Miss	Mar. 6, 1857	Zachariah Chandler, Mich.	Oct. 19, 1875
Caleb P. Smith, Ind	Mar. 5, 1861	Carl Schurz, Mo	Mar. 12, 1877
John P. Usher, Ind	Jan. 8, 1863	S. J. Kirkwood, Iowa	Mar. 5, 1881
James Harlan, Iowa	May 15, 1865	Henry M. Teller, Col	April 6, 1882

THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

The government comes down closer to the people through the Post-Office Department than any other. It intimately concerns all of us and exists for our accommodation in the matter of correspondence with friends and business folk at home and abroad. The Constitution, Art. I., Sec. 8, authorizes the establishment of Post-offices and Post-roads. This is not peculiar to our government. All civilized powers assume to do the same thing for their people, and nearly all in the same way, so much so at least that what is known as a Postal Union has become possible, whereby different countries agree to recognize our stamps on letters and engage to carry them through their mails, we doing the same toward their stamps and with their letters. This wonderful triumph of political civilization brings the people of all countries in the Postal Union as closely together as if they were of one country.

The earliest Post-Office System in our country arose under act of Sept. 22, 1789. It was a crude affair, run in connection

with the Treasury Department, though presided over by an officer called the Postmaster-General, as to-day. There were then 75 post-offices in the country, and the routes extended over 1,875 miles. It cost the country in 1790, $32,140, and the receipts were $37,935. Now there are in round numbers 48,000 post-offices, a routeage of 350,000 miles, an annual revenue of $33,000,000, and an expenditure somewhat in excess of this revenue. Mail facilities are enjoyed by the people in even remote places. It has always been the policy of the government to favor this method of intercommunication not more for purposes of business than to foster exchange of thought and a truly educational spirit. It has never been a part of this policy to make money out of the system. The cost has therefore, as a rule, been in excess of the profit, measured in strict dollars and cents. As the profit approximated the cost, there has been a reduction of rates of postage. Many are yet alive who remember the old letter rate of six cents and over, and very many who remember the five-cent rate. Then came the uniform rate of three cents for every two ounces, and in 1883 the two-cent rate. It is very probable that a one-cent rate will prevail before the end of the century, for the system proves that cheapness of rate is more than met by increased amount of matter mailed, especially in populous communities.

A great stride was made in our postal system by act of May 8, 1794. But in 1829 the grand step was taken which made it a separate system. Then the Post-Office Department was detached from the Treasury Department, and the Postmaster-General made responsible for its management. He became a member of the Cabinet, and a direct adviser with the President.

DUTIES OF POSTMASTER.—The general duties of the Postmaster-General are to conduct the multiform and intricate accounts of the postal service; originate and distribute books, blanks and forms; establish and discontinue post-offices; appoint postmasters; negotiate postal treaties with foreign countries; report to Congress annually the condition of his office; execute all laws relating to the postal service. He has more appointments than any other Department official, and his responsibility

never ceases till it reaches down into the very bosom of the masses.

POST-OFFICES.—The machinery of the Department is largely outside of it, and it works in every city, hamlet and far corner of the land. The postal routes are established by law. They are not always wisely laid down at first, but time and the drift of settlement generally cure all defects. The Department, following the routes, establishes post-offices, appoints postmasters and places the people in contact with the service. All this is fully in the hands of the Department. Postmasters receiving over $1,000 salary must have their nominations confirmed by the Senate, and as a rule they are appointed by the President. All minor appointments are made by the Postmaster-General directly. Postmasters are graded, and paid accordingly.

OTHER FEATURES.—The postal system has been very growthy, and prolific of many new features, all tending to make it more convenient and safe. The sending of money in small sums by mail was a constant invitation to robbery and led to many losses. The attempt to secure greater safety by means of a registry of letters did not amount to much. Then the money order feature was introduced, by which money can be sent with entire safety. Sums up to $50 can thus be sent from one Money Order Office, payable at another. There are now 6,500 of these offices, and the amount transmitted through them annually aggregates several millions. They are the poor man's bank, through which he can send drafts to any part of this country and to many foreign countries. The propriety of a postal-saving bank has often been mooted. But we are not yet quite far enough on for such an advantageous feature.

The Postal Note feature was authorized in 1883. A deposit of less than $5 at any Money Order Office will entitle one to a note for the amount of his deposit less a fee of five or ten cents, which he can use as money for 90 days, and which will be redeemed at any Money Order Office on demand. It is a handy note for transmission by letter.

The Letter Carrier feature is a modern one. It exists, or may exist, in any city with a population of 20,000, or in which the

post-office yields $20,000 a year. In such cities carriers gather and deliver the mail matter, to the great convenience of business men.

The Railway Service is also a new feature. By law all navigable waters of the United States, all canals and railroads, are established postal routes, and the mails were carried thereon in the ordinary pouches, the distribution being made at some central office. The Railway Service introduced on the Rail routes a Postal car or cars, officered by mail agents whose duty it is to collect and distribute all the mail matter on that route. It is a post-office on wheels, and a very complete and popular institution.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
Samuel Osgood, Mass....	Sept. 26, 1789	James Campbell, Penna...	Mar. 5, 1853
Timothy Pickering, Pa....	Aug. 12, 1791	Aaron V. Brown, Tenn...	Mar. 6, 1857
Joseph Habersham, Ga...	Feb. 25, 1795	Joseph Holt, Ky.....	Mar. 14, 1859
Gideon Granger, Conn....	Nov. 28, 1801	Horatio King, Me.....	Feb. 12, 1861
Return J. Meigs, Jr., Ohio.	Mar. 17, 1814	Montgomery Blair, Md....	Mar. 5, 1861
John McLean, Ohio	June 26, 1823	William Dennison, Ohio..	Sept. 24, 1864
William T. Barry, Ky....	Mar. 9, 1829	Alex. W. Randall, Wis...	July 25, 1866
Amos Kendall, Ky.....	May 1, 1835	John A. J. Creswell, Md..	Mar. 5, 1869
John M. Niles, Conn.....	May 25, 1840	Marshall Jewell, Conn....	Aug. 24, 1874
Francis Granger, N. Y....	Mar. 6, 1841	James N. Tyner, Ind. ...	July 12, 1876
Charles A. Wickliffe, Ky..	Sept. 13, 1841	David McK. Key, Tenn..	Mar. 12, 1877
Cave Johnson, Tenn.....	Mar. 6, 1845	Horace Maynard, Tenn...	June 2, 1880
Jacob Collamer, Ver.....	Mar. 8, 1849	Thomas L. James, N. Y..	Mar. 5, 1881
Nathan K. Hall, N. Y....	July 23, 1850	Timothy O. Howe, Wis..	Dec. 20, 1881
Sam'l D. Hubbard, Conn..	Aug. 31, 1852	Walter Q. Gresham, Ind..	April 3, 1883

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

The presiding officer of this Department is the Attorney-General, who is appointed by the President, and is a member of the Cabinet. His salary is $8,000.

The act of 1789 authorizing an Attorney-General empowered him to "conduct all suits for the United States in the Supreme Court, give his advice and opinion on questions of law when requested by the President or heads of Departments."

By act of 1861 he has charge of Attorneys and Marshals in all the Judicial Districts in the United States and Territories. He is not only legal adviser of the President and heads of Departments, but must examine all titles to lands for public build-

ings, forts, navy yards, etc.; report to Congress the condition of his office; distribute U. S. statutes to the lower courts; designate the places of confinement for criminals under U. S. laws. He is a useful and invaluable official in the executive branch of the government, and ought to be well informed in both the law and practice of the U. S. Courts. The position is highly honorable and has been held by some of the brightest legal minds of the country.

ATTORNEYS-GENERAL.

Name.	Appointed.	Name.	Appointed.
Edmund Randolph, Va...	Sept. 26, 1789	Nathan Clifford, Me.....	Oct. 17, 1846
William Bradford, Pa....	Jan. 27, 1794	Isaac Toucey, Conn.....	June 21, 1848
Charles Lee, Va.....	Dec. 10, 1795	Reverdy Johnson, Md....	Mar. 8, 1849
Theophilus Parsons, Mass..	Feb. 20, 1801	Jno. J. Crittenden, Ky....	July 22, 1850
Levi Lincoln, Mass.....	Mar. 5, 1801	Caleb Cushing, Mass.....	Mar. 7, 1853
Robert Smith, Md.....	Mar. 3, 1805	Jeremiah S. Black, Pa....	Mar. 6, 1857
John Breckinridge, Ky....	Aug. 7, 1805	Edwin M. Stanton, Pa....	Dec. 20, 1860
Cæsar A. Rodney, Pa....	Jan. 28, 1807	Edward Bates, Mo..	Mar. 5, 1861
William Pinkney, Md....	Dec. 11, 1811	T. J. Coffee (*ad. in.*), Pa...	June 22, 1863
Richard Rush, Pa.....	Feb. 10, 1814	James Speed, Ky.....	Dec. 2, 1864
William Wirt, Va.....	Nov. 13, 1817	Henry Stanbery, O.....	Jan. 23, 1866
John M. Berrien, Ga.....	Mar. 9, 1829	William M. Evarts, N. Y..	July 15, 1868
Roger B. Taney, Md.....	July 20, 1831	E. Rockwood Hoar, Mass.	Mar. 5, 1869
Benj. F. Butler, N. Y...	Nov. 15, 1833	Amos T. Akerman, Ga...	June 23, 1870
Felix Grundy, Tenn.....	July 5, 1838	Geo. H. Williams, Oregon.	Dec. 14, 1871
Henry D. Gilpin, Pa.....	Jan. 11, 1840	Edwards Pierrepont, N. Y.	April 26, 1875
John J. Crittenden, Ky....	Mar. 5, 1841	Alphonso Taft, Ohio.....	May 22, 1876
Hugh S. Legaré, S. C....	Sept. 13, 1841	Charles Devens, Mass ..	Mar. 12, 1877
John Nelson, Md.....	July 1, 1843	Wayne McVeagh, Pa.....	Mar. 5, 1881
John Y. Mason, Va.....	Mar. 6, 1845	Benj. H. Brewster, Pa.:...	Dec. 19, 1881

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

The officer in charge is the Commissioner of Agriculture. The Agricultural Bureau was created in 1862, and only lately erected into a separate Department. Its chief is not a Cabinet officer. The Department is designed to be the centre toward which shall be attracted information respecting agriculture and whence it shall flow to all the people. It is further a Department of experiments with agricultural products and industries and a source of supply for new and rare seeds and plants. The Commissioner is expected to correspond with scientists in all countries, collect statistics bearing on agricultural subjects, publish such works as will best spread the information he gathers, investigate diseases of domestic animals, inquire into the nature

and prevention of injury to crops by insects, worms, birds and all enemies of plants and grains. Much is hoped of this youthful Department. The propagating garden and museum attached to it are already interesting.

JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

USES OF THE JUDICIARY.—The third co-ordinate department of the national government is the Judicial Department, or The Judiciary. The existence of such a Department, or branch of the government, with functions independent of and separate from the legislative and executive branches, yet co-ordinate with them, is indispensable to the safety of a free government. Wherever there is no judiciary to interpret, pronounce and execute laws, two things must happen. 1st. Either the government will perish through sheer weakness and confusion, or, 2d, the judicial power will be absorbed by the other two branches to the utter extinction of civil and political liberty. Montesquieu has wisely said: "There is no liberty if the judiciary be not separated from the legislative and executive power." And Judge Story says: "In the national government the judicial power is equally as important as in the States. The want of it was a vital defect in the Confederation. Without it the laws of the Union would be perpetually in danger of being controverted by the laws of the States. The national government would be reduced to a servile dependence on the latter for the due execution of its powers, and we should have reacted over again the same solemn mockery which began in the neglect and ended in the ruin of the Confederation. Power without adequate means to enforce it is like a body in a suspended state of animation. For all practical purposes it is as if its faculties were extinguished. A single State might under such circumstances, at its mere pleasure, suspend the whole operations of the Union."

The two grand uses of the Judiciary are (1) to execute the powers of the government. In this it co-operates directly with the Executive branch, while it acts independently of it. (2) It secures uniform and certain operation of those powers and of the laws made under them. In this it co-operates with the Legis-

lative branch, helping it here and checking it there, making its edicts certain in results, and assuring the people against the oppression of unconstitutional enactments.

SUPREME COURT.—"The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges of both the Supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall at stated times receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office."—Art. III., Con.

Thus the establishment of a Supreme Court is imperative. The establishment of inferior courts is left to the discretion of Congress. Congress has acted promptly in both instances. Among its first acts was one looking to the formation of the Supreme Court, and subsequent acts passed in obedience to the demands of legal business have contributed to the formation of our present imposing judicial system.

The Supreme Court of the United States is the highest tribunal, or court of last resort, in the nation. Its decisions settle finally the law of the land. It has both original and appellate jurisdiction. Its original jurisdiction extends to civil causes in which a State is a party, which involve public ministers and matters affecting the marine. Its appellate jurisdiction is general; that is, it must hear all appeals from the Circuit and District Courts.

It consists of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. The former receives $10,500, and the latter receive $10,000 a year. They are appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Their appointment is for life or good behavior, though by a recent enactment they may retire at seventy years of age and still draw their pay, provided they have held their commissions for ten years.* They are thus removed as far as possible from party influences.

The number of Judges of the Supreme Court has not always

* Under this act three Justices have already withdrawn, viz., Noah H. Swayne, Ohio; William Strong, Pa.; and Ward Hunt, N. Y., their salary of $10,000 being continued.

remained the same. At its first session in 1790 it consisted of a Chief Justice and five Associates. The Associates were increased to six in 1807, to eight in 1837, to nine in 1863. In 1865 they were decreased to eight, and in 1867 to seven, but were increased to eight in 1870.

The Supreme Court must hold one regular term a year, commencing on the second Monday in October, and such special terms as is necessary. Its regular sessions are always at the Capitol.

CHIEF JUSTICES OF UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

	Term of service.		Term of service.
John Jay, N. Y.	1789–95	Roger B. Taney, Md.	1836–64
John Rutledge, S. C.	1795–95	Salmon P. Chase, O.	1864–73
Oliver Ellsworth, Conn.	1796–1800	Morrison R. Waite, O.	1873–..
John Marshall, Va.	1801–35		

ASSOCIATE JUSTICES OF UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT.

	Term of service.		Term of service.
John Rutledge, S. C.	1789–91	John Catron, Tenn.	1837–65
William Cushing, Mass.	1789–1810	John McKinley, Ala.	1837–52
James Wilson, Pa.	1789–98	Peter V. Daniel, Va.	1841–60
John Blair, Va.	1789–96	Samuel Nelson, N. Y.	1845–72
Robert H. Harrison, Md.	1789–90	Levi Woodbury, N. H.	1845–51
James Iredell, N. C.	1790–99	Robert C. Grier, Pa.	1846–69
Thomas Johnson, Md.	1791–93	Benjamin R. Curtis, Mass.	1851–57
William Patterson, N. J.	1793–1806	John A. Campbell, Ala.	1853–61
Samuel Chase, Md.	1796–1811	Nathan Clifford, Me.	1858–81
Bushrod Washington, Va.	1798–1829	Noah H. Swayne, O.	1861–81
Alfred Moore, N. C.	1799–1804	Samuel F. Miller, Iowa.	1862–..
William Johnson, S. C.	1804–34	David Davis, Ill.	1862–77
Brockholst Livingston, N. Y.	1806–23	Stephen J. Field, Cal.	1863–..
Thomas Todd Ky.	1807–26	William M. Strong, Pa.	1870–80
Joseph Story, Mass.	1811–45	Joseph P. Bradley, N. J.	1870–..
Gabriel Duval, Md.	1811–36	Ward Hunt, N. Y.	1872–82
Smith Thompson, N. Y.	1823–43	John M. Harlan, Ky.	1877–..
Robert Trimble, Ky.	1826–28	William B. Woods, Ga.	1880–..
John McLean, O.	1829–61	Stanley Matthews, O.	1881–..
Henry Baldwin, Pa.	1830–46	Horace Gray, Mass.	1881–..
James M. Wayne, Ga.	1835–67	Samuel Blatchford, N. Y.	1882–..
Philip P. Barbour, Va.	1836–41		

CIRCUIT COURTS.—An important part of the U. S. Judiciary, and second to the Supreme Court, are the Circuit Courts. There are nine of these Courts now, or rather nine Judicial Circuits or Districts,* say one for each Judge of the Supreme Court.

* Care must be taken not to confound the Circuit with the District. There are nine Circuit Districts, each composed of a number of minor Districts, no one of which can be smaller than a State.

In order to facilitate the work of the Supreme Court, the entire country is thus divided into these nine Judicial Circuits or Districts, and a Judge of the Supreme Court is assigned to each District, which he is expected to visit at least once in two years. He is thus said to make his circuit; whence the name, Circuit Court. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court takes his circuit with the rest. The Circuit for the respective Judges is determined by allotment. Though this Supreme Court Judge is really the presiding officer in each Circuit Court, it is easy to see that such Court must be closed a great part of the time if its operation depended on his presence. The Supreme Court judges are busy most of the year with their session at the Capital. Even when on a circuit made up of several States, they must with difficulty hold a court in each State, which they are required to do. There is, therefore, appointed for each of the Circuits a permanent Circuit Judge, who holds the Sessions of the Circuit Courts, and who is visited by the allotted Supreme Court Judge, and assisted by him when he appears. Each of these Circuit Judges receives a salary of $6,000 a year. They are appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

These Circuit Courts being minor courts are not courts of final resort. They are, however, appellate courts for many purposes, appeals being taken to them from the District Courts, as we shall see. They have original jurisdiction of a class of causes denied to the District Courts, but for the most part have concurrent jurisdiction with the latter. The Circuits are numbered from one to nine, and are sometimes familiarly spoken of as Justice So-and-So's Circuit, after the name of the Justice allotted to it.

The First Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

The Second Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Vermont, Connecticut, and New York.

The Third Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware.

The Fourth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North and South Carolina.

The Fifth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

The Sixth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, and Tennessee.

The Seventh Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin.

The Eighth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Colorado, and Nebraska.

The Ninth Judicial Circuit embraces the districts of California, Oregon, and Nevada.

Appeals from the Circuit Courts are direct to the Supreme Court. An act of March 3, 1875, gave the Circuit Courts concurrent jurisdiction with State Courts in a large number of cases arising under the Constitution and treaties of the United States, and likewise concurrent jurisdiction with the District Courts.

DISTRICT COURTS.—In order to further facilitate judicial work and give greater convenience to the people, the National Judiciary is again divided into a lower grade of Courts, called District Courts. Perhaps it would be better to say the country is divided into a number of judicial districts, in each of which is a District Court presided over by a District Judge. Twenty-two of the States are each a Judicial District. The others are divided into two and three Judicial Districts, according to population and the amount of business transacted. The salaries of the District Judges range from $5,000 to $3,500. They are a more popular court than the Circuit Court, because closer to the people, and as we have seen, their jurisdiction is nearly the same; *the* same, in fact, where there is no Circuit Court; and indeed, a District Judge, or two of them sitting together, may hold a Circuit Court. There are now fifty-nine Judicial Districts (there must be at least one in each State), and the same number of District Courts and Judges, District Attorneys, District Clerks and Marshals. All of these officers are appointed by the President and Senate, except the clerks, who are chosen by the courts. The District Attorneys prosecute all delinquents for crimes under United States laws, and all civil causes in which the government is con-

cerned. The U. S. Marshal has a function analogous to that of the County Sheriff.

COURT OF CLAIMS.—This Court was created as late as 1855, and given enlarged power and increased force in 1863. It may be properly classed as a part of the Judicial System of the United States, for appeals are had from it to the Supreme Court, where the amount involved exceeds $3,000. It was created as a relief to both Congress and the Courts, and has jurisdiction of a class of cases founded on laws of Congress, contracts with the United States, or on claims against the government, where the amount rather than the fact is in dispute, and where final relief is to be had through an appropriation by the Congress. It has proved a convenient court, because it works more expeditiously than a Congressional investigation, and lifts a great number of cases above partisan level. It tries cases for and against the United States, and in general all matters referred to it by Congress. Its decisions when favorable to the claimant are reported to Congress, and the necessary appropriation follows. Its powers and rules of procedure are now akin to those of other courts, but proceedings therein are begun by petition, as if the application were made direct to Congress. Its officers are a Chief Justice and four Judges, whose salaries are $4,500 each.

SUPREME COURT, D. C.—This important court is a necessary part of the Judiciary of the United States, the District of Columbia being under a government provided by Congress. It is composed of a Chief Justice and four associates, the former at a salary of $4,500, the latter at $4,000 each. It possesses the same jurisdiction as a Circuit Court. Any one of its Justices may hold a special term, and when doing so his court ranks as a District Court of the United States. It is also a Criminal Court for the trial of offences in the District.

DISTRICT ATTORNEYS—The Attorney-General of the United States, appointed by the President, and ranking as a Member of the Cabinet, is, in common speech, the District Attorney for the Supreme Court. He is the prosecuting officer of that court. So the District Attorneys, appointed in the same way as the Attorney-General, but in and for their respective dis-

tricts, are the prosecuting attorneys of the District Courts. As a general thing there is a District Attorney for each District Court, though in one or two States which contain two or more Districts there is only one District Attorney. He is the attorney for the United States, just as the District Attorney in any county of a State is the attorney for the Commonwealth. His duty is to prosecute in his District all crimes cognizable under the laws of the United States, and all civil actions in which the government is concerned.

U. S. MARSHALS.—As already indicated these officers are attached to every District Court, and their function is similar to an ordinary County Sheriff. They serve the processes of the court, and execute its judgments and decrees. They are equally the officers of the Circuit Courts.

JURIES.—The machinery of the Judiciary would be very imperfect without mention of the two kinds of juries in use. They are required by the Constitution, see Art. V. of the amendments. The Grand Jury is organized, like that in the judicial districts of the States, and has the same powers and duties. It is that part of the judicial system which first inquires into a charge of crime brought against a citizen, and no indictment for such crime can be presented to the court unless a majority of said jury certify that there are good reasons for believing that the charge is well founded. It is the body of citizens which stands between a criminal and all petty, spiteful and ill-founded charges, and protects him from the annoyance and expense of trials without probable cause. When the Grand Jury is called by a Circuit Court it must inquire into all the crimes against the laws of the United States in that Circuit; when called by a District Court, its inquiries extend only to the District.

The Petit (small) jury has the same uses and powers as in the County Courts. It is called by a Judge of the District or Circuit Court, on subpœna, is composed of a panel of forty-eight men, from which the usual twelve are selected for the trial of a cause. A Grand Jury acts only in criminal cases; both civil and criminal cases are tried before a Petit Jury. The finding of a Grand Jury is called a *presentment* or *indictment*—a presentment when it

acts from knowledge within itself, an indictment when it acts on knowledge derived from the District Attorney, or other person. The finding of a Petit Jury is called a *verdict.* The Grand Jury deliberates alone, the Petit Jury hears the evidence as presented in court, the pleas of the attorneys and the charge of the judges before it retires to deliberate. These remarks apply to Grand and Petit Juries in United States as well as State Courts.

ADMIRALTY COURTS—In remote times, when judicial systems were narrow, there arose a set of courts separate from those of common law, called Admiralty and Maritime Courts. They have separate existence yet in many countries, but here Admiralty and Maritime causes are heard in the District Courts of the United States, which are thus said to have Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction. There would be little use in keeping up this distinction but for the fact that the laws of Admiralty, which are laws respecting ships of war and warlike operations at sea, and Maritime laws, which are those respecting vessels engaged in commerce, are different from those relating to land affairs, and are a code in themselves, thus requiring, if not a separate set of courts and judges, at least a class of attorneys specially learned in Admiralty and Maritime matters. Cases within Admiralty and Maritime jurisdiction are not necessarily limited to those arising on the sea, but embrace those arising on the lakes and navigable rivers of the country.

GOVERNMENT OF THE TERRITORIES.

Congress provides a government for the Territories. Its form has become stereotyped, and it is in general a miniature of that enjoyed by the States. It recognizes the usual division of power into three branches, Executive, Legislative and Judicial.

The Executive power is in a Governor, appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for four years. His powers are akin to those of the State Governors. He must reside in his Territory, is commander of the militia, may grant pardons and reprieves, commission officers, and in general must execute the laws. He has a Secretary, appointed for four years, who may act as Governor in case of a

vacancy. The salary of a Governor is $2,600 and of a Secretary $1,800.

The Legislative power is vested in a Legislative Assembly, composed of a Council and House of Representatives. The former is limited to twelve members and the latter to twenty-four. They are elected by the qualified voters of the Territory for two years. Sessions of the Assemblies are biennial, and limited to sixty days. Laws passed by both Houses and signed by the Governor are sent to Congress and if approved are operative, if not, null and void.* The Legislative power of a Territory is necessarily limited to subjects permitted by Congress. Every Territory has the right to send a Delegate to the House of Representatives of the United States, with power to speak but not to vote.

The Judicial power of a Territory is in a Supreme Court, District Courts, Probate Courts and Justices of the Peace. Probates and Justices of the Peace are provided for by the Territory itself. The Supreme Court is composed of three judges (Dakota has four) appointed by the President and Senate. They hold one term annually. Then each Territory is divided into three Judicial districts, one for each Judge of the Supreme Court. The judge assigned to a district must hold court therein as often as the laws prescribe, and he must reside in his district after assignment. There is a United States Marshal and a District Attorney in each Territory, and each court is entitled to a clerk and minor officers. The salary of Territorial judges is $3,000.

All of the above is true of the Territories proper, but not of the Indian Country nor the District of Columbia.

The government of the Indian Country is hardly describable. It is of course a dependency of the United States, but the design is that it shall be as independent as possible. The tribes have been assigned land, and left to regulate their internal affairs according to their own laws and customs, of course with the hope that as they grow civilized they will become full-fledged

* Dakota, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming need not send their laws to Congress for approval.

citizens, with institutions which will readily take the laws and customs of the nation. Crimes against the Indians by whites, and against whites by the Indians of this Territory, are taken cognizance of by the United States Courts in some of the adjoining districts. The government would protect the Indian Country against invasion, and the inhabitants thereof against such tumult as they could not control, but the theory connected with this magnificent reservation is that the inhabitants shall be let alone to work out their social, political, industrial and moral problems in their own way, or with such help as they choose to invite.

The District of Columbia is governed by a Commission of three persons appointed by the President and Senate, one of whom must be an officer of the Engineer Corps, above the rank of Captain. He receives no additional pay. The other two, appointed for three years, from civil life, receive each $5,000 a year. They have no powers except those conferred by Congress, and they are simply the Agents of Congress to suggest laws and execute those which are enacted. They control streets, bridges, aqueducts, sewers, appoint the trustees of public schools, regulate the maintenance of prisons, hospitals and reformatory institutions, and do all that usually belongs to a corps of municipal regulators. They estimate for all municipal expenditures, and if their estimates are approved by the Secretary of the Treasury and by Congress, the Congress appropriates one-half of the amount and leaves the Commissioners to provide the balance by taxation of the property in the district. As we have passed along in our history of government machinery we have struck other offices connected with the District of Columbia, appointed by the President, giving to it a diversified but very complete government.

RULING BY STATES;

OR,

THEIR GOVERNMENTS AND RESOURCES.

ALABAMA.

NAME.—From one of the Indian tribes of the southern Mississippi valley, "The Alabamas," meaning, "Here we rest."

ADMISSION.—Organized as a Territory, March 3, 1817; act of admission, Dec. 14, 1819; admitted, Dec. 14, 1819.

*AREA.**—Square miles, 51,540; acres, 32,985,600; pop. to square mile, 24.5.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1820	127,901	.....
1830	309,527	142.01
1840	590,756	90.86
1850	771,623	30.62
1860	964,201	24.96
1870	996,992	3.40
1880	1,262,505	26.6

1880 *by Classes.*

Males	622,629	Native	1,252,771	White	662,185
Females	639,876	Foreign	9,734	Black	600,103
Dwellings	240,227			Persons to a dwelling	5.26
Families	248,961			" " family	5.07
Voters—Males over 21	259,884			Natural militia, 18–44	213,192
				Chinese	4
				Indians	213

* These State areas are those found in the tenth (1880) census, as corrected for the same. All figures are from the last census, except those otherwise indicated.

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Autauga	13,108	11,623	16,739
Baldwin	8,603	6,004	7,530
Barbour	33,979	29,309	30,812
Bibb	9,487	7,469	11,894
Blount	15,369	9,945	10,865
Bullock	29,066	24,474	.. ..
Butler	19,649	14,981	18,122
Calhoun	19,591	13,980	21,539
Chambers	23,442	17,562	23,214
Cherokee	19,108	11,132	18,360
Chilton	10,793	6,194	.....
Choctaw	15,731	12,676	13,877
Clarke	17,806	14,663	15,049
Clay	12,938	9,560	.....
Cleburne	10,976	8,017	.....
Coffee	8,119	6,171	9,623
Colbert	16,153	12,537	.....
Conecuh	12,605	9,574	11,311
Coosa	15,113	11,945	19,273
Covington	5,639	4,568	6,469
Crenshaw	11,726	11,156	.....
Cullman	6,355	.....	.....
Dale	12,677	11,325	12,197
Dallas	48,433	40,715	33,625
De Kalb	12,675	7,126	10,705
Elmore	17,502	14,477	.....
Escambia	5,719	4,041	.....
Etowah	15,398	10,109	.....
Fayette	10,135	7,136	12,850
Franklin	9,155	8,006	18,627
Geneva	4,342	2,959	.....
Greene	21,931	18,399	30,859
Hale	26,553	21,792	.....
Henry	18,761	14,191	14,918
Jackson	25,114	19,410	18,283
Jefferson	23,272	12,345	11,746
Lamar	12,142	8,893	.....
Lauderdale	21,035	15,091	17,420
Lawrence	21,392	16,638	13,975
Lee	27,262	21,750	.....
Limestone	21,600	15,017	15,376
Lowndes	31,176	25,719	27,716
Macon	17,371	17,727	26,812
Madison	37,625	31,267	26,451
Marengo	30,890	26,151	31,171
Marion	9,364	6,059	11,182
Marshall	14,585	9,871	11,472
Mobile	48,653	49,311	41,131
Monroe	17,091	14,214	15,667
Montgomery	52,356	43,704	35,904
Morgan	16,428	12,187	11,335
Perry	30,741	24,975	27,724
Pickens	21,479	17,690	22,316
Pike	20,640	17,423	24,435
Randolph	16,575	12,006	20,059
Russell	24,837	21,636	26,592
Saint Clair	14,462	9,360	11,013
Shelby	17,236	12,218	12,618
Sumter	28,728	24,109	24,035
Talladega	23,360	18,064	23,520
Tallapoosa	23,401	16,963	23,827
Tuscaloosa	24,957	20,081	23,200
Walker	9,479	6,543	7,980
Washington	4,538	3,912	4,669
Wilcox	31,828	28,377	24,618
Winston	4,253	4,155	3,576

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 4; instructors, 47; students, 485. Public schools, 4,629; value of school property, $299,599; teachers, 4,637; teachers' salaries, $388,128; receipts for school purposes, $505,201; expended for same, $430,131; school age, 7 to 21 years; school population (1882), 401,002; pupils enrolled (1882), 177,428; average attendance (1882), 114,577; average length of school session in 1882, 79 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 370,279, or 43.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 111,040; foreign white, 727; colored, Chinese and Indians, 321,680; total, 433,447, or 50.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years.

Daily papers, 7; others, 122; total, 129. Circulation, 86,813.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 380,630; in professional and personal service, 72,211; in trade and transportation, 16,953; in manufactures, mechanics and mining, 29,996.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 135,864; total acres in farms, 18,855,334; improved acres, 6,375,706; average size of farms, 139 acres; value of farms and buildings, $78,954,648;

value of farm implements, $3,788,978; total value of farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $56,872,994.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	5,281 bush.	Orchard products	$362,263
Buckwheat	363 "	Potatoes, Irish	334,925 bush.
Butter	7,997,719 lbs.	" sweet	3,448,819 "
Cheese	14,091 "	Rice	810,889 lbs.
Cotton	699,654 bales.	Rye	28,402 bush.
Hay	10,363 tons.	Sugar & Mol., 94 hhds.	795,199 gal.
Indian Corn	25,451,278 bush.	Tobacco	452,426 lbs.
Milk	267,387 gal.	Wheat	1,529,657 bush.
Oats	3,039,639 bush.	Wool	762,207 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	113,950	Other cattle	404,213
Mules and asses	121,081	Sheep	347,538
Working oxen	75,534	Swine	1,252,462
Milch cows	271,443		

Total value of live-stock on farms June 1, 1880.....$23,787,681

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 2,070; capital invested, $9,668,008; hands employed, 10,019; wages paid, $2,500,504; value of materials, $8,545,520; value of products, $13,565,504.

The principal manufactures are:

Cotton goods	$1,352,000	Iron and steel	$1,452,856
Flour and mill products	4,315,174	Lumber sawed	2,649,634

Total steam and water power in use, 27,576 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$1,301
Coal, bituminous	322,934 tons	475,559
Iron ore	184,110 "	189,108
Value of all mining products		$665,968

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,809 miles of line; miles operated, 1,519; cost, $61,612,917; total railroad investment, $68,903,393. Steam craft, 43; tonnage, 7,168; value, $257,600. Sail craft, 73; tonnage, 7,937; value, $198,400.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $91,740,536; of personal property, $64,285,883; State taxation (1883), $906,807, rate 65 cents on $100; county taxation, $682,851; city and town, $388,781; State debt (1883) $12,164,023; county and city debts, $5,656,780.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Montgomery. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $3,000. The other State officers—term of each two years—are, Secretary of State, salary, $1,800; Treasurer, $2,100; Auditor, $1,800; Attorney-General, $1,500; Adjutant-General, $1,500; Superintendent Public Instruction, $2,250; Librarian, $1,500.

The Legislature is composed of 33 Senators and 100 Representatives. Senators elected for four years, Representatives for two years. Legislature meets biennially on Tuesday after second Monday in November. Sessions limited to 50 days. Salary of a Legislator, $4 per day and 10 cents mileage.

State elections held every two years on first Monday in August. Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.*

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, elected by the people for six years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representatives in Congress, 8; Presidential electors, 10.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep. or opp.	Maj.
1872 President	79,444	90,272	10,828 R.
1874 Governor	107,118	93,928	13,190 D.
1876 Governor	100,837	56,091	44,746 D.
1876 President	102,989	68,708	34,281 D.
1878 Governor	89,571	.....	89,571 D.
1880 Governor	134,213	42,458	91,755 D.
1880 President	89,928	56,126	33,802 D.
1882 Governor	101,841	46,839	55,002 D.

ALASKA TERRITORY.

For statistical and other purposes the Census Bureau divides Alaska into the following sections:

	Sq. miles.	White pop.	Creole.	Native.	Total.
Arctic	125,245	...	...	3,094	3,094
Yukon	176,715	18	19	6,833	6,870
Kuskokvim	114,975	3	111	8,797	8,911
Aleutian	14,610	82	479	1,890	2,451
Kadiak	70,884	34	917	3,401	4,352
Southeastern	28,980	293	230	7,225	7,748
Totals	531,409	430	1,756	31,240	33,426

* As to Congressional and Presidential elections see Ruling Nationally, page 197.

The ascertained products in 1880 were, gold $5,951, and silver $51, besides fur skins of unknown value.

The government, as we have seen, is military or naval; that is the public peace and interests are in the keeping of an officer stationed at the principal port or coast town. See Alaska, pages 96 and 127.

ARIZONA TERRITORY.

NAME.—From the Arizona Indians; Arizona meaning "sand hills."

ORGANIZATION.—Act of Feb. 24, 1863.

AREA.—Square miles, 112,920; acres, 72,268,800; population to square mile, 0.36.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

1870	9,658	Per cent. of increase.
1880	40,440	318.7.

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	28,202	Native	24,391	White	35,160
Female	12,238	Foreign	16,049	Black	155
Dwellings	9,033			Persons to a dwelling	4.48
Families	9,536			" " family	4.24
Voters—Males over 21	20,398			Natural militia, 18–44	18,144

Chinese	1,632						
Indians	3,493						

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880	1870	1860	*Counties.*	1880	1870	1860
Apache	5,283	.....	.....	Pinal	3,044	.....	.....
Maricopa	5,689	.....	.....	Yavapai	5,013	2,142	.....
Mohave	1,190	179	.....	Yuma	3,215	1,621	.....
Pima	17,006	5,716	.....				

EDUCATION.—Public schools, 101; value of school property, $113,599; teachers, 101; teachers' salaries, $56,744; receipts for school purposes, $103,028; expended for same (1882), $98,268; school age, 6–21 years; school population, 10,283; pupils enrolled, 3,844; average attendance, 2,847; average length of school session, 109 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 5,496, or 16.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 1,225; foreign white, 3,599; colored, Chinese and Indians, 1,018; total, 5,842, or 17.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years.

Daily papers, 6; others, 11; total, 17. Circulation, 14,350.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 3,435; in professional and personal service, 8,210; in trade and transportation, 3,252; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 7,374.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 767; total acres in farms, 135,573; improved acres, 56,071; average size of farms, 177 acres; value of farms and buildings, $1,127,946; value of implements, $88,811; total value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand, $614,327.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	239,051 bush.	Orchard products	$5,530
Butter	61,817 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	26,249 bush.
Cheese	18,360 "	" sweet	5,303 "
Hay	5,606 tons.	Tobacco	600 lbs.
Indian Corn	34,746 bush.	Wheat	136,427 bush.
Milk	42,618 gal.	Wool	313,698 lbs.
Oats	564 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	6,798	Other cattle	34,843
Mules and asses	891	Sheep	76,524
Working oxen	984	Swine	3,819
Milch cows	9,156		

Total value of all live-stock on farms June 1, 1880 ..... $1,167,980

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 66; capital invested, $272,600; hands employed, 220; wages paid, $111,180; value of materials, $380,023; value of products, $618,365.

Total steam and water power in use, 530 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

	Value.
Gold	$211,965
Silver	2,325,825
Copper ingots	3,183,750 lbs.

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—There were 412 miles of railroad projected or built in 1882, but none operated from within. The cost of building and equipment was $29,537,212, and total investment, $30,119,000. The water craft numbered 4 barges, of a tonnage of 554 tons; value $1,600.

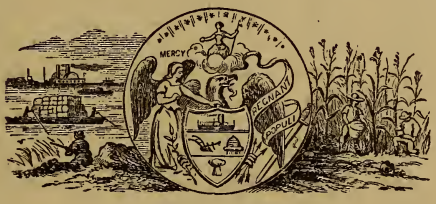
FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed valuation of real estate, $3,922,961; of personal property, $5,347,253; territorial taxation, $56,620; county, $220,471; city and local, $16,945; territorial debt, none; county and local indebtedness, $377,501.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Prescott. Governor appointed by the President for four years. Salary, $2,600. Legislature composed of 12 Senators and 24 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of Legislators $4 per day and 20 cents mileage. Sessions held biennially on first Monday in January and limited to 60 days. Territorial elections held every two years and, with presidential election, on Tuesday after first Monday in November. The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two associates, appointed by the President for four years. Salary of judges, $3,000.

POLITICS.—Vote for Delegate:

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1880	4,095	3,606	489 D.
1882	6,121	5,141	980 D.

ARKANSAS.



NAME.—From the word *Kansas*, with the prefix of *arc*, a bow. The story runs that the name Arkansas was applied to a portion of the Kansas tribe of Indians who separated from the main stem, and were noted for the superiority of their bows. The word was spelled Arkansaw, in the act creating it a Territory, and the Legislature recently affirmed that as the pronunciation. Popular name, "The Bear State."

ADMISSION.—Organized as a Territory March 2, 1819. Act of admission, and actual admission, June 15, 1836.

AREA.—Square miles, 53,045; acres, 33,948,800; population to the square mile, 15.13.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.
1820.....	14,255		1860.....	435,450	107.4
1830.....	30,388	113.1	1870.....	484,471	11.2
1840.....	97,574	221.0	1880.....	802,525	65.6
1850.....	209,897	115.1			

1880 *by Classes.*

Male.....416,279	Native.....792,175	White.....591,531	Chinese.....133
Female...386,246	Foreign.... 10,350	Black.....210,666	Indian.....195
Dwellings.....	149,377	Persons to a dwelling.....	5.37
Families.....	154,272	" " family.....	5.20
Voters—Males over 21.....	182,977	Natural militia, 18–44.....	159,606

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Arkansas	8,038	8,268	8,844
Ashley	10,156	8,042	8,590
Baxter	6,004	.....	.....
Benton	20,328	13,831	9,306
Boone	12,146	7,032	.....
Bradley	6,285	8,646	8,388
Calhoun	5,671	3,853	4,103
Carroll	13,337	5,780	9,383
Chicot	10,117	7,214	9,234
Clark	15,771	11,953	9,735
Clay	7,213	.....	.....
Columbia	14,090	11,397	12,449
Conway	12,755	8,112	6,697
Craighead	7,037	4,577	3,066
Crawford	14,740	8,957	7,850
Crittenden	9,415	3,831	4,920
Cross	5,050	3,915	.....
Dallas	6,505	5,707	8,283
Desha	8,973	6,125	6,459
Dorsey	8,370	.....	.....
Drew	12,231	9,960	9,078
Faulkner	12,786	.....	.....
Franklin	14,951	9,627	7,298
Fulton	6,720	4,843	4,024
Garland	9,023	.....	.....
Grant	6,185	3,943	.....
Greene	7,480	7,573	5,843
Hempstead	19,015	13,768	13,989
Hot Spring	7,775	5,877	5,635
Howard	9,917	.....	.....
Independence	18,286	14,566	14,307
Izard	10,857	6,806	7,215
Jackson	10,877	7,268	10,493
Jefferson	22,386	15,733	14,971
Johnson	11,565	9,152	7,612
La Fayette	5,730	9,139	8,464
Lawrence	8,782	5,981	9,372
Lee	13,288	.....	.....
Lincoln	9,255	.....	.....
Little River	6,404	.....	3,236
Logan	14,885	.....	.....
Lonoke	12,146	.....	.....
Madison	11,455	8,231	7,740
Marion	7,907	3,979	6,192
Miller	9 919	.....	.....
Mississippi	7,332	3,633	3,895
Monroe	9,574	8,336	5,657
Montgomery	5,729	2,984	3,633
Nevada	12,959	.....	.....
Newton	6,120	4,374	3,393
Ouachita	11,758	12,975	12,936
Perry	3,872	2,685	2,465
Phillips	21,262	15,372	14,877
Pike	6,345	3,788	4,025
Poinsett	2,192	1,720	3,621
Polk	5,857	3,376	4,262
Pope	14,322	8,386	7,883
Prairie	8,435	5,604	8,854
Pulaski	32,616	32,066	11,699
Randolph	11,724	7,466	6,261
Saint Francis	8,389	6,714	8,672
Saline	8,953	3,911	6,640
Scott	9,174	7,483	5,145
Searcy	7,278	5,614	5,271
Sebastian	19,560	12,940	9,238
Sevier	6,192	4,492	10,516
Sharp	9,047	5,400	.....
Stone	5,089	.....	.....
Union	13,419	10,571	12,288
Van Buren	9,565	5,107	5,357
Washington	23,844	17,266	14,673
White	17 794	10,347	8,316
Woodruff	8,646	6,891	.....
Yell	13,852	8,048	6,333

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 5; Instructors, 35; Students, 709. Public schools, 2,768; value of school property, $273,302; teachers, 2,823; teachers' salaries (1882), $388,616; receipts for school purposes, $500,978; expended for same (1882), $503,857; school age, 6–21 years; school population (1882), 289,617; pupils enrolled (1882), 117,696; average attendance (1882), 56,291; average length of school session in 1880, 91 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 153,229, or 28.8 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 97,990; foreign white, 552; colored, Chinese and Indians, 103,473; 202,015, or 38 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers; 6; others, 114; total, 120; circulation, 92,621.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 216,655; in professional and personal services, 23,466; in trade and transportation, 9,233; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 11,338.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 94,433; total acres, 12,061,547; improved acres, 3,595,603; average size of farms, 128 acres; value of farms and buildings, $74,249,655; value of implements, $4,637,497; total value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand, $43,796,261.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	1,952 bush.	Oats	2,219,822 bush.
Buckwheat	548 "	Orchard products	$867,426
Butter	7,790,013 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	402,027 bush.
Cheese	26,301 "	" sweet	881,260 "
Cotton	608,256 bales.	Rye	22,387 "
Hay	23,295 tons.	Tobacco	970,220 lbs.
Indian Corn	24,156,417 bush.	Wheat	1,269,715 bush.
Milk	316,858 galls.	Wool	557,368 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	146,333	Other cattle	433,392
Mules and asses	87,082	Sheep	246,757
Working oxen	25,444	Swine	1,565,098
Milch cows	249,407		

Total value of all live-stock on farms June 1, 1880.....$20,472,425

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 1,202; capital invested, $2,953,130; hands employed, 4,557; wages paid, $925,358; value of material, $4,392,080; value of products, $6,756,159.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and grist-mill products	$2,249,289	Oil and cotton-seed cake	590,000
Lumber sawed	1,793,848		

Total steam and water-power in use, 15,733 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	14,778 tons	$33,535

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,020 miles of line; miles operated, 558; cost, $40,307,404; total investment, $40,046,318. Steam craft, 37; tonnage, 5,047; value, $227,400; barges and flats, 78; value, $6,600.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate, Oct. 1, 1883, $75,000,000; personal property, $48,000,000; State taxation (1883), 70 cents on $100, $750,000; county taxation (1880), $734,974; township and municipal taxation, $388,878; State debt (1883), bonded, $2,454,000; floating, $2,689,000; total, $5,143,000; amount in sinking fund, $1,006,668; local and county indebtedness, $3,899,047.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Little Rock. Governor elected every two years. Salary, $3,500. The other officers, all elected for two years, are the Secretary of State, salary, $1,800; Attorney-General, $1,500; Treasurer, $2,250; Superintendent Public Instruction, $1,600; Auditor, $2,250; Land Commissioner, $1,800.

Legislature composed of 31 Senators and 94 Representatives. Senators elected for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary $6 a day. Legislature meets biennially on second Monday in January. Sessions limited to 60 days. State election held every two years on first Monday in September.

Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, elected for eight years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representatives in Congress, 5; Presidential electors, 7.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Greenback.	Maj.
1872 President	37,927	41,073	.....	3,146 R.
1874 Governor	76,871	.....	.....	76,871 D.
1876 Governor	71,298	37,306	.....	33,992 D.
1876 President	58,083	38,699	.....	19,414 D.
1878 Governor	88,792	.....	.....	88,792 D.
1880 President	60,489	41,661	.....	18,828 D.
1880 Governor	84,185	31,424	.....	52,761 D.
1882 Governor	87,675	49,352	10,142	28,181 D.

CALIFORNIA.

NAME.—The name California originated in the imagination of one Garcia Ordonez de Montalvo, a Spaniard, and author of the romance called "Esplandian," published about 1510. In this work "California" is the name of an imaginary island "on the right hand of the Indies, very near to the Terrestrial Paradise, abounding in great treasures of gold." Cortes applied the word to the peninsula of Lower California in 1535. The romancer evidently conjured up the word from the Arabic *Khalafa*, our word *caliph*, successor. Popular name, "The Golden State."

ADMISSION.—Act of admission and actual admission, September 9, 1850.

AREA.—Square miles, 155,980; acres, 99,827,200; persons to a square mile, 5.54.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1850	92,597	....	1870	560,247	47.4
1860	379,994	310.3	1880	864,694	54.3

1880 *by Classes.*

Males	518,176	White	767,181
Females	346,518	Black	6,018
Native	571,820	Chinese	75,218
Foreign	292,874	Indians	16,277
Dwellings	161,037	Persons to a dwelling	5.37
Families	177,508	" " family	4.87
Voters—Males over 21	329,392	Natural militia, 18–44	257,229

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Alameda	62,976	24,237	8,927	Del Norte	2,584	2,022	1,993
Alpine	539	685	.....	El Dorado	10,683	10,309	20,562
Amador	11,384	9,582	10,930	Fresno	9,478	6,336	4,605
Butte	18,721	11,403	12,106	Humboldt	15,512	6,140	2,694
Calaveras	9,094	8,895	16,299	Inyo	2,928	1,956	.....
Colusa	13,118	6,165	2,274	Kern	5,601	2,925	.....
Contra Costa	12,525	8,461	5,328	Klamath	.....	1,686	1,803

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Lake	6,096	2,969	.....
Lassen	3,340	1,327	.....
Los Angeles	33,381	15,309	11,333
Marin	11,324	6,903	3,334
Mariposa	4,339	4,572	6,243
Mendocino	12,800	7,545	3,967
Merced	5,656	2,807	1,141
Modoc	4,399	.....	.....
Mono	7,499	430	.....
Monterey	11,302	9,876	4,739
Napa	13,235	7,163	5,521
Nevada	20,823	19,134	16,446
Placer	14,232	11,357	13,270
Plumas	6,180	4,489	4,363
Sacramento	34,390	26,830	24,142
San Benito	5,584	.....	.....
San Bernardino	7,786	3,988	5,551
San Diego	8,618	4,951	4,324
San Francisco	233,959	149,473	56,802
San Joaquin	24,349	21,050	9,435
San Luis Obispo	9,142	4,772	1,782
San Mateo	8,669	6,635	3,214
Santa Barbara	9,513	7,784	3,543
Santa Clara	35,039	26,246	11,912
Santa Cruz	12,802	8,743	4,944
Shasta	9,492	4,173	4,362
Sierra	6,623	5,619	11,387
Siskiyou	8,610	6,848	7,629
Solano	18,475	16,871	7,169
Sonoma	25,926	19,819	11,867
Stanislaus	8,751	6,499	2,245
Sutter	5,159	5,030	3,390
Tehama	9,301	3,587	4,044
Trinity	4,999	3,213	5,125
Tulare	11,251	4,533	4,638
Tuolumne	7,848	8,150	16,229
Ventura	5,073	.....	.....
Yolo	11,772	9,809	4,716
Yuba	11,284	10,851	13,668

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 11; instructors, 180; students, 2,193.

Public schools, 3,446; value of school property, $6,949,983; teachers, 3,556; teachers' salaries (1882), $2,406,781; receipts for school purposes, $3,525,527; expended for same (1882), $3,122,666; school age, 5 to 17 years; school population (1882), 216,380; pupils enrolled (1882), 168,024; average attendance (1882), 107,177; average length of school session in 1882, 155.4 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 48,583, being 7.1 per cent. of all persons over ten years. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 7,660; foreign white, 18,430; colored, Chinese and Indians, 27,340; total, 53,430, being 7.8 per cent. of all persons over ten years.

Daily papers, 59; others, 305; total, 364. Circulation, 671,811.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 79,396; in professional and personal services, 121,435; in trade and transportation, 57,392; in mining, mechanics and manufacturing, 118,282.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 35,934; total acres in farms, 16,593,742; improved acres, 10,669,698; average size of farms, 462 acres; value of farms and buildings, $262,051,282; value of implements, $8,447,744; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $59,721,425.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	12,463,561 bush.	Oats	1,341,271 bush.
Buckwheat	22,307 "	Orchard products	$2,017,314
Butter	14,084,405 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	4,550,565 bush.
Cheese	2,566,618 "	" sweet	86,284 "
Hay	1,135,180 tons.	Rye	181,681 "
Hops	1,444,077 lbs.	Tobacco	73,317 lbs.
Indian Corn	1,993,325 bush.	Wheat	29,017,707 bush.
Milk	12,353,178 galls.	Wool	16,798,036 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	237,710	Other cattle	451,941
Mules and asses	28,343	Sheep	4,152,349
Working oxen	2,288	Swine	603,550
Milch cows	210,078		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$35,500,417

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 5,885; capital invested, $61,243,784; hands employed, 43,693; wages paid, $21,065,905; value of material, $72,607,709; value of products, $116,218,973.

The principal manufactures are:

Boots and shoes	$3,649,551	Lumber, sawed	$4,428,950
Clothing (men's)	3,992,209	Printing and publishing	3,148,978
Flour and mill products	12,701,477	Slaughtering and packing	7,953,914
Machinery	4,797,232	Tobacco and Cigars	3,947,353
Leather, tanned and curried	5,740,573	Sugar-refining	5,932,000
Malt liquors	3,862,431		

Total steam and water power in use, 32,921 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$17,150,941
Silver		1,150,887
Coal, bituminous	236,950 tons.	663,013
Copper, ingots	720,000 lbs.	.....
Minor minerals	2,597 tons.	19,948
Total precious	$18,301,828	Total non-precious....$682,961

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 3,187 miles of line; miles operated, 3,745; cost, $268,485,344; total investment, $289,618,204. Total number of steam craft, 187; tonnage, 59,030; value, $3,792,800. Number of sail craft, 652; tonnage, 117,970; value, $2,949,250. Barges and flats, 88; value, $110,800.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1882), $446,219,940; personal property, $161,152,822. State

taxation (1882), 59.6 cents on $100, $3,934,184; county taxation, $4,059,471; township and municipal taxation, $5,353,357; State debt (1882), all funded, $606,500; local and county indebtedness, $13,449,074.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Sacramento. Governor elected every four years. Salary, $6,000. The other State officers, all elected for four years, are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $12 per day; Secretary of State, $3,000; Treasurer, $3,000; Comptroller, $3,000; Superintendent Public Instruction, $3,000; Attorney-General, $3,000; Surveyor-General, $3,000; State Librarian, $3,000.

The Legislature is composed of 40 Senators and 80 Representatives. Senators are chosen for four years and Representatives for two years. Salary of each, $8 a day, $25 extra, and 10 cents mileage. Sessions held biennially, commencing on first Monday after Jan. 1. Limit of session, 60 days.

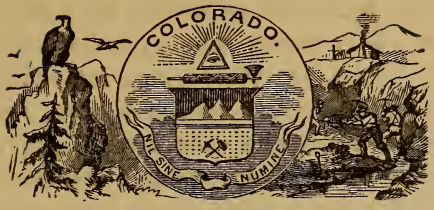
The date of State election is Tuesday after first Monday in November; also of Presidential and Congressional election.

Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and six associates, elected for twelve years. Salary of each, $6,000.

Representatives in Congress, 6; Presidential Electors, 8.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind. & others.	*Maj.
1872 President.....	40,718	54,020	1,068	13,302 R.
1873 Sup. Court.....	19,247	13,841	24,554	5,207 I.
1875 Governor.....	61,509	31,322	29,752	30,187 D.
1876 President.....	76,464	79,269	44	2,805 R.
1879 Governor.....	47,647	67,965	44,482	20,318 R.
1880 President.....	80,417	80,273	.....	144 D.
1882 Governor.....	90,695	67,173	6,792	16,730 D.



COLORADO.

NAME.—From the Rio Colorado, the ruddy, red or colored river. Popular name, "The Centennial State."

ADMISSION.—Organized as a Territory, Feb. 28, 1861; act of admission, March 3, 1875; admission took effect August 1, 1876.

AREA.—Square miles, 103,645; acres, 66,332,800; persons to square mile, 1.87.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1860	34,277	
1870	39,864	16.2
1880	194,327	387.4

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	129,131	Native	154,537	White	191,126
Female	65,196	Foreign	39,790	Black	2,435
Chinese	612				
Indian	154				
Dwellings	39,018			Persons to a dwelling	4.98
Families	41,260			" " family	4.71
Voters—Males over 21	93,608			Natural militia, 18–44	86,004

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Arapahoe	38,644	6,829	.....	Hinsdale	1,487	.....	.....
Bent	1,654	592	.....	Huerfano	4,124	2,250	.....
Boulder	9,723	1,939	.....	Jefferson	6,804	2,390	.....
Chaffee	6,512	.....	.....	Lake	23,563	522	.....
Clear Creek	7,823	1,596	.....	La Plata	1,110	.....	.....
Conejos	5,605	2,504	.....	Larimer	4,892	838	.....
Costilla	2,879	1,779	.....	Las Animas	8,903	4,276	.....
Custer	8,080	.....	.....	Ouray	2,669	.....	.....
Douglas	2,486	1,388	.....	Park	3,970	447	.....
Elbert	1,708	.....	.....	Pueblo	7,617	2,265	.....
El Paso	7,949	987	.....	Rio Grande	1,944	.....	.....
Fremont	4,735	1,064	.....	Routt	140	.....	.....
Gilpin	6,489	5,490	.....	Saguache	1,973	304	.....
Grand	417	.....	.....	San Juan	1,087	.....	.....
Greenwood	.....	510	.....	Summitt	5,459	258	.....
Gunnison	8,235	.....	.....	Weld	5,646	1,636	.....

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 3; instructors, 25; students, 380.

Public schools, 514; value of school property, $710,503; teachers, 559; teachers' salaries (1882), $300,128; receipts for

school purposes, $526,126; expended for same (1882), $626,965; school age, 6–21 years; school population (1882), 49,208; pupils enrolled (1882), 31,738; average attendance (1882), 18,488; average length of school session in 1882, 100 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 9,321, being 5.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 8,373; foreign white, 1,533; colored, Chinese and Indians, 568; total, 10,474, being 6.6 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 20; others, 70; total, 90. Circulation, 101,329.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 13,539; in professional and personal service, 24,813; in trade and transportation, 15,491; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 47,408.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 4,506; total acres in farms, 1,165,373; improved acres, 616,169; average size of farms, 259 acres; value of farms and buildings, $25,109,223; value of implements, $910,085; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $5,035,228.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	107,116 bush.	Oats	640,900 bush.
Buckwheat	110 "	Orchard products	$3,246
Butter	860,379 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	383,123 bush.
Cheese	10,867 "	Rye	19,465 "
Hay	85,062 tons.	Wheat	1,425,014 "
Indian Corn	455,968 bush.	Wool	3,197,391 lbs.
Milk	506,706 gal.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	42,257	Other cattle	315,989
Mules and asses	2,581	Sheep	746,443
Working oxen	2,080	Swine	7,656
Milch cows	28,770		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$8,703,342

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 599; capital invested, $4,311,714; hands employed, 5,074; wages paid, $2,314,427; value of material, $8,806,762; value of products, $14,260,159.

The principal products were;

Flour and mill products	$2,534,644	Lumber planed	$1,276,000
Machinery	1,037,522	" sawed	1,051,295
Slaughtering and packing	1,082,690		

Total steam and water-power in use, 5,802 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$2,699,898
Silver		16,549,274
Coal, bituminous	462,747 tons	1,041,350
Copper ingots	1,578 lbs.	.....
Total precious metals	$19,249,172.	Non-precious $1,041,350

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 2,157 miles of line; miles operated, 1,799; cost, $87,581,073; total investment, $88,398,364.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal estate (1882), $73,776,109; State taxation (1882) at 40 cents on $100, $295,104; county taxation, $1,209,808; township and municipal taxation, $569,841; State debt, Dec. 1, 1882, $233,688, not funded. The Constitution prohibits a debt in advance of appropriations. County and municipal indebtedness, $3,381,482.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Denver. Governor elected every two years. Salary, $5,000. The other State officers, all elected for two years, are Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $1,000; Secretary of State, $3,000; Treasurer, $3,000; Auditor, $2,500; Attorney-General, $2,000; Superintendent Public Instruction, $3,000; Adjutant-General, $500; State Librarian.

The Legislature is composed of 26 Senators and 49 Representatives. Senators elected for four years, Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator $4 per day and 15 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Wednesday in January. Session limited to 40 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections on Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associates, elected for nine years. Salary of each, $5,000.

Representative in Congress, 1; Presidential electors, 3.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 Congress	7,696	6,260	.....	1,336 R.
1874 Congress	9,333	7,170	.....	2,163 R.
1876 Congress	13,308	12,310	.....	998 R.
1876 Governor	14,154	13,316	.....	838 R.
1878 Governor	14,396	11,573	2,755	2,823 R.
1878 Congress	14,294	12,003	2,329	2,291 R.
1880 President	27,450	24,647	1,435	2,803 R.
1882 Governor	27,552	29,897	937	2,345 D.

CONNECTICUT.

NAME.—From the Indian *Quinni-tuk-ut*, the country "upon the long river," or "the long river" itself. Popular name, "The Free Stone State," and jocularly "The Nutmeg State."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, Jan. 9, 1788.

AREA.—Square miles, 4,845; acres, 3,100,800; persons to a square mile, 128.52.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	237,946	...	1840	309,978	4.1
1800	251,002	5.4	1850	370,792	19.6
1810	261,942	4.3	1860	460,147	24.0
1820	275,148	5.0	1870	537,454	16.8
1830	297,675	8.1	1880	622,700	15.8

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	305,782	Native	492,708
Female	316,918	Foreign	129,992
Dwellings	108,458		
Families	136,885		
Voters—Males over 21	177,291		
White	610,769	Chinese	129
Black	11,547	Indians	255
Persons to a dwelling	5.74		
" " family	4.55		
Natural militia, 18–44	127,590		

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Fairfield	112,042	95,276	77,746	New Haven	156,523	121,257	97,345
Hartford	125,382	109,007	89,962	New London	73,152	66,570	61,731
Litchfield	52,044	48,727	47,318	Tolland	24,112	22,000	21,177
Middlesex	35,589	36,099	30,859	Windham	43,856	38,518	34,729

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 3; instructors, 74; students, 939.

Public schools, 2,601; value of school property, $3,454,275; teachers, 2,719; teachers' salaries (1882), $1,056,268; receipts for school purposes, $1,441,255; expended for same (1882), $1,553,065; school age, 4–16; school population (1882), 146,188; pupils enrolled (1882), 121,185; average attendance (1882), 77,041; average length of school session in 1882, 179.66 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read 20,986, being 4.2 per cent. of all over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 3,728; foreign white, 23,035; colored, Chinese and Indians, 1,661; total, 28,424, being 5.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 17; others, 123; total, 140. Circulation, 233,240.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 44,026; in professional and personal service, 51,296; in trade and transportation, 29,920; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 116,091.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 30,598; total acres in farms, 2,453,541; improved acres, 1,642,188; average size of farms, 80 acres; value of farms and buildings, $121,063,910; value of implements, $3,162,628; total value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand, $18,010,075.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	12,286 bush.	Orchard products	$427,506
Buckwheat	137,563 "	Potatoes, Irish	2,584,262 bush.
Butter	8,198,995 lbs.	" sweet	918 "
Cheese	826,195 "	Rye	370,733 "
Hay	557,860 tons.	Tobacco	14,044,652 lbs.
Indian Corn	1,880,421 bush.	Wheat	38,472 bush.
Milk	12,289,893 galls.	Wool	230,133 lbs.
Oats	1,009,706 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	44,940	Other cattle	92,149
Mules and asses	539	Sheep	59,431
Working oxen	28,418	Swine	63,699
Milch cows	116,319		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$10,959,296

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 4,488; capital invested, $120,480,275; hands employed, 112,915; wages paid, $43,501,518; value of material, $102,183,341; value of products, $185,697,211.

The principal manufactures are:

Boots and shoes	$2,211,385	Machinery	$6,339,599
" " rubber	4,175,997	Hardware	10,374,293
Brass and copper rolled	10,985,471	Hats and caps	4,407,993
Carpets	2,500,559	Hosiery	2,432,271
Carriages and wagons	2,605,591	Mixed Textiles	5,919,505
Clocks	3,016,717	Paper	4,337,550
Clothing, men's	2,210,159	Plated and Britannia ware	6,080,076
Cotton goods	17,050,126	Sewing machines	2,969,741
Corsets	3,322,359	Silk and silk goods	5,881,000
Cutlery	2,704,708	Slaughtering and packing	4,669,540
Fire-arms	2,470,398	Woollen goods	16,892,284
Flour and mill products	2,964,134		

Total steam and water-power in use, 118,232 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Iron ore	35,018 tons	$147,799

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 973 miles of line; miles operated, 1,029; cost, $46,471,572; total investment, $47,633,321. Steam craft, 116; tonnage, 29,323; value, $1,752,200. Sail craft, 641; tonnage, 44,299; value, $1,107,475. Canal boats, 4; barges and flats, 76. 83 miles of abandoned canal, costing $827,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $228,487,700; of personal property, $95,901,223. State taxation (1883), 12.5 cents on $100, $1,630,536; county taxation, $145,707; township and municipal taxation, $4,730,907. State debt, Jan. 1, 1883, all funded, $4,272,100; county and town indebtedness, $17,034,061.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Hartford. Governor elected every two years. Salary, $2,000. The other State officers, all selected for two years, except Insurance Commissioner, are: Lieutenant-

Governor, salary, $500; Secretary of State, $1,500; Treasurer, $1,500; Comptroller, $1,500; Secretary State Board Education, $3,000; Adjutant-General, $1,200; Insurance Commission (three years), $3,500; Secretary Board Agriculture, $700; State Librarian, $1,800; three Railroad Commissioners, each, $3,000.

The Legislature is composed of 24 Senators and 249 Representatives. Senators are elected for two years and Representatives for one year. Salary, $300 a year and mileage. Sessions of Legislature annual, beginning on Wednesday after first Monday in January. No limit to session.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice, salary $4,500, and four associates, salary of each $4,000. All elected for eight years.

Representatives in Congress, 4; Presidential electors, 6.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Temp.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President	45,894	50,318	206	....	4,218 R.
1873 Governor	45,059	39,245	2,541	....	3,273 D.
1874 Governor	46,755	39,973	4,960	....	1,809 D.
1875 Governor	53,752	44,272	2,942	....	6,538 D.
1876 President	61,934	59,034	378	....	2,900 D.
1878 Governor	46,385	48,867	1,079	8,314	2,482 R.
1880 President	64,417	67,073	412	868	2,656 R.
1882 Governor	59,014	54,853	1,034	697	4,161 D.

DAKOTA TERRITORY.

NAME.—Dakota is Indian for "leagued" or "allied." It was applied to the confederated Sioux tribes.

ORGANIZATION.—Act of organization, March 2, 1861.

AREA.—Square miles, 147,700; acres, 94,528,000; persons to a square mile, 0.92.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.
1860	4,837	
1870	14,181	193.1
1880	135,177	853.2

1880 *by Classes.*

Male....82,296	Native....83,382	White....133,147	Chinese.... 238
Female..52,881	Foreign...51,795	Black.... 401	Indians....1,391
Dwellings.....29,324		Persons to a dwelling..... 4.61	
Families.....31,202		" " family..... 4.33	
Voters—Males over 21.....51,603		Natural militia, 18–44..... 45,788	

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Aurora	69	.....	.....
Barnes	1,585	.....	.....
Beadle	1,290	.....	.....
Billings	1,323	.....	.....
Bonhomme	5,468	608	.....
Boreman	534	.....	.....
Bottineau	.....	.....	.....
Brookings	4,965	163	.....
Brown	353	.....	.....
Brule	238	.....	.....
Buffalo	63	246	.....
Burleigh	3,246	.....	.....
Campbell	50	.....	.....
Cass	8,998	.....	.....
Cavileer	.....	.....	.....
Charles Mix	407	152	.....
Cheyenne	.....	.....	.....
Clark	114	.....	.....
Clay	5,001	2,621	.....
Coddington	2,156	.....	.....
Custer	995	.....	.....
Davison	1,256	.....	.....
Day	97	.....	.....
Delano	.....	.....	.....
De Smet	.....	.....	.....
Deuel	2,302	37	.....
Douglas	6	.....	.....
Edmunds	.....	.....	.....
Emmons	38	.....	.....
Faulk	4	.....	.....
Forsyth	.....	.....	.....
Foster	37	.....	.....
Gingras	.....	.....	.....
Grand Forks	6,248	.....	.....
Grant	3,010	.....	.....
Gregory	.....	.....	.....
Hamlin	693	.....	.....
Hand	153	.....	.....
Hanson	1,301	.....	.....
Howard	12	.....	.....
Hughes	268	.....	.....
Hutchinson	5,573	37	.....
Hyde	.....	.....	.....
Jayne	.....	5	.....
Kidder	89	.....	.....
Kingsbury	1,102	.....	.....
Lake	2,657	.....	.....
La Moure	20	.....	.....
Lawrence	13,248	.....	.....
Lincoln	5,896	712	.....
Logan	.....	.....	.....
Lugenbeel	.....	.....	.....
Lyman	124	.....	.....
McCook	1,283	.....	.....
McHenry	.....	.....	.....
McPherson	.....	.....	.....
Mandan	.....	.....	.....
Mercer	.....	.....	.....
Meyer	115	.....	.....
Miner	363	.....	.....
Minnehaha	8,251	355	.....
Moody	3,915	.....	.....
Morton	200	.....	.....
Mountraille	13	.....	.....
Pembina	4,862	1,213	.....
Pennington	2,244	.....	.....
Potter	.....	.....	.....
Pratt	.....	.....	.....
Presho	.....	.....	.....
Ramsey	281	.....	.....
Ransom	537	.....	.....
Renville	.....	.....	.....
Richland	3,597	.....	.....
Rolette	.....	.....	.....
Rusk	46	.....	.....
Shannon	113	.....	.....
Sheridan	.....	.....	.....
Spink	477	.....	.....
Stanley	793	.....	.....
Stark	.....	.....	.....
Stevens	247	.....	.....
Stutsman	1,007	.....	.....
Sully	296	.....	.....
Todd	203	337	.....
Traill	4,123	.....	.....
Tripp	.....	.....	.....
Turner	5,320	.....	.....
Union	6,813	3,507	.....
Wallette	432	.....	.....
Walworth	46	.....	.....
White River	.....	.....	.....
Williams	14	.....	.....
Yankton	8,390	2,097	.....
Zieback	.....	.....	.....
Sisseton and Wahpeton Indian Reservation	73	.....	.....
Fort Sisseton	134	.....	.....
Unorganized portion of the Territory	.....	2,091	.....

EDUCATION.—Public schools, 508; value of school property, $214,760; teachers, 520; teachers' salaries, $81,311; receipts for school purposes, $137,817; expended for same, $183,257; school age, 5–21; school population (1881), 33,815; pupils enrolled (1881), 25,451; average attendance, 8,530.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 3,094, being 3.1 per

cent. of all over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 933; foreign white, 3,224; colored, Chinese and Indians, 664; total, 4,821, being 4.8 per cent. of all over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 9; others, 57; total, 66. Circulation, 37,843.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 28,508; in professional and personal service, 14,016; in trade and transportation, 6,219; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 9,101.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 17,435; total acres in farms, 3,800,656; improved acres, 1,150,413; average size of farms, 218 acres; value of farms and buildings, $22,401,084; value of implements, $2,390,091; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $5,648,814.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	277,424 bush.	Oats	2,217,132 bush.
Buckwheat	2,521 "	Orchard products	$156
Butter	2,000,955 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	664,086 bush.
Cheese	39,437 "	Rye	24,359 "
Hay	308,036 tons.	Tobacco	1,897 lbs.
Indian Corn	2,000,864 bush.	Wheat	2,830,289 bush.
Milk	415,119 galls.	Wool	157,025 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	41,670	Other cattle	88,825
Mules and asses	2,703	Sheep	30,244
Working oxen	11,418	Swine	63,394
Milch cows	40,572		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $6,463,274

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 251; capital invested, $771,428; hands employed, 868; wages paid, $339,375; value of materials, $1,523,761; value of products, $2,373,970.

The principal manufactures are:

Flouring and grist-mill products	$1,040,958
Sawed lumber	435,792

Total steam and water-power in use, 2,224 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

	Value.
Gold	$3,305,843
Silver	70,813
Total value of precious minerals	$3,376,656

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 151 miles of line; miles operated, none; cost, $5,800,000; total investment, $5,850,000. Steam craft, 19; tonnage, 7,592; value, $328,000. Barges, 12; tonnage, 1,220; value, $9,500.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal estate in 1883, $69,154,910; Territorial taxation, 1883, 36 cents on $100, $195,346; county taxation, $296,692; city and town taxation, $79,765; Territorial debt, 1883, all funded, $309,500; county, city and town indebtedness, $998,860.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Bismarck. Governor appointed for four years by President by and with advice and consent of Senate. Salary, $2,600. The other Territorial officers are Secretary of Territory, appointed for four years, salary, $1,800; Treasurer, elected for two years, $2,000; Auditor, two years, $1,000; Superintendent of Public Instruction, two years, $1,500.

The Legislature is composed of 12 Senators and 24 Representatives, all chosen for two years. Salary, $4 per day and 20 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on second Tuesday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

Territorial and Delegate elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and three Associates, appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary, $3,000.

POLITICS.—Vote for Delegate:

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1880	18,796	9,340	9,456 R.
1882	38,151	9,034	29,117 R.

DELAWARE.

NAME.—Named from the river and bay to which Lord de la Warr's, or Ware's, name was affixed, he having visited the bay as early as 1610, and died on his vessel at its mouth. Popular name, "The Blue Hen," or "Diamond" State.

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, December 7, 1787, being the first State to ratify.

AREA.—Square miles, 1,960; acres, 1,254,400; persons to a square mile, 74.80.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	59,096	...	1840	78,085	1.7
1800	64,273	8.7	1850	91,532	17.2
1810	72,674	13.0	1860	112,216	22.5
1820	72,749	0.1	1870	125,015	11.4
1830	76,748	5.4	1880	146,608	17.2

1880 *by Classes.*

Males	74,108	Native	137,140	White	120,160
Females	72,500	Foreign	9,468	Black	26,442
Chinese	1				
Indians	5				
Dwellings	27,215			Persons to a dwelling	5.39
Families	28,253			" " family	5.19
Voters—Males over 21	38,298			Natural militia, 18–44	30,361

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Kent	32,874	29,804	27,804	Sussex	36,018	31,696	29,615
New Castle	77,716	63,515	54,797				

EDUCATION.—College, 1; instructors, 8; students, 54.

Public schools, 519; value of school property, $440,778; teachers, 526; teachers' salaries, $138,819; receipts for school purposes, $177,653; expended for same, $207,281; school age, 6–21; school population (1881), 37,285; pupils enrolled

(1881), 29,122; average attendance, 17,439; average length of school session in 1881, for white schools only, 153 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 16,912, being 15.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 6,630; foreign white, 1,716; colored, Chinese and Indians, 11,068; total, 19,414, being 17.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 5; others, 21; total, 26. Circulation, 36,925.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 17,849; in professional and personal services, 17,616; in trade and transportation, 4,967; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 14,148.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 8,749; total acres in farms, 1,090,245; improved acres, 746,958; average size of farms, 125 acres; value of farms and buildings, $36,789,672; value of implements, $1,504,567; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $6,320,345.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	523 bush.	Orchard products	$846,692
Buckwheat	5,857 "	Potatoes, Irish	283,864 bush.
Butter	1,876,275 lbs.	" sweet	195,937 "
Cheese	1,712 "	Rye	5,953 "
Hay	49,632 tons.	Tobacco	1,278 lbs.
Indian Corn	3,894,264 bush.	Wheat	1,175,272 bush.
Milk	1,132,434 galls.	Wool	97,946 lbs.
Oats	378,508 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	21,933	Other cattle	20,450
Mules and asses	3,931	Sheep	21,967
Working oxen	5,818	Swine	48,186
Milch cows	27,284		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$3,420,080

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 746; capital invested, $15,655,822; hands employed, 12,658; wages paid, $4,267,349; value of material, $12,828,461; value of product, $20,514,438.

The principal manufactures are:

Cars	$1,185,688	Iron pipe, wrought	$2,000,000
Cotton goods	1,057,257	Leather	1,886,597
Flour and mill products	1,341,026	Ships	2,162,503
Iron and steel	2,347,177	Woollen goods	665,253

Total steam and water power in use, 15,428 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Iron ore	2,726 tons	$6,553
Minor minerals	14,510 "	163,310
Total mineral products		$169,863

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 204 miles of line; miles operated, 189; cost, $4,309,977; total investment, $4,341,215. Canals, 14 miles; cost, $3,730,230. Steam craft, 25; tonnage, 5,888; value, $302,300. Sail craft, 159; tonnage, 12,127; value, $303,175. Barges and flats, 16; value, $51,600.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Delaware does not impose a State tax on property,* and there is therefore no assessed value, but a total valuation of real and personal property was returned to the Census Bureau, equal to $59,951,643. State taxation (1883), $117,458; county, $248,275; city and township, $355,982; State debt (1883), all bonded, $781,750; county, city and town indebtedness, $1,465,835.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Dover. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $2,000. The other State officers are: Secretary of State, four years, salary, $1,000; Treasurer, two years, $1,450; Auditor, two years, $700; Superintendent of Public Instruction, one year; Attorney-General, five years, $2,000; State Librarian, two years.

The Legislature is composed of 9 Senators and 21 Representatives. Senators are elected for four years and Representatives for two years. Their salary is $3 a day and mileage. Legislature holds biennial sessions, beginning on first Tuesday in January. No limit to the sessions.

* Her State moneys are raised principally from licenses and from taxes on railroads and passengers. The former gave $64,000 in 1882, and the latter $40,428, out of a total of State receipts of $141,238. The State also owns railroad securities to the value of $1,168,790, and is therefore practically out of debt.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Judiciary is appointed by the Governor for life or good behavior. It consists of a Chancellor and Chief Justice, who each receive $2,500 a year, and three Associate Justices, who receive each $2,200 a year.

Representative in Congress, 1; Presidential electors, 3.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Others.	Maj.
1872 President.....	10,205	11,115	487	423 R.
1874 Governor.....	12,488	11,259	....	1,229 D.
1876 Congress.....	13,169	10,562	238	2,339 D.
1876 President.....	13,379	10,691	....	2,688 D.
1878 Governor.....	10,730	.....	2,835	7,895 D.
1878 Congress.....	10,576	.....	2,966	7,610 D.
1880 President.....	15,180	14,148	....	1,032 D.
1882 Governor.....	16,558	14,620	....	1,938 D.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

NAME.—The Capitol District, or central place of Columbia; Columbia being (formerly more than now) a poetical or rhetorical title for the United States, and even North America and the Continent—from Columbus.

ORGANIZATION.—July 16, 1790, and March 3, 1791. Reduced to present size in 1846. Not organized as a Territory, but governed by Congress and Commissions.

AREA.—Square miles, 60; acres, 38,400; persons to a square mile, 2,960.4.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1800	14,093		1850	51,687	18.2
1810	24,023	70.4	1860	75,080	45.2
1820	33,039	37.5	1870	131,700	75.4
1830	39,834	20.5	1880	177,624	34.8
1840	43,712	9.7			

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	83,578	Native	160,502	White	118,006
Female	94,046	Foreign	17,122	Black	59,596
				Chinese	4
				Indians	5
Dwellings			28,687	Persons to a dwelling	6.19
Families			34,896	" " family	5.09
Voters—Males over 21			45,873	Natural militia, 18–44	35,411

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 5; instructors, 51; students, 473.

Public schools, 415; value of school property, $1,206,355; teachers, 425; teachers' salaries (1882), $317,329; receipts for school purposes, $476,957; expended for same (1882), $579,312; school age, 6–17; school population, 43,558; pupils enrolled (1881), 27,299; average attendance, 20,637; average length of school session in 1881, 190 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 21,541, being 15.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 1,950; foreign white, 2,038; colored, Chinese and Indians, 21,790; total, 25,778, being 18.8 per cent. of all persons over ten years.

Daily papers, 5; others, 39; total, 44. Circulation, 202,023.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 1,464; in professional and personal service, 39,975; in trade and transportation, 9,848; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 15,337.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 435; total acres in farms, 18,146; improved acres, 12,632; average size of farms, 42 acres; value of farms and buildings, $3,632,403; value of implements, $36,798; total value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand, $514,441.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Butter	20,920 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	33,064 bush.
Hay	3,759 tons.	" sweet	23,347 "
Indian Corn	29,750 bush.	Rye	3,704 "
Milk	496,789 galls.	Tobacco	1,400 lbs.
Orchard products	$12,074	Wheat	6,402 bush.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	1,027	Milch cows	1,292
Mules and asses	68	Other cattle	271
Working oxen	4	Swine	1,132

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $123,300

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 971; capital invested, $5,552,526; hands employed, 7,146; wages paid, $3,924,612; value of material, $5,365,400; value of products, $11,882,316.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products	$1,172,375	Printing and publishing	$2,896,312

Total steam and water power in use, 3,143 horse-power.

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—The railroads of the District are those centering there. They are the property of corporations outside, and their mileage is counted in with the length operated by said corporations. Steam craft, 34; tonnage, 6,946; value, $595,000. Sail craft, 58; tonnage, 1,920; value, $48,000; canal boats, 33; barges and flats, 27; tonnage of same, 3,675; value, $28,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed valuation of real estate, $87,980,356; of personal property, $11,421,431; total District taxation, $1,469,254; net debt of District, $22,675,459.

GOVERNMENT.—The District is governed by a commission of three persons appointed by the President and Senate for three years. Two of them must be from civil life; salary, $5,000. The third must be an officer of the Engineer Corps of the army. He draws army pay.

The judicial power of the District is vested in a Supreme Court, with a Chief Justice, salary, $4,500, and five Associates, salary, $4,000 each.

FLORIDA.

NAME.—Pascua Florida is Spanish for Easter Sunday. The peninsula, or "Land of Flowers," discovered by Ponce de Leon on that day he called Florida.

ADMISSION.—Organized as a Territory, March 30, 1822; act of admission, and actual admission, March 3, 1845.

AREA.—Square miles, 54,240; acres, 34,713,600; persons to a square mile, 4.97.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1830	34,730		1860	140,424	60.5
1840	54,477	56.8	1870	187,748	33.7
1850	87,445	60.5	1880	269,493	43.5

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	136,444	Native	259,584	White	142,605
Female	133,049	Foreign	9,909	Black	126,690
Dwellings	52,868			Persons to a dwelling	5.10
Families	54,691			" " family	4.93
Voters—Males over 21	61,699			Natural militia, 18–44	51,807
				Chinese	18
				Indians	180

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Alachua	16,462	17,328	8,232	Levy	5,767	2,018	1,781
Baker	2,303	1,325	.....	Liberty	1,362	1,050	1,457
Bradford	6,112	3,671	.....	Madison	14,798	11,121	7,779
Brevard	1,478	1,216	246	Manatee	3,544	1,931	854
Calhoun	1,580	998	1,446	Marion	13,046	10,804	8,609
Clay	2,838	2,098	1,914	Monroe	10,940	5,657	2,913
Columbia	9,589	7,335	4,646	Nassau	6,635	4,247	3,644
Dade	257	85	83	New River	.....	.....	3,820
Duval	19,431	11,921	5,074	Orange	6,618	2,195	987
Escambia	12,156	7,817	5,768	Polk	3,181	3,169	.....
Franklin	1,791	1,256	1,904	Putnam	6,261	3,821	2,712
Gadsden	12,169	9,802	9,396	Saint John's	4,535	2,618	3,038
Hamilton	6,790	5,749	4,154	Santa Rosa	6,645	3,312	5,480
Hernando	4,248	2,938	1,200	Sumter	4,686	2,952	1,549
Hillsborough	5,814	3,216	2,981	Suwannee	7,161	3,556	2,303
Holmes	2,170	1,572	1,386	Taylor	2,279	1,453	1,384
Jackson	14,372	9,528	10,209	Volusia	3,294	1,723	1,158
Jefferson	16,065	13,398	9,876	Wakulla	2,723	2,506	2,839
Lafayette	2,441	1,783	2,068	Walton	4,201	3,041	3,037
Leon	19,662	15,236	12,343	Washington	4,089	2,302	2,154

EDUCATION.—Public schools, 1,135; value of school property, $134,804; teachers, 1,151; teachers' salaries, $99,177; receipts for school purposes, $129,907; expended for same, $117,724; school age, 4–21 years; school population, 88,677; pupils enrolled, 39,315; average attendance, 27,046.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 70,219, being 38 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 19,024; foreign white, 739; colored, Indians and Chinese, 60,420; total, 80,183, being 43.4 per cent. of all persons over ten years.

Daily papers, 3; others, 42; total, 45. Circulation, 27,607.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 58,731; in professional and personal service, 17,923; in trade and transportation, 6,446; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 8,436.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 23,438; total acres in farms, 3,297,324; improved acres, 947,640; average size of farms, 141 acres; value of farms and buildings, $20,291,835; value of implements, $689,666; total value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand, $7,439,392.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	210 bush.	Orchard products*	$758,295
Butter	353,156 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	20,221 bush.
Cheese	2,406 "	" sweet	1,687,613 "
Cotton	54,997 bales.	Rice	1,294,677 lbs.
Hay	149 tons.	Sugar & Mol., 1,273 hds.	1,029,868 galls.
Indian Corn	3,174,234 bush.	Tobacco	21,182 lbs.
Milk	40,967 galls.	Wheat	422 bush.
Oats	468,112 bush.	Wool	162,810 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	22,636	Other cattle	409,055
Mules and asses	9,606	Sheep	56,681
Working oxen	16,141	Swine	287,051
Milch cows	42,174		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880..... $5,358,980

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 426; capital invested, $3,210,680; hands employed, 5,504; wages paid,

* Includes $690,553 worth of oranges and lemons.

$1,270,875; value of material, $3,040,119; value of products, $5,546,448.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products.....	$337,780	Tar and turpentine.....	$295,500
Lumber, sawed.....	3,060,291	Tobacco and cigars.....	1,347,555

Total steam and water power in use, 7,147 horse-power.

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 984 miles of line; miles operated, 490; cost, $23,762,424; total investment, $27,191,194. Steam craft, 70; tonnage, 6,827; value, $448,500. Sail craft, 323; tonnage, 25,333; value, $633,300. Barges, 6; value, $3,000. Length of canals in operation, 10.5 miles; cost, $70,000. This does not include the canals now building for drainage purposes.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal property (1883), $56,000,000; State taxation (1883), 50 cents on $100, $317,625; county taxation, $266,306; city and town taxation, $101,944; State debt (1883), funded, $1,276,500, floating, $31,287; county and local indebtedness, $1,491,629.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Tallahassee. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $3,500. The other State officers, selected for four years, are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $500; Secretary of State, $2,000; Treasurer, $2,000; Comptroller, $2,000; Attorney-General, $2,000; Superintendent of Public Instruction, $2,000; Adjutant-General, $2,000; Commissioner of Lands, $1,200.

The Legislature is composed of 32 Senators and 76 Representatives. Senators elected for four years, Representatives for two years. Salary of each, $6 per day and 10 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on Tuesday after first Monday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

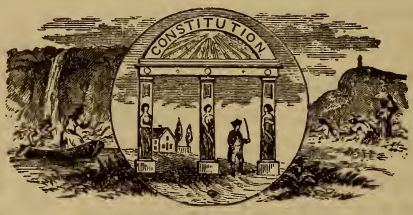
The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice, salary, $3,500, and two associates, salary of each, $3,000. They are appointed by the Governor and Senate for life or during good behavior.

Representatives in Congress, 2; Presidential electors, 4.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Maj.
1872 Governor	16,004	17,603	....	1,599 R.
1872 President	15,428	17,765	....	2,337 R.
1874 Congress	17,555	18,600	....	1,045 R.
1876 Governor	24,179	23,984	....	195 D.
1876 President	22,923	23,849 (Disputed)	....	1,061 R.
1878 Congress	20,171	17,927	....	2,244 D.
1880 President	27,964	23,654	....	4,310 D.
1880 Governor	28,341	23,285	....	5,056 D.
1882 Congress	24,059	20,098	3,547	414 D.

GEORGIA.



NAME.—So called in honor of George II., of England.

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, January 2, 1788.

AREA.—Square miles, 58,980; acres, 37,747,200; persons to a square mile, 26.15.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.
1790	82,548		1840	631,392	33.7
1800	162,686	97.0	1850	906,185	31.0
1810	252,433	55.1	1860	1,057,286	16.6
1820	340,985	35.0	1870	1,184,109	11.9
1830	516,823	51.5	1880	1,542,180	30.2

1880 *by Classes.*

Male....762,981	Native....1,531,616	White....816,906	Chinese..... 17
Female..779,199	Foreign... 10,564	Black.....725,133	Indian.....124
Dwellings.....289,474		Persons to a dwelling.....5.33	
Families.....303,060		" " family.....5.09	
Voters—Males over 21.....321,438		Natural militia, 18–44.....275,815	

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Appling	5,276	5,086	4,190	Bartow	18,690	16,566	15,724
Baker	7,307	6,843	4,985	Berrien	6,619	4,518	3,475
Baldwin	13,806	10,618	9,078	Bibb	27,147	21,255	16,291
Banks	7,337	4,973	4,707	Brooks	11,727	8,342	6,356

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Bryan	4,929	5,252	4,015
Bullock	8,053	5,610	5,668
Burke	27,128	17,679	17,165
Butts	8,311	6,941	6,455
Calhoun	7,024	5,503	4,913
Camden	6,183	4,615	5,420
Campbell	9,970	9,176	8,301
Carroll	16,901	11,782	11,991
Catoosa	4,739	4,409	5,082
Charleton	2,154	1,897	1,780
Chatham	45,023	41,279	31,043
Chattahoochee	5,670	6,059	5,797
Chattooga	10,021	6,902	7,165
Cherokee	14,325	10,399	11,291
Clarke	11,702	12,941	11,218
Clay	6,650	5,493	4,893
Clayton	8,027	5,477	4,466
Clinch	4,138	3,945	3,063
Cobb	20,748	13,814	14,242
Coffee	5,070	3,192	2,879
Colquitt	2,527	1,654	1,316
Columbia	10,465	13,529	11,860
Coweta	21,109	15,875	14,703
Crawford	8,656	7,557	7,693
Dade	4,702	3,033	3,069
Dawson	5,837	4,369	3,856
Decatur	19,072	15,183	11,922
De Kalb	14,497	10,014	7,806
Dodge	5,358	.....	.....
Dooly	12,420	9,790	8,917
Dougherty	12,622	11,517	8,295
Douglas	6,934	.....	.....
Early	7,611	6,998	6,149
Echols	2,553	1,978	1,491
Effingham	5,979	4,214	4,755
Elbert	12,957	9,249	10,433
Emanuel	9,759	6,134	5,081
Fannin	7,245	5,429	5,139
Fayette	8,605	8,221	7,047
Floyd	24,418	17,230	15,195
Forsyth	10,559	7,983	7,749
Franklin	11,453	7,893	7,393
Fulton	49,137	33,446	14,427
Gilmer	8,386	6,644	6,724
Glascock	3,577	2,736	2,437
Glynn	6,497	5,376	3,889
Gordon	11,171	9,268	10,146
Greene	17,547	12,454	12,652
Gwinnett	19,531	12,431	12,940
Habersham	8,718	6,322	5,966
Hall	15,298	9,607	9,366
Hancock	16,989	11,317	12,044
Haralson	5,974	4,004	3,039
Harris	15,758	13,284	13,736
Hart	9,094	6,783	6,137
Heard	8,769	7,866	7,805
Henry	14,193	10,102	10,702
Houston	22,414	20,406	15,611
Irwin	2,696	1,837	1,699
Jackson	16,297	11,181	10,605
Jasper	11,851	10,439	10,743
Jefferson	15,671	12,190	10,219
Johnson	4,800	2,964	2,919
Jones	11,613	9,436	9,107
Laurens	10,053	7,834	6,998
Lee	10,577	9,567	7,196
Liberty	10,649	7,688	8,367
Lincoln	6,412	5,413	5,466
Lowndes	11,049	8,321	5,249
Lumpkin	6,526	5,161	4,626
McDuffie	9,449	.....	.....
McIntosh	6,241	4,491	5,546
Macon	11,675	11,458	8,449
Madison	7,978	5,227	5,933
Marion	8,598	8,000	7,390
Meriwether	17,651	13,756	15,330
Miller	3,720	3,091	1,791
Milton	6,261	4,284	4,602
Mitchell	9,392	6,633	4,308
Monroe	18,868	17,213	15,953
Montgomery	5,381	3,586	2,997
Morgan	14,032	10,696	9,997
Murray	8,269	6,500	7,083
Muscogee	19,322	16,663	16,584
Newton	13,623	14,615	14,320
Oconee	6,351	.....	.....
Oglethorpe	15,400	11,782	11,549
Paulding	10,887	7,639	7,038
Pickens	6,790	5,317	4,951
Pierce	4,538	2,778	1,973
Pike	15,849	10,905	10,078
Polk	11,952	7,822	6,295
Pulaski	14,058	11,940	8,744
Putnam	14,539	10,461	10,125
Quitman	4,392	4,150	3,499
Rabun	4,634	3,256	3,271
Randolph	13,341	10,561	9,571
Richmond	34,665	25,724	21,284
Rockdale	6,838	.....	.....
Schley	5,302	5,129	4,633
Screven	12,786	9,175	8,274
Spalding	12,585	10,205	8,699
Stewart	13,998	14,204	13,422
Sumter	18,239	16,559	9,428
Talbot	14,115	11,913	13,616
Taliaferro	7,034	4,796	4,583
Tattnall	6,988	4,860	4,352
Taylor	8,597	7,143	5,998
Telfair	4,828	3,245	2,713
Terrell	10,451	9,053	6,232
Thomas	20,597	14,523	10,766
Towns	3,261	2,780	2,459
Troup	20,565	17,632	16,262
Twiggs	8,918	8,545	8,320
Union	6,431	5,267	4,413
Upson	12,400	9,430	9,910
Walker	11,056	9,925	10,082
Walton	15,622	11,038	11,074
Ware	4,159	2,286	2,200
Warren	10,885	10,545	9,820
Washington	21,964	15,842	12,698
Wayne	5,980	2,177	2,268
Webster	5,237	4,677	5,030
White	5,341	4,606	3,315
Whitfield	11,900	10,117	10,047
Wilcox	3,109	2,439	2,115
Wilkes	15,985	11,796	11,420
Wilkinson	12,061	9,383	9,376
Worth	5,892	3,778	2,763

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 7; instructors, 68; students, 524. Public schools, 5,939; value of school property, $1,046,026; teachers, 6,146; teachers' salaries, $616,096; receipts for school purposes, $659,560; expended for same (1882), $584,174; school

age, 6–18 years; school population (1882), 507,861; pupils enrolled (1882), 256,432; average attendance (1882), 164,180; average length of school session in 1882, 65 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 446,683, being 42.8 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 128,362; foreign white, 572; colored, Chinese and Indians, 391,482; total, 520,416, being 49.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 16; others, 184; total, 200. Circulation, 291,631.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 432,204; in professional and personal service, 104,269; in trade and transportation, 25,222; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 36,167.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 138,626; total acres in farms, 26,043,282; improved acres, 8,204,720; average size of farms, 188 acres; value of farms and buildings, $111,910,540; value of implements, $5,317,416; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $67,028,929.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	16,662 bush.	Orchard products	$782,972
Buckwheat	402 "	Potatoes, Irish	249,590 bush.
Butter	7,424,485 lbs.	" sweet	4,397,778 "
Cheese	19,151 "	Rice	25,369,687 lbs.
Cotton	814,441 bales.	Rye	101,716 bush.
Hay	14,409 tons.	Sug. & mol., 601 hhds.	1,565.784 gal.
Indian Corn	23,202,018 bush.	Tobacco	228,590 lbs.
Milk	374,645 gal.	Wheat	3,159,771 bush.
Oats	5,548,743 bush.	Wool	1,289,560 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	98,520	Other cattle	544,812
Mules and asses	132,078	Sheep	527,829
Working oxen	50,026	Swine	1,471,003
Milch cows	315,073		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$25,930,352

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 3,593; capital invested, $20,672,410; hands employed, 24,875; wages paid, $5,266,152; value of materials, $24,143,939; value of products, $36,440,948.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$601,935	Iron and steel	$990,850
Carriages and wagons	582,581	Lumber sawed	4,875,310
Cotton goods	6,513,490	Rice cleaning	1,488,769
Flouring mill products	9,793,898	Tar and turpentine	1,455,739
Machinery	1,299,491		

Total steam and water-power in use, 51,169 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$81,029
Silver		332
Coal, bituminous	154,644 tons.	231,605
Iron ore	72,705 "	120,692
Copper ingots	922 lbs.	
Minor minerals		120,135

Total value of precious minerals, $81,361. Non-precious, $472,432.

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 2,371 miles of line; miles operated, 2,321; cost, $61,872,829; total investment, $72,825,130. Canal lines operated, 25 miles; cost, $1,907,818. Steam craft, 44; tonnage, 13,331; value, $1,387,300. Sail craft, 86; tonnage, 9,354; value, $233,850. Canal boats, 20; barges and flats, 55.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1882), $148,057,235; of personal property (1882), $106,195,395; State taxation (1883), 30 cents on $100, $741,824; county taxation, $1,076,421; city and town taxation, $1,055,488. Property of cotton factories and iron works is exempt from taxation. State debt, Oct. 1, 1882, net, $9,624,135; county, city and town indebtedness, $9,730,403.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Atlanta. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $3,000. The other State officers are: Secretary of State, two years, salary, $2,000; Treasurer, two years, $2,000; Comptroller-General, two years, $2,000; Attorney-General, two years, $2,000; Superintendent Public Instruction, two years, $2,000; Adjutant-General, two years; Commissioner of Agriculture, four years, $2,500; State Librarian, two years, $1,000.

The Legislature is composed of 44 Senators and 175 Representatives, both elected for two years. Salary, $4 a day and mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Wednesday in November. Session limited to 40 days, but may be extended by special vote.

State elections are held every second year on first Wednesday in October. Congressional and Presidential elections held Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two associates, elected for four years by the Legislature. Salary of each, $2,500.

Representatives in Congress, 10; Presidential electors, 12.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Maj.
1872 Governor	103,529	46,643	.....	56,886 D.
1872 President	76,278	62,715	4,000	13,563 D.
1874 Congress	93,347	33,161	.....	60,186 D.
1876 President	138,756	50,538	.....	88,218 D.
1876 Governor	110,617	34,529	.....	76,088 D.
1880 President	102,407	54,086	.....	48,321 D.
1880 Governor	118,349	.....	64,004	54,345 D.
1882 Governor	107,253	.....	44,896	62,357 D.

IDAHO TERRITORY.

NAME.—Perpetuates that of an Indian tribe.

ORGANIZATION.—Act of organization dated March 3, 1863.

AREA.—Square miles, 84,290; acres, 53,945,600; persons to a square mile, 0.39.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

1870	14,999	Per cent. of increase.
1880	32,610	117.4

1880 *by Classes.*

Males....21,818	Native....22,636	White....29,013	Chinese.... 3,379
Females..10,792	Foreign... 9,974	Black.... 53	Indians..... 165
Dwellings	7,700	Persons to a dwelling	4.24
Families	7,774	" " family	4.19
Voters—Males over 21	14,795	Natural militia, 18-44	11,726

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Ada	4,674	2,675	.....
Alturas	1,693	689	.....
Bear Lake	3,235	.....	.....
Boise	3,214	3,834	.....
Cassia	1,312	.....	.....
Idaho	2,031	849	.....
Kootenai	518	.....	.....
Lemhi	2,230	988	.....
Nez Percé	3,965	1,607	.....
Oneida	6,964	1,922	.....
Owyhee	1,426	1,713	.....
Soshone	469	722	.....
Washington	879	.....	.....

EDUCATION.—Public schools, 128; value of school prop-

erty, $31,000; teachers, 129; teachers' salaries, $33,421; receipts for school purposes, $50,234; expended for same, $38,411; school age, 5–21 years; school population (1882), 9,650; pupils enrolled (1881), 6,080; average attendance (1881), 4,127; average length of school session in 1881, 150 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 1,384, being 5.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 443; foreign white, 341; colored, Chinese and Indians, 994; total, 1,778, being 7.1 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 0; others, 8. Circulation, 5,000.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 3,858; in professional and personal service, 3,861; in trade and transportation, 1,327; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 6,532.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 1,885; total acres in farms, 327,798; improved acres, 197,407; average size of farms, 174 acres; value of farms and buildings, $2,832,890; value of implements, $363,930; value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand, $1,515,314.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	274,750 bush.	Orchard products	$23,147
Butter	310,644 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	157,307 bush.
Cheese	20,295 "	Rye	4,341 "
Hay	40,053 tons.	Tobacco	400 lbs.
Indian Corn	16,408 bush.	Wheat	540,589 bush.
Milk	15,627 gal.	Wool	127,149 lbs.
Oats	462,236 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	24,300	Other cattle	71,292
Mules and asses	610	Sheep	27,326
Working oxen	737	Swine	14,178
Milch cows	12,838		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $2,246,800

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 162; capital invested, $677,215; hands employed, 388; wages paid, $136,326; value of material, $844,874; value of products, $1,271,317.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products	$520,986	Lumber sawed	$349,635

Total steam and water power in use, 1,682 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$1,479,653
Silver		464,550
Copper ingots	150,000 lbs.	.....
Total precious minerals		$1,944,203

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal property (1883), $13,567,525. Territorial taxation (1883), 25 cents on $100, $101,900; county taxation, $139,088; city and town, $8,343; Territorial debt (1883), funded, $69,248; county and town indebtedness, $146,938.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Boise City. The Governor is appointed for four years by President and Senate of United States. Salary, $2,600. The other officers are a Secretary (four years), salary, $1,800; Treasurer (two years), $1,000; Auditor (two years), $1,800.

The Legislature consists of 12 Senators and 24 Representatives, both elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $4 per day and 20 cents mileage. Sessions biennial, beginning on second Monday in December, and limited to 60 days.

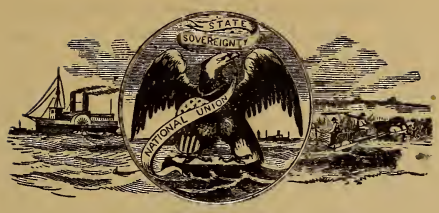
Territorial and Delegate elections held on Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

The Judiciary is composed of a Chief Justice, and two Associates, each appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representative in Congress, 1 Delegate.

POLITICS.—Vote for Delegate:

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1878	3,645	2,294	1,351 D.
1880	3,604	2,090	1,514 D.
1882	.....	.....	about 3,500 R.



ILLINOIS.

NAME.—So called from the Illinois River, or tribe, and that from the Indian, *illini*, men, with the French termination *ois*, "tribe of men," or "real men." Popular names, "Sucker State" and "Prairie State."

ADMISSION.—Organized as a Territory, Feb. 3, 1809; act of admission dated Dec. 3, 1818; actual admission, same date.

AREA.—Square miles, 56,000; acres, 35,840,000; persons to square mile, 54.96.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1810	12,282		1850	851,470	78.8
1820	55,162	349.1	1860	1,711,951	101.0
1830	157,445	185.4	1870	2,539,891	48.3
1840	476,183	202.4	1880	3,077,871	21.1

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	1,586,523	Native	2,494,295	White	3,031,151
Female	1,491,348	Foreign	583,576	Black	46,368
Dwellings	538,221			Persons to a dwelling	5.72
Families	591,934			" " family	5.20
Voters—Males over 21	796,847			Natural militia, 18-44	651,310
				Chinese	212
				Indians	140

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adams	59,135	56,362	41,323	Crawford	16,197	13,889	11,551
Alexander	14,808	10,564	4,707	Cumberland	13,759	12,223	8,311
Bond	14,866	13,152	9,815	De Kalb	26,768	23,265	19,086
Boone	11,508	12,942	11,678	De Witt	17,010	14,768	10,820
Brown	13,041	12,205	9,938	Douglas	15,853	13,484	7,140
Bureau	33,172	32,415	26,426	Du Page	19,161	16,685	14,701
Calhoun	7,467	6,562	5,144	Edgar	25,499	21,450	16,925
Carroll	16,976	16,705	11,733	Edwards	8,597	7,565	5,454
Cass	14,493	11,580	11,325	Effingham	18,920	15,653	7,816
Champaign	40,863	32,737	14,629	Fayette	23,241	19,638	11,189
Christian	28,227	20,363	10,492	Ford	15,099	9,103	1,979
Clark	21,894	18,719	14,987	Franklin	16,129	12,652	9,393
Clay	16,192	15,875	9,336	Fulton	41,240	38,291	33,338
Clinton	18,714	16,285	10,941	Gallatin	12,861	11,134	8,055
Coles	27,042	25,235	14,203	Greene	23,010	20,277	16,093
Cook	607,524	349,966	144,954	Grundy	16,732	14,938	10,379

By Counties for three Censuses.—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Hamilton	16,712	13,014	9,915
Hancock	35,337	35,935	29,061
Hardin	6,024	5,113	3,759
Henderson	10,722	12,582	9,501
Henry	36,597	35,506	20,660
Iroquois	35,451	25,782	12,325
Jackson	22,505	19,634	9,589
Jasper	14,515	11,234	8,364
Jefferson	20,686	17,864	12,965
Jersey	15,542	15,054	12,051
Jo Daviess	27,528	27,820	27,325
Johnson	13,078	11,248	9,342
Kane	44,939	39,091	30,062
Kankakee	25,047	24,352	15,412
Kendall	13,083	12,399	13,074
Knox	38,344	39,522	28,663
Lake	21,296	21,014	18,257
La Salle	70,403	60,792	48,332
Lawrence	13,663	12,533	9,214
Lee	27,491	27,171	17,651
Livingston	38,450	31,471	11,637
Logan	25,037	23,053	14,272
McDonough	27,970	26,509	20,069
McHenry	24,908	23,762	22,089
McLean	60,100	53,988	28,772
Macon	30,665	26,481	13,738
Macoupin	37,692	32,726	24,602
Madison	50,126	44,131	31,251
Marion	23,686	20,622	12,739
Marshall	15,055	16,956	13,437
Mason	16,242	16,184	10,931
Massac	10,443	9,581	6,213
Menard	13,024	11,735	9,584
Mercer	19,502	18,769	15,042
Monroe	13,682	12,982	12,832
Montgomery	28,078	25,314	13,979
Morgan	31,514	28,463	22,112
Moultrie	13,699	10,385	6,385
Ogle	29,937	27,492	22,888
Peoria	55,355	47,540	36,601
Perry	16,007	13,723	9,552
Piatt	15,583	10,953	6,127
Pike	33,751	30,768	27,249
Pope	13,256	11,437	6,742
Pulaski	9,507	8,752	3,943
Putnam	5,554	6,280	5,587
Randolph	25,690	20,859	17,205
Richland	15,545	12,803	9,711
Rock Island	38,302	29,783	21,005
Saint Clair	61,806	51,068	37,694
Saline	15,940	12,714	9,331
Sangamon	52,894	46,352	32,274
Schuyler	16,249	17,419	14,684
Scott	10,741	10,530	9,069
Shelby	30,270	25,476	14,613
Stark	11,207	10,751	9,004
Stephenson	31,963	30,608	25,112
Tazewell	29,666	27,903	21,470
Union	18,102	16,518	11,181
Vermillion	41,588	30,388	19,800
Wabash	9,945	8,841	7,313
Warren	22,933	23,174	18,336
Washington	21,112	17,599	13,731
Wayne	21,291	19,758	12,223
White	23,687	16,846	12,403
Whiteside	30,885	27,503	18,737
Will	53,422	43,013	29,321
Williamson	19,324	17,329	12,205
Winnebago	30,505	29,301	24,491
Woodford	21,620	18,956	13,282

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 28; instructors, 306; students, 5,213.

Public schools, 15,203; value of school property, $15,876,572; teachers, 15,912; teachers' salaries (1882), $4,985,770; receipts for school purposes, $9,850,011; expended for same (1882), $8,567,675; school age, 6–21 years; school population (1882), 1,037,567; pupils enrolled (1882), 713,431; average attendance (1882), 452,485; average length of school session in 1882, 150 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 96,809, being 4.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 88,519; foreign white, 43,907; colored, Chinese and Indians, 12,971; total, 145,397, being 6.4 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 75; others, 957; total, 1,032. Circulation, 2,445,960.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 436,371; in professional and personal services, 229,467; in trade and trans-

portation, 128,372; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 205,570.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 255,741; total acres in farms, 31,673,645; improved acres, 26,115,154; average size of farms, 124 acres; value of farms and buildings, $1,009,594,580; value of implements, $33,739,951; value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand, $203,980,137.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	1,229,523 bush.	Oats	63,189,200 bush.
Buckwheat	178,859 "	Orchard products	$3,502,583
Butter	53,657,943 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	10,365,707 bush.
Cheese	1,035,069 "	" sweet	249,407 "
Hay	3,280,319 tons.	Rye	3,121,785 "
Hops	7,788 lbs.	Tobacco	3,935,825 lbs.
Indian Corn	325,792,481 bush.	Wheat	51,110,502 bush.
Milk	45,419,719 galls.	Wool	6,093,066 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	1,023,082	Other cattle	1,515,063
Mules and asses	123,278	Sheep	1,037,073
Working oxen	3,346	Swine	5,170,266
Milch cows	865,913		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $132,437,762

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 14,549; capital invested, $140,652,066; hands employed, 144,727; wages paid, $57,429,085; value of material, $289,843,907; value of products, $414,864,673.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$13,498,575	Iron and steel	$20,545,289
Carriages and wagons	5,003,053	Lard, refined	5,055,000
Clothing, men's	19,356,849	Leather, tanned and curried	7,793,450
Flour and mill products	47,471,558	Liquors, malt and distilled	20,398,869
Machinery	13,515,791	Printing and publishing	7,114,939
Furniture	7,644,638	Slaughtering and packing	97,891,517

Total steam and water power in use, 144,288 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	6,089,514 tons	$8,739,755
Lead ore	722 "	30,200
Zinc ore	3,000 "	39,000
Minor minerals		102,324
Total mineral products		$8,911,279

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 10,656

miles of line; miles operated, 12,765; cost, $505,822,453; total investment, $560,594,778. Length of canal lines in operation, 102 miles; cost, $6,557,681. Steam craft, 171; tonnage, 22,546; value, $1,226,800. Sail craft, 275; tonnage, 66,528; value, $1,663,200. Canal boats, 104; barges and flats, 91.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed valuation of real estate, 1883, $817,914,723; of personal estate, $180,442,970; State taxation (1882), 32 cents on $100, $2,740,000; county taxation, $6,000,000; city and town, etc., $18,500,000; State debt, none; county, city and town debts, $44,942,422. All municipal debts now limited to 5 per cent. of assessed value of property.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Springfield. Governor elected every four years. Salary, $6,000. The other State officers are: Lieutenant-Governor (four years), salary, $1,000; Secretary of State (four years), $3,500; Treasurer (two years), $3,500; Auditor (four years), $3,500; Attorney-General (four years), $3,500; Adjutant-General (appointed by Governor), $2,000; Superintendent Public Instruction (four years), $3,500; three Railroad Commissioners (two years), each, $3,500.

The Legislature is composed of 51 Senators and 153 Representatives. Senators elected for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of Legislator, $5 a day, $50 extra and mileage. Legislature meets biennially on Wednesday after first Monday in January. No limit to session.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and six Associates, elected by the people for nine years. Salary of each, $5,000.

Representatives in Congress, 20; Presidential electors, 22.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Greenback.	Maj.
1872 President	241,248	184,770	.....	56,478 R.
1874 Sup. Pub. Inst.	166,984	197,490	.....	30,506 D.
1876 President	278,232	258,601	.....	19,631 R.
1876 Governor	279,226	272,432	.....	6,794 R.
1878 Treasurer	206,458	170,085	68,689	36,373 R.
1880 President	318,031	277,321	26,358	40,710 R.
1880 Governor	314,565	277,532	26,663	37,033 R.
1882 Treasurer	254,542	249,067	.....	5,475 R.

INDIANA.

NAME.—Simply perpetuates the word "Indian." Popular name, "The Hoosier State."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, May 7, 1800. Act of admission and actual admission, Dec. 11, 1816.

AREA.—Square miles, 35,910; acres, 22,982,400; persons to a square mile, 55.09.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1800	5,641		1850	988,416	44.1
1810	24,520	334.6	1860	1,350,428	36.6
1820	147,178	500.2	1870	1,680,637	24.4
1830	343,031	133.0	1880	1,978,301	17.7
1840	685,866	99.9			

1880 *by Classes.*

Males	1,010,361	Native	1,834,123	White	1,938,798
Females	967,940	Foreign	144,178	Black	39,228
Dwellings	375,225			Persons to a dwelling	5.27
Families	391,203			" " family	5.06
Voters—Males over 21	498,437			Natural militia, 18–44	407,650

Chinese	29				
Indians	246				

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adams	15,385	11,382	9,252	Delaware	22,926	19,030	15,753
Allen	54,763	43,494	29,328	Dubois	15,992	12,597	10,394
Bartholomew	22,777	21,133	17,865	Elkhart	33,454	26,026	20,986
Benton	11,108	5,615	2,809	Fayette	11,394	10,476	10,225
Blackford	8,020	6,272	4,122	Floyd	24,590	23,300	20,183
Boone	25,922	22,593	16,753	Fountain	20,228	16,389	15,566
Brown	10,264	8,681	6,507	Franklin	20,092	20,223	19,549
Carroll	18,345	16,152	13,489	Fulton	14,301	12,726	9,422
Cass	27,611	24,193	16,843	Gibson	22,742	17,371	14,532
Clark	28,610	24,770	20,502	Grant	23,618	18,487	15,797
Clay	25,854	19,084	12,161	Greene	22,996	19,514	16,041
Clinton	23,472	17,330	14,505	Hamilton	24,801	20,882	17,310
Crawford	12,356	9,851	8,226	Hancock	17,123	15,123	12,802
Daviess	21,552	16,747	13,323	Harrison	21,326	19,913	18,521
Dearborn	26,671	24,116	24,406	Hendricks	22,981	20,277	16,953
Decatur	19,779	19,053	17,294	Henry	24,016	22,986	20,119
De Kalb	20,225	17,167	13,880	Howard	19,584	15,847	12,524

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Huntington	21,805	19,036	14,867	Porter	17,227	13,942	10,313
Jackson	23,050	18,974	16,286	Posey	20,857	19,185	16,167
Jasper	9,464	6,354	4,291	Pulaski	9,851	7,801	5,711
Jay	19,282	15,000	11,399	Putnam	22,501	21,514	20,681
Jefferson	25,977	29,741	25,036	Randolph	26,435	22,862	18,997
Jennings	16,453	16,218	14,749	Ripley	21,627	20,977	19,054
Johnson	19,537	18,366	14,854	Rush	19,238	17,626	16,193
Knox	26,324	21,562	16,056	Saint Joseph	33,178	25,322	18,455
Kosciusko	26,494	23,531	17,418	Scott	8,343	7,873	7,303
Lagrange	15,630	14,148	11,366	Shelby	25,257	21,892	19,569
Lake	15,091	12,339	9,145	Spencer	22,122	17,908	14,556
La Porte	30,985	27,062	22,919	Starke	5,105	3,888	2,195
Lawrence	18,543	14,628	13,692	Steuben	14,645	12,854	10,374
Madison	27,527	22,770	16,518	Sullivan	20,336	18,453	15,064
Marion	102,782	71,939	39,855	Switzerland	13,336	12,134	12,698
Marshall	23,414	20,211	12,722	Tippecanoe	35,966	33,515	25,726
Martin	13,475	11,103	8,975	Tipton	14,407	11,953	8,170
Miami	24,083	21,052	16,851	Union	7,673	6,341	7,109
Monroe	15,875	14,168	12,847	Vanderburgh	42,193	33,145	20,552
Montgomery	27,316	23,765	20,888	Vermillion	12,025	10,840	9,422
Morgan	18,900	17,528	16,110	Vigo	45,658	33,549	22,517
Newton	8,167	5,829	2,360	Wabash	25,241	21,305	17,547
Noble	22,956	20,389	14,915	Warren	11,497	10,204	10,057
Ohio	5,563	5,837	5,462	Warrick	20,162	17,653	13,261
Orange	14,363	13,497	12,076	Washington	18,955	18,495	17,909
Owen	15,901	16,137	14,376	Wayne	38,613	34,048	29,558
Parke	19,460	18,166	15,538	Wells	18,442	13,585	10,844
Perry	16,997	14,801	11,847	White	13,795	10,554	8,258
Pike	16,383	13,779	10,078	Whitley	16,941	14,399	10,730

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 15; instructors, 183; students, 2,962.

Public schools, 11,623; value of school property, $11,907,541; teachers, 11,906; teachers' salaries (1882), $3,143,529; receipts for school purposes, $7,267,700; expended for same (1882), $4,793,704; school age, 6–21 years; school population (1882), 708,596; pupils enrolled (1882), 498,792; average attendance (1882), 305,513; average length of school session in 1882, 133 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 70,008, being 4.8 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 87,786; foreign white, 12,612; colored, Chinese and Indians, 10,363; total, 110,761, being 7.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 40; others, 438; total, 478. Circulation, 591,284.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 331,240; in professional and personal service, 137,281; in trade and transportation, 56,432; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 110,127.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 194,013; total acres

in farms, 20,420,983; improved acres, 13,933,738; average size of farms, 105 acres; value of farms and buildings, $635,236,111; value of implements, $20,476,988; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $114,707,082.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	382,835 bush.	Oats	$15,599,518 bush.
Buckwheat	89,707 "	Orchard products	2,757,359
Butter	37,377,797 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	6,232,246 bush.
Cheese	367,561 "	" sweet	244,930 "
Hay	1,361,083 tons.	Rye	303,105 "
Hops	21,236 lbs.	Tobacco	8,872,842 lbs.
Indian Corn	115,482,300 bush.	Wheat	47,284,853 bush.
Milk	6,723,840 galls.	Wool	6,167,498 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	581,444	Other cattle	864,846
Mules and asses	51,780	Sheep	1,100,511
Working oxen	3,970	Swine	3,186,413
Milch cows	494,444		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$71,068,758

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 11,198; capital invested, $65,742,962; hands employed, 69,508; wages paid, $21,960,888; value of material, $100,262,917; value of products, $148,006,411.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$4,460,408	Iron and steel	$4,551,403
Carriages and wagons	3,998,520	Liquors, malt and distilled	4,987,866
Cars	4,960,500	Lumber sawed	14,260,830
Cooperage	3,342,552	Slaughtering and packing	15,209,204
Flour and mill products	29,591,397	Woollen goods	2,729,347
Machinery	6,833,648		

Total steam and water power in use, 131,770 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	1,449,496 tons	$2,143,093
Minor minerals	7,599 "	22,291
Total mineral product		$2,165,384

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 6,366 miles of line; miles operated, 6,948; cost, $277,168,906; total investment, $295,052,158. Steam craft, 51; tonnage, 7,745; value, $399,000. Barges, 14.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate

(1883), $541,110,434; personal property, $220,858,071; State taxation (1881) 30 cents on $100, $2,764,851; county, $4,031,-029; city, town, etc., $4,318,838. State debt, Nov. 1, 1881, funded, $4,876,608; county, city and town indebtedness, $13,-356,559.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Indianapolis. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $5,000. The other State officers—term of each two years, except Lieutenant-Governor, which is four years, are—Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $8 per day; Secretary of State, $2,000; Treasurer, $3,000; Auditor, $1,500; Attorney-General, $2,500; Superintendent Public Instruction, $2,500; Secretary Board of Agriculture, $1,200; State Librarian, $1,200.

The Legislature is composed of 50 Senators and 100 Representatives. Senators are elected for four years, Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator $6 per day and 20 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on Thursday after first Monday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

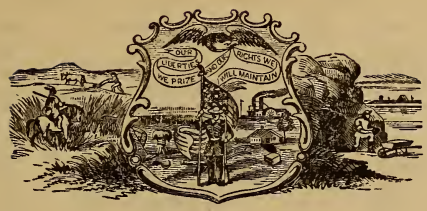
State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of five Justices elected by the people for a term of six years. Salary of each, $4,000.

Representatives in Congress, 13; Presidential electors, 15.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Ind. and Gbk.	Maj.
1872 Governor	188,276	189,422	189	1,146 D.
1872 President	189,144	163,637	1,417	25,507 R.
1874 Secretary of State	164,902	182,154	16,233	17,252 D.
1876 President	207,971	213,526	9,533	5,555 D.
1876 Governor	208,080	213,164	13,213	5,084 D.
1878 Secretary of State	180,657	194,770	39,415	14,113 D.
1880 Governor	231,405	224,452	14,881	6,953 R.
1880 President	232,164	225,522	12,986	6,642 R.
1882 Secretary of State	210,234	220,918	18,520	10,684 D.



IOWA.

NAME.—The Sioux Indians called the "Gray Snow" tribe *Pahoja*, the "drowsy" or "sleepy ones." On French lips *Pahoja* took the form of Iowa. Popular name, "The Hawkeye State."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, June 12, 1838; act of admission, March 3, 1845; actual admission, Dec. 28, 1846.

AREA.—Square miles, 55,475; acres, 35,504,000; persons to square mile, 29.29.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1840	43,112		1870	1,194,020	76.9
1850	192,214	345.8	1880	1,624,615	36.0
1860	674,913	251.1			

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	848,136	Native	1,362,965	White	1,614,600
Female	776,479	Foreign	261,650	Black	9,516
Dwellings	301,507			Persons to a dwelling	5.39
Families	310,894			" " family	5.23
Voters—Males over 21	416,658			Natural militia, 18–44	333,890

Chinese	33				
Indians	466				

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adair	11,667	3,982	984	Cherokee	8,240	1,967	58
Adams	11,888	4,614	1,533	Chickasaw	14,534	10,180	4,336
Allamakee	19,791	17,868	12,237	Clarke	11,513	8,735	5,427
Appanoose	16,636	16,456	11,931	Clay	4,248	1,523	52
Audubon	7,448	1,212	454	Clayton	28,829	27,771	20,728
Benton	24,888	22,454	8,496	Clinton	36,763	35,357	18,938
Black Hawk	23,913	21,706	8,244	Crawford	12,413	2,530	383
Boone	20,838	14,584	4,232	Dallas	18,746	12,019	5,244
Bremer	14,081	12,528	4,915	Davis	16,468	15,565	13,764
Buchanan	18,546	17,034	7,906	Decatur	15,336	12,018	8,677
Buena Vista	7,537	1,585	57	Delaware	17,950	17,432	11,024
Butler	14,293	9,951	3,724	Des Moines	33,099	27,256	19,611
Calhoun	5,595	1,602	147	Dickinson	1,901	1,389	180
Carroll	12,351	2,451	281	Dubuque	42,996	38,969	31,164
Cass	16,943	5,464	1,612	Emmett	1,550	1,392	105
Cedar	18,936	19,731	12,949	Fayette	22,258	16,973	12,073
Cerro Gordo	11,461	4,722	940	Floyd	14,677	10,768	3,744

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Franklin	10,249	4,738	1,309
Fremont	17,652	11,174	5,074
Greene	12,727	4,627	1,374
Grundy	12,639	6,399	793
Guthrie	14,394	7,001	3,058
Hamilton	11,252	6,055	1,699
Hancock	3,453	999	179
Hardin	17,807	13,684	5,440
Harrison	16,649	8,931	3,621
Henry	20,986	21,463	18,701
Howard	10,837	6,282	3,168
Humboldt	5,341	2,596	332
Ida	4,382	226	43
Iowa	19,221	16,644	8,029
Jackson	23,771	22,619	18,493
Jasper	25,963	22,116	9,883
Jefferson	17,469	17,839	15,038
Johnson	25,429	24,898	17,573
Jones	21,052	19,731	13,306
Keokuk	21,258	19,434	13,271
Kossuth	6,178	3,351	416
Lee	34,859	37,210	29,232
Linn	37,237	31,080	18,947
Louisa	13,142	12,877	10,370
Lucas	14,530	10,388	5,766
Lyon	1,968	221	.....
Madison	17,224	13,884	7,339
Mahaska	25,202	22,508	14,816
Marion	25,111	24,436	16,813
Marshall	23,752	17,576	6,015
Mills	14,137	8,718	4,481
Mitchell	14,363	9,582	3,409
Monona	9,055	3,654	832
Monroe	13,719	12,724	8,612
Montgomery	15,895	5,934	1,256
Muscatine	23,170	21,688	16,444
O'Brien	4,155	715	8
Osceola	2,219	.....	.....
Page	19,667	9,975	4,419
Palo Alto	4,131	1,336	132
Plymouth	8,566	2,199	148
Pocahontas	3,713	1,446	103
Polk	42,395	27,857	11,625
Pottawattamie	39,850	16,893	4,968
Poweshiek	18,936	15,581	5,668
Ringgold	12,085	5,691	2,923
Sac	8,774	1,411	246
Scott	41,266	38,599	25,959
Shelby	12,696	2,540	818
Sioux	5,426	576	10
Story	16,906	11,651	4,051
Tama	21,585	16,131	5,285
Taylor	15,635	6,989	3,590
Union	14,980	5,986	2,012
Van Buren	17,043	17,672	17,081
Wapello	25,285	22,346	14,518
Warren	19,578	17,980	10,281
Washington	20,374	18,952	14,235
Wayne	16,127	11,287	6,409
Webster	15,951	10,484	2,504
Winnebago	4,917	1,562	168
Winneshiek	23,938	23,570	13,942
Woodbury	14,996	6,172	1,119
Worth	7,953	2,892	756
Wright	5,062	2,392	653

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 19; instructors, 108; students, 3,546.

Public schools, 12,638; value of school property, $9,460,775; teachers, 12,794; teachers' salaries (1882), $3,075,870; receipts for school purposes, $6,288,167; expended for same (1882), $5,525,449; school age, 5–21 years; school population (1882), 604,739; pupils enrolled (1882), 406,947; average attendance (1882), 253,688; average length of school session in 1882, 142 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 28,117, being 2.4 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 23,660; foreign white, 20,677; colored, Chinese and Indians, 2,272; total, 46,609, being 3.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 30; others, 549; total, 579. Circulation, 555,408.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 303,557; in professional and personal service, 103,932; in trade and transportation, 50,872; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 69,941.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 185,351; total acres in farms, 24,752,700; improved acres, 19,866,541; average size of farms, 134 acres; value of farms and buildings, $567,430,277; value of implements, $29,371,884; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $136,103,473.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	4,022,588 bush.	Orchard products	$1,494,365
Buckwheat	166,895 "	Potatoes, Irish	9,962,537 bush.
Butter	55,481,958 lbs.	" sweet	122,368 "
Cheese	1,075,988 "	Rye	1,518,605 "
Hay	3,613,941 tons.	Tobacco	420,477 lbs.
Indian Corn	275,014,247 bush.	Wheat	31,154,205 bush.
Milk	15,965,612 galls.	Wool	2,971,975 lbs.
Oats	50,610,591 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	792,322	Other cattle	1,755,343
Mules and asses	44,424	Sheep	455,359
Working oxen	2,506	Swine	6,034,316
Milch cows	854,187		

Total value of all farm products, June 1, 1880 ..... $124,715,103

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 6,921; capital invested, $33,987,886; hands employed, 28,372; wages paid, $9,725,962; value of material, $48,704,311; value of products, $71,045,926.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$1,271,872	Liquors, malt and distilled	$1,941,851
Carriages and wagons	2,212,197	Lumber, sawed	6,185,628
Cheese and butter	1,736,400	Printing and publishing	1,399,289
Clothing (men's)	1,508,398	Saddlery and harness	2,068,486
Flour and mill products	19,089,401	Sash, doors and blinds	1,286,072
Machinery	1,594,349	Slaughtering and packing	11,285,032
Furniture	1,293,504		

Total steam and water power in use, 54,221 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	1,442,333 tons.	$2,473,155
Lead ore	384 "	19,172
Total value of mineral products		$2,492,327

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 2,880 miles of line; miles operated, 1,932; cost, $99,752,621; total investment, $105,352,918. Total number of steam craft, 70; tonnage, 9,862; value, $387,350. Barges and flats, 99.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $463,824,466; personal property, $98,809,203. State taxation (1883), 20 cents on $100, $1,228,216; county taxation, $4,280,091; city, town, etc., $5,154,129. State debt (1883), funded, $245,435; county, city and town indebtedness, $7,592,-332.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Des Moines. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $3,000. The other State officers, all elected for two years, except the Railroad Commissioners, whose term is three years, are, Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $1,100; Secretary of State, $2,200; Treasurer, $2,200; Auditor, $2,200; Attorney-General, $1,500; Adjutant-General, by Governor, $1,-500; Superintendent of Public Instruction, $2,200; three Railroad Commissioners, each, $3,000; State Librarian, by Governor, $1,500.

The Legislature is composed of 50 Senators and 100 Representatives. Senators are elected for four years and Representatives for two years. Salary of each, $550 a year. Legislature meets biennially on second Monday in January. No limit to length of session.

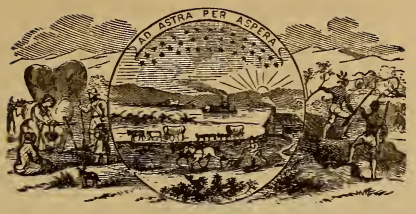
State elections are held annually on Tuesday after second Monday in October, except on Presidential years, when they are held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and four associates, elected by the people for a term of six years. Salary of each, $4,000.

Representatives in Congress, 11; Presidential electors, 13.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President	131,173	71,134	....	60,039 R.
1873 Governor	105,143	82,589	....	22,554 R.
1874 Secretary of State	107,250	79,054	....	28,196 R.
1875 Governor	125,058	93,359	....	31,699 R.
1876 President	171,332	112,121	....	59,211 R.
1876 Secretary of State	172,171	112,115	....	60,056 R.
1877 Governor	121,546	79,353	....	42,193 R.
1878 Secretary of State	134,544	1,302	123,577	10,967 R.
1879 Governor	157,571	85,056	45,429	72,515 R.
1880 President	183,927	105,845	32,701	78,082 R.
1881 Governor	133,326	73,397	28,146	59,929 R.
1882 Secretary of State	149,051	112,180	30,817	36,871 R.
1883 Governor	164,182	139,093	23,089	25,089 R.



KANSAS.

NAME.—From Kansas river or tribe. The tribal name is written many ways, as Kansas, Kansaw, Kows. It evidently took its name from the river Kansas, which means "smoky water;" according to some, "good potato."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, May 30, 1854; act of admission and date of admission Jan. 29, 1861.

AREA.—Square miles, 81,700; acres, 53,288,000; persons to square mile, 12.19.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1860	107,206	
1870	364,399	239.9
1880	996,096	173.3

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	536,667	Native	886,010	White	952,155
Female	459,429	Foreign	110,086	Black	43,107
Dwellings	189,432			Persons to a dwelling	5.26
Families	197,679			" " family	5.04
Voters—Males over 21	265,714			Natural militia, 18–44	223,338

Chinese	19
Indians	815

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Allen	11,303	7,022	3,682
Anderson	9,057	5,220	2,400
Arapahoe	3	.....	.....
Atchison	26,668	15,507	7,729
Barbour	2,661	.....	.....
Barton	10,318	2	.....
Bourbon	19,591	15,076	6,101
Breckenridge	.....	.....	3,197
Brown	12,817	6,823	2,607
Buffalo	191	.....	.....
Butler	18,586	3,035	437
Chase	6,081	1,975	808
Chautauqua	11,072	.....	.....
Cherokee	21,905	11,038	.....
Cheyenne	37	.....	.....
Clark	163	.....	.....
Clay	12,320	2,942	163
Cloud	15,343	2,323	.....
Coffey	11,438	6,201	2,842
Comanche	372	.....	.....
Cowley	21,538	1,175	.....
Crawford	16,851	8,160	.....
Davis	6,994	5,526	1,163
Decatur	4,180	.....	.....
Dickinson	15,251	3,043	378
Doniphan	14,257	13,969	8,083
Dorn	.....	.....	88
Douglas	21,700	20,592	8,637
Edwards	2,409	.....	.....
Elk	10,623	.....	.....
Ellis	6,179	1,336	.....
Ellsworth	8,494	1,185	.....
Foote	411	.....	.....
Ford	3,122	427	.....
Franklin	16,797	10,585	3,030
Godfrey	.....	.....	19
Gove	1,196	.....	.....
Graham	4,258	.....	.....

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Grant	9	.....	.....
Greeley	3	.....	.....
Greenwood	10,548	3,484	759
Hamilton	168	.....	.....
Harper	4,133	.....	.....
Harvey	11,451	.....	.....
Hodgeman	1,704	.....	.....
Howard	.....	2,794	.....
Hunter	.....	.....	158
Jackson	10,718	6,053	1,936
Jefferson	15,563	12,526	4,459
Jewell	17,475	207	.....
Johnson	16,853	13,684	4,364
Kansas	9	.....	.....
Kearney	159	.....	.....
Kingman	3,713	.....	.....
Labette	22,735	9,973	.....
Lane	601	.....	.....
Leavenworth	32,355	32,444	12,606
Lincoln	8,582	516	.....
Linn	15,298	12,174	6,336
Lykins	.....	.....	4,980
Lyon	17,326	8,014	.....
McGhee	.....	.....	1,501
McPherson	17,143	738	.....
Madison	.....	.....	636
Marion	12,453	768	74
Marshall	16,136	6,901	2,280
Meade	296	.....	.....
Miami	17,802	11,725	.....
Mitchell	14,911	485	.....
Montgomery	18,213	7,564	.....
Morris	9,265	2,225	770
Nemaha	12,462	7,339	2,436
Neosho	15,121	10,256	.....
Ness	3,722	2	.....
Norton	6,998	.....	.....
Osage	19,642	7,648	1,113
Osborne	12,517	33	.....
Otoe	.....	.....	238
Ottawa	10,307	2,127	.....
Pawnee	5,396	179	.....
Phillips	12,014	.....	.....
Pottawatomie	16,350	7,848	1,529
Pratt	1,890	.....	.....
Rawlins	1,623	.....	.....
Reno	12,826	.....	.....
Republic	14,913	1,281	.....
Rice	9,292	5	.....
Riley	10,430	5,105	1,224
Rooks	8,112	.....	.....
Rush	5,490	.....	.....
Russell	7,351	156	.....
Saline	13,808	4,246	.....
Scott	43	.....	.....
Sedgwick	18,753	1,095	.....
Sequoyah	568	.....	.....
Seward	5	.....	.....
Shawnee	29,093	13,121	3,513
Sheridan	1,567	.....	.....
Sherman	13	.....	.....
Smith	13,883	66	.....
Stafford	4,755	.....	.....
Stanton	5	.....	.....
Stevens	12	.....	.....
Sumner	20,812	22	.....
Thomas	161	.....	.....
Trego	2,535	166	.....
Wabaunsee	8,756	3,362	1,023
Wallace	686	538	.....
Washington	14,910	4,081	383
Wichita	14	.....	.....
Wilson	13,775	6,694	27
Woodson	6,535	3,827	1,488
Wyandotte	19,143	10,015	2,609

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 8; instructors, 8; students, 1,343. Public schools, 6,148; value of school property, $4,723,043; teachers, 6,619; teachers' salaries (1882), $1,296,256; receipts for school purposes, $2,163,161; expended for same (1882), $2,194,175; school age, 5–21 years; school population (1882), 357,920; pupils enrolled (1882), 269,945; average attendance (1882), 162,017; average length of school year in 1882, 114 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 25,503, being 3.6 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 17,825; foreign white, 7,063; colored, Chinese and Indians, 14,588; total, 39,476, being 5.6 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 21; others, 328; total, 349. Circulation, 290,064.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 206,080; in professional and personal services, 53,507; in trade and trans-

portation, 26,379; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 36,319.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 138,561; total acres in farms, 21,417,468; improved acres, 10,739,566; average size of farms, 155 acres; value of farms and buildings, $235,178,936; value of implements, $15,652,848; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $52,240,361.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	300,273 bush.	Oats	8,180,385 bush.
Buckwheat	24,421 "	Orchard products	$358,860
Butter	21,671,762 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	2,894,198 bush.
Cheese	483,987 "	" sweet	195,225 "
Hay	1,589,987 tons.	Rye	413,181 "
Hops	500 lbs.	Tobacco	191,609 lbs.
Indian Corn	105,729,325 bush.	Wheat	17,324,141 bush.
Milk	1,360,235 galls.	Wool	2,855,832 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	430,907	Other cattle	1,015,935
Mules and asses	64,869	Sheep	499,671
Working oxen	16,789	Swine	1,787,969
Milch cows	418,333		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$60,907,149

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 2,803; capital invested, $11,192,315; hands employed, 12,062; wages paid, $3,995,010; value of material, $21,453,141; value of products, $30,843,777.

The principal manufactures are:

Carriages and wagons	$745,800	Slaughtering and packing	$5,618,714
Flour and mill products	11,858,022	Machinery	889,294
Iron and steel	1,004,100	Saddlery and harness	835,934

Total steam and water power in use, 21,079 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	763,597 tons	$1,498,168
Lead ore	10,681 "	460,980
Zinc ore	7,248 "	477,693
Total mineral products		$2,436,841

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 3,801 miles of line; miles operated, 3,761; cost, $104,476,667; total investment, $153,967,714.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $127,863,782; of personal property, $75,320,717. State debt (1883) funded, $1,120,175; county indebtedness, $7,950,-921; city, town and township indebtedness, $6,967,232. State taxation, 1883, 43 cents on $100, $1,512,668; county, $2,060,-878; city, town and local, $1,470,804.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Topeka. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $3,000.

The Legislature is composed of 40 Senators and 125 Representatives. Senators elected for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator $3 a day and 15 cents mileage. Sessions every second year, beginning on second Tuesday in January. Limit of session 50 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associates, elected by the people for six years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representatives in Congress, 7; Presidential electors, 9.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President	67,048	32,970	.....	34,078 R.
1874 Governor	48,594	35,301	.....	13,293 R.
1876 Governor	69,073	46,204	.....	22,869 R.
1876 President	78,322	37,902	.....	40,420 R.
1878 Governor	74,020	37,208	27,057	36,412 R.
1880 President	121,549	59,789	19,851	61,570 R.
1880 Governor	115,104	63,557	19,477	51,647 R.
1882 Governor	75,155	83,107	20,935	7,952 D

KENTUCKY.

NAME.—So called from a Shawnee Indian word, Kantuckee, meaning "the head of a river," or the "long river." Popular name, "State of the Dark and Bloody Ground."

ADMISSION.—Act of admission, Feb. 4, 1791; admitted, June 1, 1792.

AREA.—Square miles, 40,000; acres, 25,600,000; persons to a square mile, 41.22.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	73,677	...	1840	779,828	13.3
1800	220,955	199.8	1850	982,405	25.9
1810	406,511	83.9	1860	1,155,684	17.6
1820	564,135	38.7	1870	1,321,011	14.3
1830	687,917	21.9	1880	1,648,690	24.8

1880 *by Classes.*

Males	832,590	Native	1,589,173	White	1,377,179
Females	816,100	Foreign	59,517	Black	271,451
Chinese	10				
Indians	50				
Dwellings	286,600	Persons to a dwelling	5.75		
Families	302,631	" " family	5.45		
Voters—Males over 21	376,221	Natural militia, 18–44	313,136		

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adair	13,078	11,065	9,509	Butler	12,181	9,404	7,927
Allen	12,089	10,296	9,187	Caldwell	11,282	10,826	9,318
Anderson	9,361	5,449	7,404	Calloway	13,295	9,410	9,915
Ballard	14,378	12,576	8,692	Campbell	37,440	27,406	20,909
Barren	22,321	17,780	16,665	Carroll	8,953	6,189	6,578
Bath	11,982	10,145	12,113	Carter	12,345	7,509	8,516
Bell	6,055	3,731	.....	Casey	10,983	8,884	6,466
Boone	11,996	10,696	11,196	Christian	31,682	23,227	21,627
Bourbon	15,956	14,863	14,860	Clark	12,115	10,882	11,484
Boyd	12,165	8,573	6,044	Clay	10,222	8,297	6,652
Boyle	11,930	9,515	9,304	Clinton	7,212	6,497	5,781
Brachen	13,509	11,409	11,021	Crittenden	11,688	9,381	8,796
Breathitt	7,742	5,672	4,980	Cumberland	8,894	7,690	7,340
Breckinridge	17,486	13,440	13,236	Daviess	27,730	20,714	15,549
Bullitt	8,521	7,781	7,289	Edmonson	7,222	4,459	4,645

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Elliott	6,567	4,433	.....
Estill	9,860	9,198	6,886
Fayette	29,023	26,656	22,599
Fleming	15,221	13,398	12,489
Floyd	10,176	7,877	6,388
Franklin	18,699	15,300	12,694
Fulton	7,977	6,161	5,317
Gallatin	4,832	5,074	5,056
Garrard	11,704	10,376	10,531
Grant	13,083	9,529	8,356
Graves	24,138	19,398	16,233
Grayson	15,784	11,580	7,982
Green	11,871	9,379	8,806
Greenup	13,371	11,463	8,760
Hancock	8,563	6,591	6,213
Hardin	22,564	15,705	15,189
Harlan	5,278	4,415	5,494
Harrison	16,504	12,993	13,779
Hart	17,133	13,687	10,348
Henderson	24,515	18,457	14,262
Henry	14,492	11,066	11,949
Hickman	10,651	8,453	7,008
Hopkins	19,122	13,827	11,875
Jackson	6,678	4,547	3,087
Jefferson	146,010	118,953	89,404
Jessamine	10,864	8,638	9,465
Johnson	9,155	7,494	5,306
Kenton	43,983	36,096	25,467
Knox	10,587	8,294	7,707
La Rue	9,793	8,235	6,891
Laurel	9,131	6,016	5,488
Lawrence	13,262	8,497	7,601
Lee	4,254	3,055	.....
Leslie	3,740	.....	.....
Letcher	6,601	4,608	3,904
Lewis	13,154	9,115	8,361
Lincoln	15,080	10,947	10,647
Livingston	9,165	8,200	7,213
Logan	24,358	20,429	19,021
Lyon	6,768	6,233	5,807
McCracken	16,262	13,988	10,360
McLean	9,293	7,614	6,144
Madison	22,052	19,543	17,207
Magoffin	6,944	4,684	3,485
Marion	14,693	12,838	12,593
Marshall	9,647	9,455	6,982
Martin	3,057	.....	.....
Mason	20,469	18,126	18,222
Meade	10,323	9,485	8,898
Menifee	3,755	1,986	.....
Mercer	14,142	13,144	13,701
Metcalfe	9,423	7,934	6,745
Monroe	10,741	9,231	8,551
Montgomery	10,566	7,557	7,859
Morgan	8,455	5,975	9,237
Muhlenbergh	15,098	12,638	10,725
Nelson	16,609	14,804	15,799
Nicholas	11,869	9,129	11,030
Ohio	19,669	15,561	12,209
Oldham	7,667	9,027	7,283
Owen	17,401	14,309	12,719
Owsley	4,942	3,889	5,335
Pendleton	16,702	14,030	10,443
Perry	5,607	4,274	3,950
Pike	13,001	9,562	7,384
Powell	3,639	2,599	2,257
Pulaski	21,318	17,670	17,201
Robertson	5,814	5,399	.....
Rockcastle	9,670	7,145	5,343
Rowan	4,420	2,991	2,282
Russell	7,591	5,809	6,024
Scott	14,965	11,607	14,417
Shelby	16,813	15,733	16,433
Simpson	10,641	9,573	8,146
Spencer	7,040	5,956	6,188
Taylor	9,259	8,226	7,481
Todd	15,994	12,612	11,575
Trigg	14,489	13,686	11,051
Trimble	7,171	5,577	5,880
Union	17,809	13,640	12,791
Warren	27,531	21,742	17,320
Washington	14,419	12,464	11,575
Wayne	12,512	10,602	10,259
Webster	14,246	10,937	7,533
Whitley	12,000	8,278	7,762
Wolfe	5,638	3,603	.....
Woodford	11,800	8,240	11,219

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 15; instructors, 142; students, 1,750.

Public schools, 7,392; value of school property, $2,143,013; teachers, 7,706; teachers' salaries, $1,025,659; receipts for school purposes, $2,163,261; expended for same (1881), $1,248,524; school age, 6–20; school population (1881), 553,638; pupils enrolled (1881), 238,440; average attendance, 192,331; average length of school session in 1880, 102 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 258,186, being 22.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 208,796; foreign white, 5,701; colored, Chinese and Indians, 133,895; total, 348,392, being 29.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 11; others, 202; total, 213. Circulation, 402,070.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 320,571; in professional and personal service, 104,239; in trade and transportation, 33,563; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 61,481.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 166,453; total acres in farms, 21,495,240; improved acres, 10,731,683; average size of farms, 129 acres; value of farms and buildings, $299,298,631; value of implements, $9,734,634; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $63,850,155.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	486,326 bush.	Oats	4,580,738 bush.
Buckwheat	9,942 "	Orchard products	$1,377,670
Butter	18,211,904 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	2,269,890 bush.
Cheese	58,468 "	" sweet	1,017,854 "
Cotton	1,367 bales.	Rye	668,050 "
Hay	218,739 tons.	Tobacco	171,120,784 lbs.
Indian Corn	72,852,263 bush.	Wheat	11,356,113 bush.
Milk	2,513,209 galls.	Wool	4,592,576 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	372,648	Other cattle	505,746
Mules and asses	116,153	Sheep	1,000,269
Working oxen	36,166	Swine	2,225,225
Milch cows	301,882		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $49,670,567

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 5,328; capital invested, $45,313,039; hands employed, 37,491; wages paid, $11,657,844; value of material, $47,461,890; value of products, $75,483,377.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$1,647,116	Liquors, malt and distilled	$10,772,677
Carriages and wagons	1,474,475	Lumber, sawed and planed	5,014,999
Clothing, men's	1,506,668	Printing and publishing	1,289,316
Cooperage	1,243,930	Saddlery and harness	1,370,885
Flour and mill products	9,604,147	Slaughtering and packing	4,538,888
Machinery	3,013,079	Tobacco and cigars	3,734,835
Iron and steel	5,090,029	Woollen goods	1,264,988
Leather, tanned and curried	3,199,843		

Total steam and water power in use, 54,929 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	935,857 tons	$1,123,046
Iron ore	33,522 "	88,930
Total value of mineral products		$1,211.976
Add petroleum 5,376 barrels of 42 galls. @ 2¼ cts. per gal.		5,080
Grand total of all mineral products		$1,217,056

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 2,499 miles of line; miles operated, 2,603; cost, $129,110,231; total investment, $150,744,624. Steam craft, 91; tonnage, 23,257; value, $1,300,500. Barges and flats, 252; value, $126,375.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $278,134,467; of personal property, $96,420,512. State taxation (1883), 47½ cents on $100, $2,482,696; county, $1,623,118; city, town and local, $1,982,832. State debt (1883), funded, $180,394; unfunded, $400,000; county, city and local indebtedness, $13,888,025.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Frankfort. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $5,000. The other State officers are: Lieutenant-Governor, four years, salary $10 per day; Secretary of State, four years, $1,500; Treasurer, two years, $2,400; Auditor, four years, $2,500; Quartermaster and Adjutant-General, four years, $2,000; Superintendent of Public Instruction, four years, $2,500; Attorney-General, four years, $500 and fees; Register of Lands, four years, $2,000; Commissioner of Agriculture, two years, $2,000; Insurance Commissioner, four years, $4,000; three Railroad Commissioners, two years, each, $2,000; State Librarian, two years, $1,000.

The Legislature is composed of 38 Senators and 100 Representatives. Senators are elected for four years and Representatives for two years. Their salary is $5 a day and 15 cents mileage. Sessions are held biennially, beginning on last day of December. Length of session limited to 60 days, but may be extended by consent of both Houses.

State elections are held on first Monday in August. Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

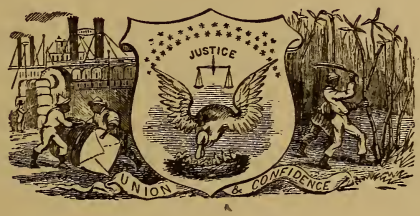
The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and three Associates, elected for eight years. Salary of each, $5,000.

Representatives in Congress, 11; Presidential electors, 13.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Maj.
1872 President.....	100,212	88,816	2,374	11,396 D.
1875 Governor.....	126,976	90,795	.....	36,181 D.
1876 President.....	160,445	98,415	.....	62,030 D.
1877 Treasurer.....	96,557	20,451	.....	76,106 D.
1879 Governor	125,799	81,882	18,954	43,917 D.
1880 President.....	147,999	104,550	11,498	43,449 D.
1883 Governor	133,615	89,181	.....	44,434 D.

LOUISIANA.



NAME.—So called in honor of Louis XIV. of France. All the French territory about the mouth of the Mississippi and west of that river was called Louisiana. Popular name, "The Creole State."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, March 3, 1805; act of admission dated April 8, 1812; admitted, April 30, 1812.

AREA.—Square miles, 45,420; acres, 29,068,800; persons to a square mile, 20.69.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1810.....	76,556		1850.....	517,762	46.9
1820.....	152,923	99.7	1860.....	708,002	36.7
1830.....	215,739	41.0	1870.....	726,915	2.6
1840.....	352,411	63.3	1880.....	939,946	29.3

1880 *by Classes.*

Male.....468,754	Native..... 885,800	White....454,954	Chinese....489
Female. .471,192	Foreign.... 54,146	Black....483,655	Indians....848
Dwellings.....	174,867	Persons to a dwelling...	.....5.38
Families.....	192,833	" " family.....	.....4.87
Voters—Males over 21.....	216,787	Natural militia, 18–44.....	173,731

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Ascension	16,895	11,577	11,484
Assumption	17,010	13,234	15,379
Avoyelles	16,747	12,926	13,167
Bienville	10,442	10,636	11,000
Bossier	16,042	12,675	11,348
Caddo	26,296	21,714	12,140
Calcasieu	12,484	6,733	5,928
Caldwell	5,767	4,820	4,833
Cameron	2,416	1,591	.....
Carroll	.....	10,110	18,052
Catahoula	10,277	8,475	11,651
Claiborne	18,837	20,240	16,848
Concordia	14,914	9,977	13,805
De Soto	15,603	14,962	13,298
East Baton Rouge	19,966	17,816	16,046
East Carroll	12,134	.....	.....
East Feliciana	15,132	13,499	14,697
Franklin	6,495	5,078	6,162
Grant	6,188	4,517	.....
Iberia	16,676	9,042	.....
Iberville	17,544	12,347	14,661
Jackson	5,328	7,646	9,465
Jefferson	12,166	17,767	15,372
La Fayette	13,235	10,388	9,003
La Fourche	19,113	14,719	14,044
Lincoln	11,075	.....	.....
Livingston	5,258	4,026	4,431
Madison	13,906	8,600	14,133
Morehouse	14,206	9,387	10,357
Natchitoches	19,707	18,265	16,699
Orleans	216,090	191,418	174,491
Ouachita	14,685	11,582	4,727
Plaquemines	11,575	10,552	8,494
Point Coupée	17,785	12,981	17,718
Rapides	23,563	18,015	25,360
Red River	8,573	.....	.....
Richland	8,440	5,110	.....
Sabine	7,344	6,456	5,828
Saint Bernard	4,405	3,553	4,076
Saint Charles	7,161	4,867	5,297
Saint Helena	7,504	5,423	7,130
Saint James	14,714	10,152	11,499
Saint John Baptist	9,686	6,762	7,930
Saint Landry	40,004	25,553	23,104
Saint Martin	12,663	9,370	12,674
Saint Mary	19,891	13,860	16,816
Saint Tammany	6,887	5,586	5,406
Tangipahoa	9,638	7,928	.....
Tensas	17,815	12,419	16,078
Terrebonne	17,957	12,451	12,091
Union	13,526	11,685	10,389
Vermillion	8,728	4,528	4,324
Vernon	5,160	.....	.....
Washington	5,190	3,330	4,708
Webster	10,005	.....	.....
West Baton Rouge	7,667	5,114	7,312
West Carroll	2,776	.....	.....
West Feliciana	12,809	10,499	11,671
Winn	5,846	4,954	6,876

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 9; instructors, 84; students, 1,156. Public schools, 1,669; value of school property, $752,903; teachers, 1,713; teachers' salaries (1881), $374,127; receipts for school purposes, $498,409; expended for same (1881), $441,484; school age, 6–18 years; school population (1881), 271,414; pupils enrolled (1881), 62,370; average attendance (1881), 45,626; average length of school year in 1881, 100 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 297,312, being 45.8 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 53,261; foreign white, 5,690; colored, Chinese and Indians, 259,429; total, 318,380, being 49.1 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 13; others, 99; total, 112. Circulation, 134,830.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 205,306; in professional and personal services, 98,111; in trade and transportation, 29,130; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 30,681.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 48,292; total acres in farms, 8,273,506; improved acres, 2,739,972; average size of farms, 171 acres; value of farms and buildings, $58,989,117; value of implements, $5,435,525; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $42,883,522.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Butter	916,089 lbs.	Potatoes, sweet	1,318,110 bush.
Cheese	7,618 "	Rice	23,188,311 lbs.
Cotton	508,569 bales.	Rye	1,013 bush.
Hay	37,029 tons.	Sugar	171,706 hhds.
Indian Corn	9,889,689 bush.	Molasses	11,696,248 galls.
Milk	256,241 galls.	Tobacco	55,954 lbs.
Oats	229,840 bush.	Wheat	5,034 bush.
Orchard products	$188,604	Wool	406,678 lbs.
Potatoes, Irish	180,115 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	104,428	Other cattle	282,418
Mules and asses	76,674	Sheep	135,631
Working oxen	41,729	Swine	633,489
Milch cows	146,454		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $12,345,905

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 1,553; capital invested, $11,462,468; hands employed, 12,167; wages paid, $4,360,371; value of material, $14,442,506; value of products, $24,205,183.

The principal manufactures are:

Clothing, men's	$1,079,559	Rice cleaning	1,573,281
Machinery	1,554,485	Slaughtering and packing	1,500,000
Lumber, sawed and planed	2,035,120	Sugar and molasses refining	1,483,000
Cotton seed oil and cake	3,739,466		

Total steam and water power in use, 11,346 horse-power.

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,249 miles of line; miles operated, 1,231; cost, $70,242,976; total investment, $70,550,578. Length of canal and slack-water line, 28 miles; cost of same, $2,030,000. Steam craft, 195; tonnage, 53,672; value, $4,385,700. Sail craft, 447; tonnage, 31,958; value, $798,950. Barges and flats, 102; value, $25,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1882), $122,889,315; of personal property (1882), $58,570,646. State taxation (1883), rate 60 cents on $100, $1,714,984; parish

taxation, $710,573; city, town and village, $1,914,219. State debt (1882), funded, $13,195,933; unfunded, $3,959,000; parish, city and local indebtedness, $19,428,312.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Baton Rouge. Governor elected for a term of four years. Salary, $4,000. The other State officers, their terms being for four years, are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $8 per day, Secretary of State, $1,800; Treasurer, $2,000; Auditor, $2,500; Attorney-General, $3,000; Adjutant-General, $2,000; Superintendent of Public Education, $2,000; Register of Lands, $1,500; Commissioner of Agriculture, $2,000; State Librarian, $900.

The Legislature is composed of 36 Senators and 98 Representatives, all elected for four years. Salary of a Legislator, $4 per day and mileage. Legislature meets biennially on second Monday in May. Session limited to 60 days.

State elections are held on Tuesday after first Monday in April. Presidential election on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and four associates, appointed by the Governor and Senate for a term of twelve years. Salary of each, $5,000.

Representatives in Congress, 6; Presidential electors, 8.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.		Maj.
1872 Governor	55,249	72,890		17,641 R.
1874 Treasurer	68,586	69,544	(Disputed)	958 R.
1876 President	70,508	75,315	"	4,807 R.
1876 Governor	71,198	74,624	"	3,426 R.
1878 Treasurer	77,212	34,064		43,148 D.
1879 Governor	73,988	43,185		30,803 D.
1880 President	65,310	31,891		33,419 D.

MAINE.

NAME.—Said to be so called from Maine in France, in honor of Henrietta Maria, of England, who was proprietor of that province. But the name appears in the charter to Gorges and Mason, Aug. 10, 1622, two years at least before Henrietta Maria was thought of as a wife for Prince Charles. It is therefore probable that the title in the charter was the name by which the coast was known at the time, either "the Main" or "the mayne-land of New England." Popular name, "Lumber or Pine Tree State."

ADMISSION.—Act of admission dated March 3, 1820; admission March 15, 1820.

AREA.—Square miles, 29,895; acres, 19,132,800; persons to a square mile, 21.71.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	96,540	...	1840	501,793	25.6
1800	151,719	57.1	1850	583,169	16.2
1810	228,705	50.7	1860	628,279	7.7
1820	298,269	30.4	1870	626,915	0.2 dec.
1830	399,455	33.9	1880	648,936	3.5

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	324,058	Native	590,053
Female	324,878	Foreign	58,883
Dwellings	124,959		
Families	141,843		
Voters—Males over 21	187,323		

White	646,852	Chinese	8
Black	1,451	Indians	625
Persons to a dwelling	5.19		
" " family	4.58		
Natural militia, 18–44	127,975		

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Androscoggin	45,042	35,866	29,726	Franklin	18,180	18,807	20,403
Aroostook	41,700	29,609	22,479	Hancock	38,129	36,495	37,757
Cumberland	86,359	82,021	75,591	Kennebec	53,058	53,203	55,655

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Knox	32,863	30,823	32,716	Sagadahoc	19,272	18,803	21,790
Lincoln	24,821	25,597	27,860	Somerset	32,333	34,611	36,753
Oxford	32,627	33,488	36,698	Waldo	32,463	34,522	38,447
Penobscot	70,476	75,150	72,731	Washington	44,484	43,343	42,534
Piscataquis	14,872	14,403	15,032	York	62,257	60,174	62,107

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 3; instructors, 33; students, 377. Public schools, 4,736; value of school property, $3,027,602; teachers, 4,797; teachers' salaries (1882), $952,394; receipts for school purposes, $1,074,554; expended for same (1882), $1,081,834; school age, 4–21; school population (1882), 213,007; pupils enrolled (1882), 147,988; average attendance (1882), 111,188; average length of school year in 1882, 117 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 18,181, being 3.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 8,775; foreign white, 12,983; colored, Chinese and Indians, 412; total, 22,170, being 4.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 12; others, 112; total, 124. Circulation, 1,215,572.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 82,130; in professional and personal services, 47,411; in trade and transportation, 29,790; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 72,662.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 64,309; total acres in farms, 6,552,578; improved acres, 3,484,908; average size of farms, 102 acres; value of farms and buildings, $102,357,615; value of implements, $4,948,048; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $21,945,489.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	242,185 bush.	Oats	2,265,575 bush.
Buckwheat	382,701 "	Orchard products	$1,112,026
Butter	14,103,966 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	7,999,625 bush.
Cheese	1,167,730 "	Rye	26,398 "
Hay	1,107,788 tons.	Tobacco	250 lbs.
Hops	48,214 lbs.	Wheat	665,714 bush.
Indian Corn	960,633 bush.	Wool	2,776,407 lbs.
Milk	3,720,783 galls.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	87,848	Other cattle	140,527
Mules and asses	298	Sheep	565,918
Working oxen	43,049	Swine	74,369
Milch cows	150,845		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $16,499,376

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 4,481; capital invested, $49,988,171; hands employed, 52,954; wages paid, $13,623,318; value of material, $51,120,708; value of products, $79,829,793.

The principal manufactures are:

Boots and shoes	$5,823,541	Lumber sawed and planed	$8,445,667
Clothing, men's	1,130,381	Mixed textiles	1,909,937
Cotton goods	13,319,363	Paper	2,170,321
Dyeing and finishing	1,107,616	Printing and publishing	1,606,098
Flour and mill products	3,966,023	Shipbuilding	2,909,846
Machinery	2,232,675	Slaughtering and packing	1,093,687
Canned goods	1,402,100	Sugar refining	1,499,512
Leather curried and tanned	9,713,371	Woollen goods	6,686,073

Total steam and water power in use, 100,476 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$2,999
Silver		7,200
Iron ore	6,000 tons	9,000
Copper ingots	102,500 lbs.	18,040
Minor minerals		2,000
Total precious minerals, $10,199. Non-precious		29,040

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,123 miles of line; miles operated, 1,004; cost, $39,162,141; total investment, $39,820,687. Steam craft, 112; tonnage, 16,992; value, $1,135,700. Sail craft, 2,559; tonnage, 491,348; value, $12,283,700. Barges and flats, 155; value $132,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal property (1883), $265,978,716. State taxation, rate 40 cents on $100, $1,063,510; county and town taxation, $4,118,625. State debt (1883) funded, $5,749,000; county, city and town indebtedness, $17,724,100.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Augusta. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $2,000. The other State officers are: Secretary of State (two years), salary, $1,200; Treasurer (two years),

$1,600; Attorney-General (two years), $1,000; Adjutant-General (two years), $900; Superintendent Common Schools (three years), $1,000; Land Agent (four years), $900; Insurance Commissioner (three years), $900; three Railroad Commissioners (three years), fees; Secretary Board Agriculture (four years), $600; State Librarian (three years), $600.

The Legislature is composed of 31 Senators and 151 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of each $150 and 20 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Wednesday in January. No limit to length of session.

State elections held every second year on second Monday in September.

Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and seven associates, appointed by the Governor for a term of seven years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representatives in Congress, 4; Presidential Electors, 6.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Others.	Maj.
1872 President.....	61,422	29,087	.....	32,335 R.
1873 Governor.....	45,674	32,816	2,090	12,858 R.
1874 Governor.....	53,131	41,734	275	11,397 R.
1875 Governor.....	57,085	53,213	.....	3,872 R.
1876 Governor.....	75,710	60,215	529	15,459 R.
1876 President.....	66,300	49,283	663	16,477 R.
1877 Governor.....	53,631	42,114	6,076	11,517 R.
1878 Governor.....	56,519	27,872	41,404	15,115 R.
1880 Governor.....	73,597	73,786	463	189 D.
1880 President.....	74,052	65,211	4,640	8,841 R.
1882 Governor.....	72,724	63,852	1,967	8,872 R.

MARYLAND.

NAME.—So called in honor of Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., in his patent to Lord Baltimore.

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, April 28, 1788.

AREA.—Square miles, 9,860; acres, 6,310,400; persons to a square mile, 94.82.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790.....	319,728		1840.....	470,019	5.1
1800.....	341,548	6.8	1850.....	583,034	24.0
1810.....	380,546	11.4	1860.....	687,049	17.8
1820.....	407,350	7.0	1870.....	780,894	13.6
1830.....	447,040	9.7	1880.....	934,943	19.7

1880 *by Classes.*

Male.....	462,187	Native.....	852,137	White..... 724,693	Chinese.... 5
Female...	472,756	Foreign....	82,806	Black..... 210,230	Indians.... 15
Dwellings			155,070	Persons to a dwelling.....	6.03
Families.....			175,318	" " family.....	5.33
Voters—Males over 21.....			232,106	Natural militia, 18-44.....	182,609

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Allegany.....	38,012	38,536	28,348	Harford	28,042	22,605	23,415
Anne Arundel.....	28,526	24,457	23,900	Howard	16,140	14,150	13,338
Baltimore.....	83,336	63,387	54,135	Kent.....	17,605	17,102	13,267
Baltimore City.....	332,313	267,354	212,418	Montgomery.....	24,759	20,563	18,322
Calvert.....	10,538	9,865	10,447	Prince George's.....	26,541	21,138	23,327
Caroline.....	13,766	12,101	11,129	Queen Anne.....	19,257	16,171	15,961
Carroll.....	30,992	28,619	24,533	Saint Mary's.....	16,934	14,944	15,213
Cecil	27,108	25,874	23,862	Somerset.....	21,668	18,190	24,992
Charles.....	18,548	15,738	16,517	Talbot.....	19,065	16,137	14,795
Dorchester.....	23,110	19,458	20,461	Washington.....	38,561	34,712	31,417
Frederick.....	50,482	47,572	46,591	Wicomico	18,016	15,802	.....
Garrett.....	12,175	.....	.....	Worcester	19,539	16,419	20,661

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 11; instructors, 162; students, 1,658.

Public schools, 2,551; value of school property, $2,083,013; teachers, 3,038; teachers' salaries (1882), $1,146,558; receipts

for school purposes, $1,452,557; expended for same (1882), $1,651,908; school age, 5–20 years; school population (1882), 319,201; pupils enrolled (1882), 159,945; average attendance (1882), 83,189; average length of school session in 1882, 199 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 111,387, being 16 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 36,027; foreign white, 8,289; colored, Chinese and Indians, 90,172; total, 134,488, being 19.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 15; others, 129; total, 144. Circulation, 387,594.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 90,927; in professional and personal services, 98,934; in trade and transportation, 49,234; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 85,337.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 40,517; total acres in farms, 5,119,831; improved acres, 3,342,700; average size of farms, 126 acres; value of farms and buildings, $165,503,341; value of implements, $5,788,197; total value of all farm products sold, consumed or on hand, $28,839,281.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	6,097 bush.	Orchard products	$1,563,188
Buckwheat	136,667 "	Potatoes, Irish	1,497,017 bush.
Butter	7,485,871 lbs.	" sweet	329,590 "
Cheese	17,416 "	Rye	288,067 "
Hay	264,468 tons.	Tobacco	26,082,147 lbs.
Indian Corn	15,968,533 bush.	Wheat	8,004,864 bush.
Milk	4,722,944 galls.	Wool	850,084 lbs.
Oats	1,794,872 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	117,796	Other cattle	117,387
Mules and asses	12,561	Sheep	171,184
Working oxen	22,246	Swine	335,408
Milch cows	122,907		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $15,865,728

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 6,787; capital invested, $58,742,384; hands employed, 74,945; wages

paid, $18,904,965; value of material, $66,937,846; value of products, $106,780,563.

The principal manufactures are:

Boots and shoes	$2,212,963	Leather, tanned and curried	$1,977,049
Bakery products	2,275,227	Liquors, malt and distilled	3,022,696
Clothing, men's	9,579,066	Lumber, sawed	1,813,332
Confectionery	1,164,755	Paper	1,028,591
Cotton goods	4,688,714	Printing and publishing	1,477,164
Fertilizers	5,770,198	Ship-building	1,788,630
Flour and mill products	7,954,004	Slaughtering and packing	3,377,605
Machinery	4,454,317	Tin and copper ware	3,564,994
Canned goods	6,245,297	Tobacco and cigars	3,262,028
Iron and steel	4,470,050		

Total steam and water power in use, 51,259 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	2,227,884 tons	$2,584,455
Iron ore	57,940 "	118,050
Zinc ore	672 "	7,200
Copper ingots	30,910 lbs.	.....
Minor minerals		159,303
Total mineral products		$2,869,008

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,153 miles of line; miles operated, 1,198; cost, $92,435,610; total investment, $88,475,123. Canal and slack-water lines, 199.5 miles; cost, $11,290,327. Steam craft, 169; tonnage, 45,967; value, $3,886,750. Sail craft, 1,645; tonnage, 81,856; value, $2,046,375. Canal boats and barges, 471; value, $376,600.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Value of real and personal estate (1883), $466,089,380. State taxation, rate 18.75 cents on $100 (1883), $2,097,377; county, city and town taxation, $4,576,485. State debt (1883), funded, $11,269,820; county, city and town debt, $3,268,338.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Annapolis. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $4,500. The other State officers are: Secretary of State, four years, salary, $2,000; Treasurer, two years, $2,500; Comptroller, two years, $2,500; Attorney-General, four years, $3,000; Adjutant-General, four years, $1,500; Secretary Board of Education, two years, $1,000; Commissioner of Lands, four years, $2,000; Insurance Commissioner, four years, $2,500; State Librarian, four years, $1,500.

The Legislature is composed of 26 Senators and 91 Repre-

sentatives. Senators elected for four years, Representatives for two years. Salary of each, $5 a day and mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Wednesday in January. Session limited to 90 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and seven associates, elected by the people for a term of fifteen years. Salary of each, $3,500.

Representatives in Congress, 6; Presidential electors, 8.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President	67,685	66,760	925 D.
1875 Governor	85,451	72,530	12,921 D.
1876 President	91,780	71,981	19,799 D.
1879 Governor	90,771	68,609	22,162 D.
1880 President	89,950	73,789	16,161 D.
1883 Governor	92,698	80,648	11,950 D.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NAME.—From the Indian equivalent, applied to both the bay and tribe. Its meaning is "about, or near, the great, or blue, hills." "I have learned," says Roger Williams, "that the Massachusetts were so called from the Blue Hills." Popular name, "The Bay State."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, February 6, 1788.

AREA.—Square miles, 8,040; acres, 5,145,600; persons to a square mile, 221.78.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	378,787		1840	737,699	20.8
1800	422,845	11.6	1850	994,514	34.8
1810	472,040	11.6	1860	1,231,066	23.7
1820	523,159	10.8	1870	1,457,351	18.3
1830	610,408	16.6	1880	1,783,085	22.3

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	858,440	Native	1,339,594	White	1,763,782	Chinese	237
Female	924,645	Foreign	443,491	Black	18,697	Indians	369
Dwellings			281,188	Persons to a dwelling			6.34
Families			379,710	" " family			4.70
Voters—Males over 21			502,648	Natural militia, 18–44			373,284

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Barnstable	31,897	32,774	35,990	Hampshire	47,232	44,388	37,823
Berkshire	69,032	64,827	55,120	Middlesex	317,830	274,353	216,354
Bristol	139,040	102,886	93,794	Nantucket	3,727	4,123	6,094
Dukes	4,300	3,787	4,403	Norfolk	96,507	89,443	109,950
Essex	244,535	200,843	165,611	Plymouth	74,018	65,365	64,768
Franklin	36,001	32,635	31,434	Suffolk	387,927	270,802	192,700
Hampden	104,142	78,409	57,366	Worcester	226,897	192,716	159,659

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 7; instructors, 157; students, 2,101.

Public schools, 6,604; value of school property, $21,660,392; teachers, 7,336; teachers' salaries (1882), $4,144,722; receipts for school purposes, $4,696,612; expended for same (1882), $5,881,124; school age, 5–15 years; school population (1882), 321,377; pupils enrolled (1882), 330,421; average attendance, (1882), 235,739; average length of school year in 1882, 178 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 75,635, being 5.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 6,933; foreign white, 83,725; colored, Chinese and Indians, 2,322; total, 92,980, being 6.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 39; others, 393; total, 432. Circulation, 1,938,818.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 64,973; in professional and personal service, 170,160; in trade and transportation, 115,376; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 370,265.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 38,406; total acres in farms, 3,359,079; improved acres, 2,128,311; average size of farms, 87 acres; value of farms and buildings, $146,197,415; value of implements, $5,134,537; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $24,160,881.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	80,128 bush.	Oats	645.159 bush.
Buckwheat	67,117 "	Orchard products	$1,005,303
Butter	9,655,587 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	3,070,389 bush.
Cheese	829,528 "	" sweet	450 "
Hay	684,679 tons.	Rye	213,716 "
Hops	9,895 lbs.	Tobacco	5,369,436 lbs.
Indian Corn	1,797,768 bush.	Wheat	15,768 bush.
Milk	29,662,953 galls.	Wool	299,089 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	59,629	Other cattle	96,045
Mules and asses	243	Sheep	67,979
Working oxen	14,571	Swine	80,123
Milch cows	150,435		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$12,957,004

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 14,352; capital invested, $303,806,185; hands employed, 352,255; wages paid, $128,315,362; value of material, $386,972,655; value of products, $631,135,284.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$1,670,242	Jewelry	$4,265,525
Bookbinding and blanks	1,360,577	Leather, all kinds	38,771,113
Boots and shoes (all)	101,162,009	Liquors, malt and distilled	6,216,618
Bakery products	4.942,769	Lumber sawed and planed	4,317,555
Carpets	6,337,629	Mixed textiles	13,043,829
Carriages and wagons	4,048,141	Paper	15,188,196
Clothing, men's	17,902,662	Printing and publishing	7,757,260
Confectionery	2,281,850	Rubber elastics	4,206,465
Cordage	2,995,395	Silk goods	3,764,260
Cotton goods	74,780,835	Slaughtering and packing	22,951,782
Cutlery	2,133,654	Soap and candles	4,489,555
Dyeing and finishing	9,482,939	Straw goods	6,898,628
Flour and mill products	8,774,049	Sugar and molasses refined	22,880,439
Machinery	23,935,604	Wire	4,539,399
Furniture	6,041,618	Woollen goods	45,099,203
Nails and spikes	3,126,275	Worsted goods	10,466,016
Iron and steel	10,288,921		

Total steam and water power in use, 309,759 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Iron ore	62,637 tons	$226,130
Minor minerals		101,970
Total mineral product		$328,100

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 2,263 miles of line; miles operated, 2,493; cost, $153,970,932; total investment, $191,241,132. Steam craft, 180; tonnage, 48,918; value, $3,266,400. Sail craft, 2,136; tonnage, 378,333; value, $9,458,325. Barges and flats, 55; value, $64,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate, $1,262,698,224; of personal property, $515,682,475. State taxation (1882), rate 3.5 cents on $100, $2,902,546; county taxation, $1,125,901; city, town and local, $21,699,794. State debt (1883) funded, $32,511,681; amount in sinking fund, $16,944,263; net State debt, $15,567,418; county, city and town indebtedness, $71,124,435.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Boston. Governor elected for one year. Salary, $4,000. The other State officers—chosen for one year, except Insurance and Railroad Commissioners whose terms are three years—are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $2,000; Secretary of State, $2,500; Treasurer, $4,000; Auditor, $2,500; Attorney-General, $4,000; Adjutant-General, $2,500; Secretary Board Education, $2,000; Secretary Board Agriculture, $2,500; Insurance Commissioner, $3,000; three Railroad Commissioners, one at $4,000 and two at $3,500; State Librarian, $2,000.

The Legislature is composed of 40 Senators and 240 Representatives, all elected for one year. Salary of a Legislator, $500 a year. Legislature meets annually on first Wednesday in January. No limit to length of session.

State elections held annually on same date as Congressional and Presidential elections, viz., Tuesday after first Monday in November.

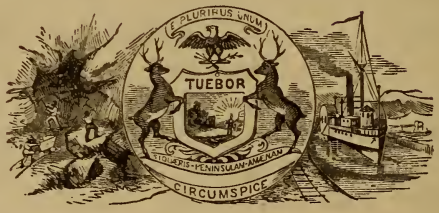
The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and six associates, appointed by the Governor and Council, for life or during good behavior. Salary of Chief Justice, $6,500; of associates, $6,000 each.

Representatives in Congress, 12; Presidential electors, 14.

POLITICS for twelve years:

		Rep.	Dem.	Lab.	Tem.	Maj.
1872	President.....	133,472	59,260	.....	.....	74,212 R.
1873	Governor.....	72,183	59,360	.....	.....	12,823 R.
1874	"	89,345	96,376	.....	.....	7,031 D.
1875	"	83,639	78,333	316	9,124	5,306 R.
1876	President.....	150,063	108,777	.....	779	41,286 R.
1876	Governor.....	137,605	106,850	.....	12,274	30,755 R.
1877	"	91,255	73,185	16,354	3,552	18,070 R.
1878	"	134,725	10,162	109,435	1,913	25,290 R.
1879	"	122,751	9,989	109,149	1,645	13,602 R.
1880	President.....	164,205	111,960	4,548	682	52,245 R.
1880	Governor.....	164,825	111,410	4,864	1,059	53,415 R.
1881	"	96,609	54,586	4,889	.....	42,023 R.
1882	"	119,997	133,946	.....	2,335	13,949 D.
1883	"	160,092	150,228	.....	1,881	9,864 R.

MICHIGAN.



NAME.—So called from the lake, and that from the Indian word meaning "a weir of fish." By others it is coupled with Mitcha-gan, Chippewa for "great lake." Popular name, "The Wolverine State."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, Jan. 11, 1805. Act of admission and actual admission, Jan. 26, 1837.

AREA.—Square miles, 57,430; acres, 36,755,200; persons to a square mile, 28.50.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1810.....	4,762		1850.....	397,654	87.3
1820.....	8,765	84.0	1860.....	749,113	88.3
1830.....	31,639	260.9	1870.....	1,184,059	58.0
1840.....	212,267	570.9	1880.....	1,636,937	38.2

1880 *by Classes.*

Males....862,355	Native....1,248,429	White..1,614,560	Chinese.... 28
Females..774,582	Foreign... 388,508	Black... 15,100	Indians....7,249
Dwellings.....	321,514	Persons to a dwelling.....	5.09
Families.....	336,973	" " family.....	4.86
Voters—Males over 21	467,687	Natural militia, 18–44.....371,140	

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Alcona	3,107	696	185
Allegan	37,815	32,105	16,087
Alpena	8,789	2,756	290
Antrim	5,237	1,985	179
Baraga	1,804	.....	.....
Barry	25,317	22,199	13,858
Bay	38,081	15,900	3,164
Benzie	3,433	2,184	.....
Berrien	36,785	35,104	22,378
Branch	27,941	26,226	20,981
Brown	(Now in Wisconsin.)		
Calhoun	38,452	36,569	29,564
Cass	22,009	21,094	17,721
Charlevoix	5,115	1,724	.....
Cheboygan	6,524	2,196	517
Chippewa	5,248	1,689	1,603
Clare	4,187	366	.....
Clinton	28,100	22,845	13,916
Crawford	1,159	.....	.....
Delta	6,812	2,542	1,172
Eaton	31,225	25,171	16,476
Emmett	6,639	1,211	1,149
Genesee	39,220	33,900	22,498
Gladwin	1,127	.....	14
Grand Traverse	8,422	4,443	1,286
Gratiot	21,936	11,810	4,042
Hillsdale	32,723	31,684	25,675
Houghton	22,473	13,879	9,234
Huron	20,089	9,049	3,165
Ingham	33,676	25,268	17,435
Ionia	33,872	27,681	16,682
Iosco	6,873	3,163	175
Iowa	(Now in Wisconsin.)		
Isabella	12,159	4,113	1,443
Isle Royale	55	.....	.....
Jackson	42,031	36,047	26,671
Kalamazoo	34,342	32,054	24,646
Kalkaska	2,937	424	.....
Kent	73,253	50,403	30,716
Keweenaw	4,270	4,205	.....
Lake	3,233	548	.....

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Lapeer	30,138	21,345	14,754
Leelanaw	6,253	4,576	2,158
Lenawee	48,343	45,595	38,112
Livingston	22,251	19,336	16,851
Mackinac	2,902	1,716	1,938
Macomb	31,627	27,616	22,843
Manistee	12,532	6,074	975
Manitou	1,334	891	1,042
Marquette	25,394	15,033	3,821
Mason	10,065	3,263	831
Mecosta	13,973	5,642	970
Menominee	11,087	1,791	.....
Midland	6,893	3,285	787
Missaukee	1,553	130	.....
Monroe	33,624	27,483	21,593
Montcalm	33,148	13,629	3,966
Montmorency		(To Alpena.)	
Muskegon	26,586	14,894	3,947
Newaygo	14,688	7,294	2,760
Oakland	41,537	40,867	38,261
Oceana	11,699	7,222	1,816
Ogemaw	1,914	12	.....
Ontonagon	2,565	2,845	4,568
Osceola	10,777	2,093	27
Oscoda	467	70	.....
Otsego	1,974	.....	.....
Ottawa	33,126	26,651	13,215
Presque Isle	3,113	355	26
Roscommon	1,459	.....	.....
Saint Clair	46,197	36,661	26,604
Saint Joseph	26,626	26,275	21,262
Saginaw	59,095	39,097	12,693
Sanilac	26,341	14,562	7,599
Schoolcraft	1,575	.....	78
Shiawassee	27,059	20,858	12,349
Tuscola	25,738	13,714	4,886
Van Buren	30,807	28,829	15,224
Washtenaw	41,848	41,434	35,686
Wayne	166,444	119,038	75,547
Wexford	6,815	650	.....

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 9; instructors, 141; students, 2,701.

Public schools, 8,608; value of school property, $8,982,344; teachers, 8,608; teachers' salaries (1882), $2,193,267; receipts for school purposes, $3,792,740; expended for same (1882), $3,789,291; school age, 5–20 years; school population (1882), 538,356; pupils enrolled (1882), 385,504; average attendance (1880), 263,775; average length of school session in 1882, 148 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 47,112, being 3.8

per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 19,981; foreign white, 38,951; colored, Chinese and Indians, 4,791; total, 63,723, being 5.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 33; others, 436; total, 469. Circulation, 602,749.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 240,319; in professional and personal service, 143,249; in trade and transportation, 54,723; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 130,913.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 154,008; total acres in farms, 13,807,240; improved acres, 8,296,862; average size of farms, 90 acres; value of farms and buildings, $499,103,181; value of implements, $19,419,360; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $91,159,858.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	1,204,316 bush.	Oats	18,190,793 bush.
Buckwheat	413,062 "	Orchard products	$2,760,677
Butter	38,821,890 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	10,924,111 bush.
Cheese	440,540 "	" sweet	4,904 "
Hay	1,393,888 tons.	Rye	294,918 "
Hops	266,010 lbs.	Tobacco	83,969 lbs.
Indian Corn	32,461,452 bush.	Wheat	35,532,543 bush.
Milk	7,898,273 galls.	Wool	11,858,497 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	378,778	Other cattle	466,660
Mules and asses	5,083	Sheep	2,189,389
Working oxen	40,393	Swine	964,071
Milch cows	384,578		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$55,720,113

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 8,873; capital invested, $92,930,959; hands employed, 77,591; wages paid, $25,313,682; value of material, $92,900,269; value of products, $150,715,025.

The principal products are:

Agricultural implements	$3,102,638	Flour and mill products	$23,546,875
Carriages and wagons	2,741,143	Machinery	5,271,142
Cars	1,466,256	Furniture	3,514,176
Clothing, men's	3,029,478	Iron and steel	4,591,613
Cooperage	1,584,469	Leather, tanned and curried	3,026,585

Liquors, malt	$2,184,392	Ship-building	$2,034,636
Lumber, planed and sawed	53,525,977	Slaughtering and packing	2,065,634
Salt	2,271,913	Tobacco and cigars	3,666,235
Sashes and doors	2,240,402		

Total steam and water power in use, 164,747 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Silver		$25,858
Coal, bituminous	100,800 tons	224,500
Iron ore	1,837,712 "	6,034,648
Copper ingots	45,830,262 lbs.	7,979,232
Minor minerals		41,057
Total value of mineral products		$14,305,295

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 4,341 miles of line; miles operated, 3,767; cost, $170,042,764; total investment, $170,412,717. Length of canal lines, 3.14 miles; cost, $7,425,300. Steam craft, 422; tonnage, 67,093; value, $4,550,725. Sail craft, 470; tonnage, 62,105; value, $1,552,625. Barges and flats, 206; value, $136,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal property, 1883, $810,000,000. State taxation (1883), rate 12½ cents on $100, $1,021,091; county taxation, $1,804,512; city, town and township, $5,139,877. State debt (1883), all funded, $309,150; county, city and town indebtedness, $8,803,144.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Lansing. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $1,000. The other State officers, all elected or selected for two years, are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $3 a day; Secretary of State, $800; Treasurer, $1,000; Auditor-General, $2,000; Attorney-General, $800; Superintendent of Public Instruction, $1,000; Adjutant-General (appointed), $1,000; Secretary Board of Agriculture (appointed), $1,500; Commissioner of Lands, $800; Insurance Commissioner (appointed), $2,000; Railroad Commissioner (appointed), $2,500; Immigration Commissioner (appointed), $2,000; State Librarian (appointed), $1,000.

The Legislature is composed of 32 Senators and 100 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $3 a day and ten cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Wednesday in January. No limit to length of session.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

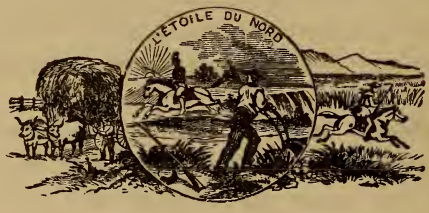
The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and three associates, elected by the people for a term of eight years. Salary of each, $4,000.

Representatives in Congress, 11; Presidential electors, 13.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Tem.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President	136,202	79,088	1,271	....	55,843 R.
1874 Governor	111,519	105,550	3,937	....	2,032 R.
1876 "	165,926	142,492	870	8,297	23,434 R.
1876 President	166,534	141,095	....	....	25,439 R.
1878 Governor	126,399	79,682	....	74,333	46,717 R.
1880 "	177,954	137,691	....	35,032	40,263 R.
1880 President	185,341	131,597	942	34,895	53,744 R.
1882 Governor	149,581	154,404	6,349	....	4,823 D.

MINNESOTA.



NAME.—From the river, meaning "cloudy, or colored, water," in the Indian language.

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, March 3, 1849; act of admission dated May 4, 1858; actual admission, May 11, 1858.

AREA.—Square miles, 79,205; acres, 50,691,200; persons to a square mile, 9.86.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.
1850.....	6,077		1870.....	439,706	155.6
1860.....	172,023	2,730.7	1880.....	780,773	77.5

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	419,149	Native	513,097	White	776,884
Female	361,624	Foreign	267,676	Black	1,564
Dwellings	136,458			Persons to a dwelling	5.72
Families	143,374			" " family	5.45
Voters—Males over 21	213,485			Natural militia, 18–44	174,681

Chinese	25				
Indians	2,300				

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Aitken	366	178	2
Anoka	7,108	3,940	2,106
Becker	5,218	308	386
Beltrami	10	80	.....
Benton	3,012	1,558	627
Big Stone	3,688	24	.....
Blue Earth	22,889	17,302	4,803
Breckenridge	.....	.....	79
Brown	12,018	6,396	2,339
Buchanan	.....	.....	26
Carleton	1,230	286	51
Carver	14,140	11,586	5,106
Cass	486	380	150
Chippewa	5,408	1,467	.....
Chisago	7,982	4,358	1,743
Clay	5,887	92	.....
Cook	65	.....	.....
Cottonwood	5,533	534	12
Crow Wing	2,319	200	269
Dakota	17,391	16,312	9,093
Dodge	11,344	8,598	3,797
Douglas	9,130	4,239	195
Faribault	13,016	9,940	1,335
Fillmore	28,162	24,887	13,542
Freeborn	16,069	10,578	3,367
Goodhue	29,651	22,618	8,977
Grant	3,004	340	.....
Hennepin	67,013	31,566	12,849
Houston	16,332	14,936	6,645
Isanti	5,063	2,035	284
Itasca	124	96	51
Jackson	4,806	1,825	181
Kannabec	505	93	30
Kandiyohi	10,159	1,760	76
Kittson	905	64	1,612
Lac-qui-parle	4,891	145	.....
Lake	106	135	248
Le Sueur	16,103	11,607	5,318
Lincoln	2,945	.....	.....
Lyon	6,257	.....	.....
McLeod	12,342	5,643	1,286
Mankahta	.....	.....	.....
Manomin	.....	.....	136
Marshall	992	.....	.....
Martin	5,249	3,867	151
Meeker	11,739	6,090	928
Mille Lacs	1,501	1,109	73
Monogalia	.....	3,161	350
Morrison	5,875	1,681	618
Mower	16,799	10,447	3,217
Murray	3,604	209	29
Nicollet	12,333	8,362	3,773
Nobles	4,435	117	35
Olmsted	21,543	19,793	9,524
Otter Tail	18,675	1,968	240
Pierce	.....	.....	11
Pine	1,365	648	92
Pipe Stone	2,092	.....	23
Polk	11,433	.....	240
Pope	5,874	2,691	.....
Ramsey	45,890	23,085	12,150
Redwood	5,375	1,829	.....
Renville	10,791	3,219	245
Rice	22,481	16,083	7,543
Rock	3,669	138	.....
Saint Louis	4,504	4,561	406
Scott	13,516	11,042	4,595
Sherburne	3,855	2,050	723
Sibley	10,637	6,725	3,609
Stearns	21,956	14,206	4,505
Steele	12,460	8,271	2,863
Stevens	3,911	174	.....
Swift	7,473	.....	.....
Todd	6,133	2,036	430
Traverse	1,507	13	.....
Wabasha	18,206	15,859	7,228
Wadena	2,080	6	.....
Wahuata	.....	.....	.....
Waseca	12,385	7,854	2,602
Washington	19,563	11,809	6,123
Watonwan	5,104	2,426	.....
Wilkin	1,906	295	40
Winona	27,197	22,319	9,208
Wright	18,104	9,457	3,729
Yellow Medicine	5,884	.....	.....

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 5; instructors, 75; students, 981. Public schools, 4,784; value of school property, $3,460,458; teachers, 5,100; teachers' salaries (1882), $1,054,523; receipts for school purposes, $2,012,987; expended for same (1882), $2,159,435; school age, 5–21 years; school population (1882), 315,948; pupils enrolled (1882), 196,238; average winter attendance (1882), 97,532; average length of winter term in 1882, 98 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 20,551, being 3.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years

who cannot write: native white, 5,671; foreign white, 27,835; colored, Chinese and Indians, 1,040; total, 34,546, being 6.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 10; others, 214; total, 224. Circulation, 221,674.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 131,535; in professional and personal services, 59,452; in trade and transportation, 24,349; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 39,789.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 92,386; total acres in farms, 13,403,019; improved acres, 7,246,693; average size of farms, 145 acres; value of farms and buildings, $193,724,260; value of implements, $13,089,783; total value of all farm products, sold consumed or on hand, $49,468,951.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	2,972,965 bush.	Oats	23,382,158 bush.
Buckwheat	41,756 "	Orchard products	$121,648
Butter	19,161,385 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	5,184,676 bush.
Cheese	523,138 "	Rye	215,245 bush.
Hay	1,636,912 tons.	Tobacco	69,922 lbs.
Hops	10,928 lbs.	Wheat	34,601,030 bush.
Indian Corn	14,831,741 bush.	Wool	1,352,124 lbs.
Milk	1,504,407 gal.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	257,282	Other cattle	347,161
Mules and asses	9,019	Sheep	267,598
Working oxen	36,344	Swine	381,415
Milch cows	275,545		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$31,904,821

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 3,493; capital invested, $31,004,811; hands employed, 21,247; wages paid, $8,613,094; value of materials, $55,660,681; value of products, $76,065,198.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$2,340,288	Liquors, malt	$1,153,122
Clothing, men's	1,662,855	Lumber sawed and planed	8,023,415
Cooperage	1,007,643	Printing and publishing	1,043,664
Flour mill products	41,519,004	Sashes and doors	1,344,618
Machinery	1,606,518		

Total steam and water power in use, 53,880 horse-power.

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 4,528 miles of line; miles operated, 3,734; cost, $237,607,308; total investment, $258,949,909. Steam craft, 61; tonnage, 5,119; value, $273,270. Barges, 32; value, $12,800.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $244,043,847; of personal property, $67,159,588. State taxation (1883), rate 18.5 cents on $100, $781,762; county taxation, $1,251,888; city and town, $1,735,420. State debt (1883) all funded, $4,506,000; county, city and town debt, $5,911,064.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, St. Paul. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $3,800. The other State officers—all of whose terms are two years, except Auditor, three years—are, Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $600; Secretary of State, $1,800; Treasurer, $3,500; Auditor, $3,000; Attorney-General, $2,000; Superintendent Public Instruction, $2,500; Adjutant-General, $1,500; Public Examiner, $3,000; Insurance Commissioner, $2-000; Commissioner Statistics, $2,000; Railroad Commissioner, $3,000; State Librarian, $2,000.

The Legislature is composed of 47 Senators and 103 Representatives. Senators are elected for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $5 a day and 15 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on Tuesday after first Monday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice, salary $4,500; and four Associate Justices, salary of each, $4,000; all elected by the people for a term of seven years.

Representatives in Congress, 5; Presidential electors, 7.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Tem.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President	55,709	35,211	.....	.....	20,498 R.
1873 Governor	40,781	35,260	1,050	.....	5,521 R.
1875 "	47,053	35,168	1,484	.....	11,885 R.
1876 President	72,962	48,779	.....	2,389	24,163 R.
1877 Governor	57,644	40,215	.....	.....	17,429 R.
1879 "	56,918	41,583	2,867	4,264	15,335 R.
1880 President	93,903	53,315	286	3,267	40,588 R.
1881 Governor	65,025	37,168	708	2,676	27,857 R.
1883 "	72,404	57,859	.....	.....	14,545 R

MISSISSIPPI.

NAME.—From the river Mississippi, commonly called the "Father of Waters." But the Indian thought was, according to some, "the great and long water;" according to others, "the whole river;" that is, a river formed by a union of many, the drainage river of a system. Popular name "The Bayou State."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, April 7, 1798. Act of admission, April 10, 1817. Actual admission, same date.

AREA.—Square miles, 46,340; acres, 29,657,600; persons to a square mile, 24.42.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1800.....	8,850		1850.....	606,526	61.4
1810.....	40,352	355.9	1860.....	791,305	30.4
1820.....	75,448	86.9	1870.....	827,922	4.6
1830.....	136,621	81.0	1880.....	1,131,597	36.6
1840.....	375,651	174.9			

1880 *by Classes.*

Male.....567,177	Native..1,122,388	White...479,398	Chinese... 51
Female...564,420	Foreign... 9,209	Black...650,291	Indians.... 1,857
Dwellings.....208,297		Persons to a dwelling.....	5.43
Families.....215,055		" " family.....	5.26
Voters—Males over 21.....238,532		Natural militia, 18–44.....203,080	

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adams.....	22,649	19,084	20,165	Clay.....	17,367	.....	.....
Alcorn.....	14,272	10,431	.....	Coahoma.....	13,568	7,144	6,666
Amite	14,004	10,973	12,336	Copiah.....	27,552	20,608	15,398
Attala	19,988	14,776	14,169	Covington.....	5,993	4,753	4,408
Baldwin	.....	.....	.....	De Soto.....	22,924	32,021	23,336
Benton	11,023	.....	.....	Franklin.....	9,729	7,498	8,265
Bolivar.....	18,652	9,732	10,471	Greene	3,194	2,038	2,232
Calhoun.....	13,492	10,561	9,518	Grenada.....	12,071	10,571	.....
Carroll.....	17,795	21,047	22,035	Hancock	6,439	4,239	3,139
Chickasaw.....	17,905	19,899	16,426	Harrison	7,895	5,795	4,819
Choctaw.....	9,036	16,988	15,722	Hinds.....	43,958	30,488	31,339
Claiborne.....	16,768	13,386	15,679	Holmes	27,164	19,370	17,791
Clarke.....	15,021	7,505	10,771	Issaquena	10,004	6,887	7,831

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Itawamba	10,663	7,812	17,695
Jackson	7,607	4,362	4,122
Jasper	12,126	10,884	11,007
Jefferson	17,314	13,848	15,349
Jones	3,828	3,313	3,323
Kemper	15,719	12,920	11,682
La Fayette	21,671	18,802	16,125
Lauderdale	21,501	13,462	13,313
Lawrence	9,420	6,720	9,213
Leake	13,146	8,496	9,324
Lee	20,470	15,955	.....
Le Flore	10,246	.....	.....
Lincoln	13,547	10,184	.....
Lowndes	28,244	30,502	23,625
Madison	25,866	20,948	23,382
Marion	6,901	4,211	4,686
Marshall	29,330	29,416	28,823
Monroe	28,553	22,631	21,283
Montgomery	13,348	.....	.....
Neshoba	8,741	7,439	8,343
Newton	13,436	10,067	9,661
Noxubee	29,874	20,905	20,667
Oktibbeha	15,978	14,891	12,977
Panola	28,352	20,754	13,794
Perry	3,427	2,694	2,606
Pike	16,688	11,303	11,135
Pontotoc	13,858	12,525	22,113
Prentiss	12,158	9,348	.....
Quitman	1,407	.....	.....
Rankin	16,752	12,977	13,635
Scott	10,845	7,847	8,139
Sharkey	6,306	.....	.....
Simpson	8,008	5,718	6,080
Smith	8,088	7,126	7,638
Sumner	9,534	.....	.....
Sunflower	4,661	5,015	5,019
Tallahatchie	10,926	7,852	7,890
Tate	18,721	.....	.....
Tippah	12,867	20,727	22,550
Tishomingo	8,774	7,350	24,149
Tunica	8,461	5,358	4,366
Union	10,030	.....	.....
Warren	31,238	26,769	20,696
Washington	25,367	14,569	15,679
Wayne	8,741	4,206	3,691
Wilkinson	17,815	12,705	15,933
Winston	10,087	8,984	9,811
Yalobusha	15,649	13,25	16,952
Yazoo	33,845	17,2	22,373

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 3; instructors, 25; students, 724.

Public schools, 5,166; value of school property, $553,610; teachers, 5,473; teachers' salaries (1881), $644,352; receipts for school purposes, $742,765; expended for same (1881), $757,758; school age, 5–21 years; school population (1881), 444,131; pupils enrolled (1881), 237,288; average attendance (1881), 136,315; average length of school session in 1881, 75.5 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 315,612, being 41.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 52,910; foreign white, 538; colored, Chinese and Indians, 319,753; total, 373,201, being 49.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 5; others, 118; total, 123. Circulation, 87,904.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 339,938; in professional and personal service, 49,448; in trade and transportation, 12,975; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 13,145.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 101,772; total acres in farms, 15,855,462; improved acres, 5,216,937; average size of farms, 156 acres; value of farms and buildings, $92,844,915; value of implements, $4,885,636; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $63,701,844.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	348 bush.	Potatoes, Irish	303,821 bush.
Butter	7,454,657 lbs.	" sweet	3,610,660 "
Cheese	4,239 "	Rice	1,718,951 lbs.
Cotton	963,111 bales.	Rye	5,134 bush.
Hay	8,894 tons.	Sug. & mol., 18 hhds.	536,625 galls.
Indian Corn	21,340,800 bush.	Tobacco	414,663 lbs.
Milk	427,492 galls.	Wheat	218,890 bush.
Oats	1,959,620 bush.	Wool	734,643 lbs.
Orchard products	$378,145		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	112,309	Other cattle	387,452
Mules and asses	129,778	Sheep	287,694
Working oxen	61,705	Swine	1,151,818
Milch cows	268,178		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $24,285,717

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 1,479; capital invested, $4,727,600; hands employed, 5,827; wages paid, $1,192,645; value of material, $4,667,183; value of products, $7,518,302.

The principal manufactures are:

Cotton goods	$691,415	Oil and oil cake	$560,363
Flour and mill products	1,762,523	Woollen goods	299,605
Lumber, sawed	1,920,335		

Total steam and water power in use, 18,450 horse-power.

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 491 miles of line; miles operated, 413; cost, $17,670,929; total investment, $17,674,544. Steam craft, 40; tonnage, 3,657; value, $204,450. Sail craft, 119; tonnage, 2,970; value, $74,225. Barges and flats, 42; value, $8,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $87,596,173; of personal property, $39,158,754. State taxation (1883), rate 22 cents on $100, $348,869; county taxation, $1,595,444; city and town, $235,661. State debt (1882), net funded, $867,722; county, city and town debt, $1,633,705.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Jackson. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $4,000. The other State officers, all elected for four years, except Commissioner of Lands and Librarian, whose term is two years, are, Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $800; Secretary of State, $2,500; Treasurer, $2,500; Auditor,

$2,500; Attorney-General, $2,500; Superintendent Public Education, $2,000; Commissioner Agriculture, $1,000; Commissioner Lands, $1,000; Adjutant-General, $500; State Librarian, $800.

The Legislature is composed of 37 Senators and 120 Representatives. Senators elected for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $400 a year. Legislature meets biennially on Tuesday after first Monday in January. No limit to length of session.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections are held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two associates, appointed by the Governor and Senate for a term of nine years. Salary of each, $3,500.

Representatives in Congress, 7; Presidential electors, 9.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President	47,191	81,916	34,725 R.
1873 Governor	52,904	74,307	21,403 R.
1876 President	109,173	51,605	57,568 D.
1877 Governor	96,454	1,168	95,286 D.
1880 President	75,750	34,854	40,896 D.
1881 Governor	76,365	51,364	25,001 D.

MISSOURI.

NAME.—So called from the river, which means, in Indian, "muddy water."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, June 4, 1812; act of admission, March 2, 1821; actual admission, Aug. 10, 1821.

AREA.—Square miles, 68,735; acres, 43,990,400; persons to square mile, 31.55.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1810	20,845	...	1850	682,044	77.7
1820	66,557	219.2	1860	1,182,012	73.3
1830	140,455	111.0	1870	1,721,295	45.6
1840	383,702	173.1	1880	2,168,380	25.9

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	1,127,187	Native	1,956,802	White	2,022,826
Female	1,041,193	Foreign	211,578	Black	145,350
Dwellings	369,180	Persons to a dwelling			5.87
Families	403,186	" " family			5.38
Voters—Males over 21	541,207	Natural militia, 18–44			459,209

Chinese	91				
Indians	113				

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adair	15,190	11,448	8,531	Iron	8,183	6,278	5,842
Andrew	16,318	15,137	11,850	Jackson	82,325	55,041	22,913
Atchison	14,556	8,440	4,649	Jasper	32,019	14,928	6,883
Audrain	19,732	12,307	8,075	Jefferson	18,736	15,380	10,344
Barry	14,405	10,373	7,995	Johnson	28,172	24,648	14,644
Barton	10,332	5,087	1,817	Knox	13,047	10,974	8,727
Bates	25,381	15,960	7,215	Laclede	11,524	9,380	5,182
Benton	12,396	11,322	9,072	La Fayette	25,710	22,623	20,098
Bollinger	11,130	8,162	7,371	Lawrence	17,583	13,067	8,846
Boone	25,422	20,765	19,486	Lewis	15,925	15,114	12,286
Buchanan	49,792	35,109	23,861	Lincoln	17,426	15,960	14,210
Butler	6,011	4,298	2,891	Linn	20,016	15,900	9,112
Caldwell	13,646	11,390	5,034	Livingston	20,196	16,730	7,417
Callaway	23,670	19,202	17,449	McDonald	7,816	5,226	4,038
Camden	7,266	6,108	4,975	Macon	26,222	23,230	14,346
Cape Girardeau	20,998	17,558	15,547	Madison	8,876	5,849	5,664
Carroll	23,274	17,446	9,763	Maries	7,304	5,916	4,901
Carter	2,168	1,455	1,235	Marion	24,837	23,780	18,838
Cass	22,431	19,296	9,794	Mercer	14,673	11,557	9,300
Cedar	10,741	9,474	6,637	Miller	9,805	6,616	6,812
Chariton	25,224	19,136	12,562	Mississippi	9,270	4,982	4,859
Christian	9,628	6,707	5,491	Moniteau	14,346	11,375	10,124
Clark	15,031	13,667	11,684	Monroe	19,071	17,149	14,785
Clay	15,572	15,564	13,023	Montgomery	16,249	10,405	9,718
Clinton	16,073	14,063	7,848	Morgan	10,132	8,434	8,202
Cole	15,515	10,292	9,697	New Madrid	7,694	6,357	5,654
Cooper	21,596	20,692	17,356	Newton	18,947	12,821	9,319
Crawford	10,756	7,982	5,823	Nodaway	29,544	14,751	5,252
Dade	12,557	8,683	7,072	Oregon	5,791	3,287	3,009
Dallas	9,263	8,383	5,892	Osage	11,824	10,793	7,879
Daviess	19,145	14,410	9,606	Ozark	5,618	3,363	2,447
De Kalb	13,334	9,858	5,224	Pemiscot	4,299	2,059	2,962
Dent	10,646	6,357	5,654	Perry	11,895	9,877	9,128
Dodge	.....	.....	.....	Pettis	27,271	18,706	9,392
Douglas	7,753	3,915	2,414	Phelps	12,568	10,506	5,714
Dunklin	9,604	5,982	5,026	Pike	26,715	23,076	18,417
Franklin	26,534	30,098	18,085	Platte	17,366	17,352	18,350
Gasconade	11,153	10,093	8,727	Polk	15,734	12,445	9,995
Gentry	17,176	11,607	11,980	Pulaski	7,250	4,714	3,835
Greene	28,801	21,549	13,186	Putnam	13,555	11,217	9,207
Grundy	15,185	10,567	7,887	Ralls	11,838	10,510	8,592
Harrison	20,304	14,635	10,626	Randolph	22,751	15,908	11,407
Henry	23,906	17,401	9,866	Ray	20,190	18,700	14,092
Hickory	7,387	6,452	4,705	Reynolds	5,722	3,756	3,173
Holt	15,509	11,652	6,550	Ripley	5,377	3,175	3,747
Howard	18,428	17,233	15,946	Saint Charles	23,065	21,304	16,523
Howell	8,814	4,218	3,169	Saint Clair	14,125	6,742	6,812

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Saint Francois	13,822	9,742	7,249
Saint Genevieve	10,390	8,384	8,029
Saint Louis	31,888	351,189	190,524
Saint Louis City	350,518	.....	.....
Saline	29,911	21,672	14,699
Schuyler	10,470	8,820	6,697
Scotland	12,508	10,670	8,873
Scott	8,587	7,317	5,247
Shannon	3,441	2,339	2,284
Shelby	14,024	10,119	7,301
Stoddard	13,431	8,535	7,877
Stone	4,404	3,253	2,400
Sullivan	16,569	11,907	9,198
Taney	5,599	4,407	3,576
Texas	12,206	9,618	6,667
Van Buren	.....	.....	.....
Vernon	19,369	11,249	4,850
Warren	10,806	9,673	8,839
Washington	12,896	11,719	9,723
Wayne	9,096	6,068	5,629
Webster	12,175	10,434	7,099
Worth	8,203	5,004	.....
Wright	9,712	5,684	4,508

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 17; instructors, 233; students, 3,239.

Public schools, 10,329; value of school property, $7,810,924; teachers, 10,802; teachers' salaries (1882), $2,226,610; receipts for school purposes, $3,930,003; expended for same (1882), $3,753,224; school age, 6–20 years; school population (1882), 741,622; pupils enrolled (1882), 488,091; average attendance (1880), 260,540; average length of school session in 1882, 87 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 138,818, being 8.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 137,949; foreign white, 14,561; colored, Chinese and Indians, 56,244; total, 208,754, being 13.4 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 43; others, 488; total, 531. Circulation, 1,031,360.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 355,297; in professional and personal service, 148,588; in trade and transportation, 79,300; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 109,774.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 215,575; total acres in farms, 27,879,276; improved acres, 16,745,031; average size of farms, 129 acres; value of farms and buildings, $375,633,307; value of implements, $18,103,074; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $95,912,660.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	123,031 bush.	Butter	28,572,124 lbs.
Buckwheat	57,640 "	Cheese	283,484 "

Principal Products—Continued.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Cotton	20,318 bales.	Potatoes, Irish	4,189,694 bush.
Hay	1,077,458 tons.	" sweet	431,484 "
Indian Corn	202,414,413 bush.	Rye	535,426 "
Milk	3,173,017 galls.	Tobacco	12,015,657 lbs.
Oats	20,670,958 bush.	Wheat	24,966,627 bush.
Orchard products	$1,812,873	Wool	7,313,924 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	667,776	Other cattle	1,410,507
Mules and asses	192,027	Sheep	1,411,298
Working oxen	9,020	Swine	4,553,123
Milch cows	661,405		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $95,785,282

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 8,592; capital invested, $72,507,844; hands employed, 63,995; wages paid, $24,309,716; value of material, $110,798,392; value of products, $165,386,205.

The principal manufactures are

Agricultural implements	$1,141,822	Furniture	$2,380,563
Bags of flax and hemp	1,730,000	Iron and steel	4,660,530
Boots and shoes	1,982,993	Liquors, malt and distilled	5,575,607
Bakery products	3,250,192	Lumber, sawed and planed	6,533,253
Brick and tile	1,602,522	Paints	2,825,860
Carriages and wagons	2,483,738	Printing and publishing	4,452,962
Cars	1,931,609	Saddlery and harness	3,976,175
Clothing, men's	3,822,477	Slaughtering and packing	14,628,630
Flour and mill products	32,438,831	Sugar and molasses, refined	4,475,740
Machinery	6,798,832	Tobacco and cigars	6,810,719

Total steam and water power in use, 80,749 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	$543,990 tons.	$1,037,100
Iron ore	386,197 "	1,674,875
Lead ore	28,315 "	1,478,571
Zinc ore	34,344 "	599,373
Copper ingots	230,717 lbs.	25,730
Minor minerals		13,196
Total value of mineral products		$4,828,845

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 6,029 miles of line; miles operated, 4,922; cost, $293,442,271; total investment, $349,823,650. Steam craft, 167; tonnage, 60,873; value, $2,098,000. Barges and flats, 277; tonnage, 183,988; value, $1,049,800.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $478,454,266; personal property, $170,813,976. State taxation (1883), rate 40 cents on $100, $2,839,523; county taxation, $2,885,503; city, town and district, $5,258,955. State debt, 1883, all funded, $13,979,000; county, city and town indebtedness, $40,748,384.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Jefferson City. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $5,000. The other State officers—all for four years, except Railroad Commissioners, for six years—are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary $5 per day; Secretary of State, $3,000; Treasurer, $3,000; Auditor, $3,000; Attorney-General, $3,000; Adjutant-General (Governor's will), $2,000; Superintendent of Public Schools, $3,000; Land Register, $3,000; 3 Railroad Commissioners, $3,000; Superintendent of Insurance, $4,000; State Librarian, $4,000.

The Legislature is composed of 34 Senators and 141 Representatives. Senators elected for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of each, $5 a day, $30 extra and mileage. Legislature meets biennially on Wednesday after January 1st. Sessions limited to 70 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and four associates, elected by the people for ten years, one being elected every two years. Salary of each, $4,500.

Representatives in Congress, 14; Presidential electors, 16.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President	151,433	119,196	.....	32,237 D.
1874 Governor	149,556	112,104	.....	37,452 D.
1876 "	199,580	147,694	.....	51,886 D.
1876 President	203,077	145,029	.....	58,048 D.
1880 "	208,609	153,567	35,045	55,042 D.
1880 Governor	207,670	153,636	36,338	54,034 D.
1882 Judge Supreme Court.	193,620	128,239	33,407	65,381 D.

MONTANA TERRITORY.

NAME.—A name descriptive of its topography—the mountainous Territory.

ORGANIZATION.—Erected into a Territory, May 26, 1864.

AREA.—Square miles, 145,310; acres, 92,998,400; persons to a square mile, 0.27.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.
1870	20,595	
1880	39,159	90.1

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	28,177	Native	27,638	White	35,385
Female	10,982	Foreign	11,521	Black	346
Dwellings	9,205			Persons to a dwelling	4.25
Families	9,931			" " family	3.94
Voters—Males over 21	21,544			Natural militia, 18–44	18,147

Chinese	1,765		
Indians	1,663		

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Beaver Head	2,712	722	.....
Choteau	3,058	517	.....
Custer	2,510	38	.....
Dawson	180	177	.....
Deer Lodge	8,876	4,367	.....
Gallatin	3,643	1,578	.....
Jefferson	2,464	1,531	.....
Lewis and Clarke	6,521	5,040	.....
Madison	3,915	2,684	.....
Meagher	2,743	1,387	.....
Missoula	2,537	2,554	.....

EDUCATION.—Public schools, 159; value of school property, $132,507; teachers, 167; teachers' salaries, $53,785; receipts for school purposes, $76,302; expended for same, $68,002; school age, 4–21 years; school population (1882), 10,482; pupils enrolled (1882), 6,054; average attendance (1882), 3,558; average length of school year in 1882, 125 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 1,530, being 4.8 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 272; foreign white, 359; colored, Chinese and Indians, 1,076; total, 1,707, being 5.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 4; others, 14; total, 18. Circulation, 21,227.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 4,513; in professional and personal services, 6,954; in trade and transportation, 2,766; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 8,022.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 1,519; total acres in

farms, 405,683; improved acres, 262,611; average size of farms, 267 acres; value of farms and buildings, $3,234,504; value of implements, $401,185; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $2,024,923.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	39,970 bush.	Oats	900,915 bush.
Buckwheat	437 "	Orchard products	$1,530
Butter	403,738 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	228,702 bush.
Cheese	55,570 "	Rye	430 "
Hay	63,947 tons.	Wheat	469,688 "
Indian Corn	5,649 bush.	Wool	995,484 lbs.
Milk	41,165 galls.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	35,114	Other cattle	160,143
Mules and asses	858	Sheep	184,277
Working oxen	936	Swine	10,278
Milch cows	11,308		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $5,151,554

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 196; capital invested, $899,390; hands employed, 578; wages paid, $318,759; value of material, $1,006,442; value of products, $1,835,867.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products ..... $475,467 | Lumber, sawed $527,695

Total steam and water power in use, 1,498 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$1,805,767
Silver		2,905,068
Coal, bituminous	224 tons	800
Copper ingots*	1,212,500 lbs.	.....
Total mineral products		$4,711,635

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed valuation of real estate (1882), $8,639,736; of personal property, $24,582,583. Territorial taxation (1883), rate 10 cents on $100, $90,272; county, $317,337; city and town, $10,781. Territorial debt (1884), $45,000; county and town debt, $695,248.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Helena. Governor appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary, $2,600. The

* The copper ingots of the precious mineral areas have their values credited to the sections in which they are refined.

other Territorial officers are a Secretary, term four years, salary, $1,800; a Treasurer and Auditor, term two years each, salary of each, $1,500.

The Legislature is composed of 12 Senators and 24 Representatives, all chosen for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $4 a day and 20 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on second Monday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

Territorial elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two associates, appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representative in Congress, 1 Delegate.

POLITICS.—Vote for Delegate:

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1880	7,799	6,371	1,428 D.
1882	12,398	10,914	1,484 D.

NEBRASKA.

NAME.—So called from the Nebraska River. The word is Indian, meaning "water valley," or "shallow river."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, May 30, 1854; act of admission, February 9, 1867; actual admission, March 1, 1867.

AREA.—Square miles, 76,185; acres, 48,758,400; persons to a square mile, 5.94.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.
1860	28,841	
1870	122,993	326.4
1880	452,402	267.8

1880 *by Classes.*

Male.....249,241	Native.....	354,988	White....449,764	Chinese....	18
Female. .203,161	Foreign....	97,414	Black 2,385	Indians....235	
Dwellings.....		85,848	Persons to a dwelling.....5.27		
Families.....		89,135	" " family.....5.08		
Voters—Males over 21.....		129,042	Natural militia, 18–44.....112,884		

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adams	10,235	19	.....
Antelope	3,953	.....	.....
Blackbird	109	31	.....
Boone	4,170	.....	.....
Buffalo	7,531	193	114
Burt	6,937	2,847	388
Butler	9,194	1,290	27
Calhoun	.....	.....	41
Cass	16,683	8,151	3,369
Cedar	2,899	1,032	246
Chase	70	.....	.....
Cheyenne	1,558	190	.....
Clay	11,204	54	165
Colfax	6,588	1,424	.....
Cuming	5,569	2,964	67
Custer	2,211	.....	.....
Dakota	3,213	2,040	819
Dawson	2,909	103	16
Dixon	4,177	1,345	247
Dodge	11,263	4,212	309
Douglass	37,645	19,982	4,328
Dundy	37	.....	.....
Fillimore	10,204	238	.....
Fort Randall	.....	.....	353
Franklin	5,465	26	.....
Frontier	934	.....	.....
Furnas	6,407	.....	.....
Gage	13,164	3.359	421
Gosper	1,673	.....	.....
Grant	.....	484	.....
Greeley	1,461	.....	.....
Green	.....	.....	16
Hall	8,572	1,057	116
Hamilton	8,267	130	.....
Harlan	6,086	.....	.....
Harrison	.....	631	.....
Hayes	119	.....	.....
Hitchcock	1,012	.....	.....
Holt	3,287	.....	.....
Howard	4,391	.....	.....
Jackson	.....	9	.....

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Jefferson	8,096	2,440	.....
Johnson	7,595	3,429	528
Jones	.....	.....	122
Kearney	4,072	58	474
Keith	194	.....	.....
Knox	3,666	261	152
Lancaster	28,090	7,074	153
Lincoln	3,632	17	.....
Lyon	.....	78	.....
Madison	5,589	1,133	.....
Merrick	5,341	557	109
Monroe	.....	235	.....
Nance	1,212	44	.....
Nemaha	10,451	7,593	3,139
Nuckolls	4,235	8	22
Otoe	15,727	12,345	4,211
Pawnee	6,920	4,171	882
Phelps	2,447	.....	.....
Pierce	1,202	152	.....
Platte	9,511	1,899	782
Polk	6,846	136	19
Red Willow	3,044	.....	.....
Richardson	15,031	9,780	2,835
Saline	14,491	3,106	39
Sarpy	4,481	2,913	1,201
Saunders	15,810	4,547	.....
Seward	11,147	2,953	.....
Sherman	2,061	.....	.....
Shorter	.....	.....	117
Sioux	699	.....	.....
Stanton	1,813	636	.....
Taylor	.....	97	.....
Thayer	6,113	.....	.....
Valley	2,324	.....	.....
Washington	8,631	4,452	1,249
Wayne	813	182	.....
Webster	7,104	16	.....
Wheeler	644	.....	.....
York	11,170	604	.....
Unorganized Ter'y..	2,913	235	1,765

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 5; instructors, 49; students, 538. Public schools, 3,286; value of school property, $2,061,059; teachers, 3,418; teachers' salaries (1882), $702,127; receipts for school purposes, $1,252,898; expended for same (1882), $1,358,-346; school age, 5–21 years; school population (1882), 165,-511; pupils enrolled, 115,546; average attendance (1882), 66,027; average length of school year in 1882, 111 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 7,830, being 2.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 5,102; foreign white,

5,824; colored, Chinese and Indians, 602; total, 11,528, being 3.6 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 15; others, 174; total, 189. Circulation, 160,158.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 90,507; in professional and personal services, 28,746; in trade and transportation, 15,106; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 18,255.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 63,387; total acres in farms, 9,944,826; improved acres, 5,504,702; average size in farms, 157 acres; value of farms and buildings, $105,932,541; value of implements, $7,820,917; total value of farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $31,708,914.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	1,744,686 bush.	Orchard products	$72,244
Buckwheat	17,562 "	Potatoes, Irish	2,150,896 bush.
Butter	9,725,198 lbs.	" sweet	13,628 "
Cheese	230,819 "	Rye	424,348 "
Hay	785,433 tons.	Tobacco	57,979 lbs.
Indian Corn	65,450,135 bush.	Wheat	13,847,007 bush.
Milk	625,783 galls.	Wool	1,282,656 lbs.
Oats	6,555,875 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	204,864	Other cattle	590,129
Mules and asses	19,999	Sheep	199,453
Working oxen	7,234	Swine	1,241,724
Milch cows	161,187		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $33,440,265

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 1,403; capital invested, $4,881,150; hands employed, 4,793; wages paid, $1,742,311; value of materials, $8,208,478; value of products, $12,627,336.

The principal manufactures are:

Brick and tile	$349,478	Printing and publishing	$419,461
Flour mill products	4,193,086	Saddlery and harness	477,364
Lumber sawed	265,062	Slaughtering and packing	1,359,397
Paints	350,000	Liquors, malt	393,870

Total steam and water power in use, 8,494 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	200 tons.	$750

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 2,408 miles of line; miles operated, 2,102; cost, $166,962,120; total investment, $202,539,049. Steam craft, 14; tonnage, 1,193; value, $64,300.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1882), $61,700,259; of personal property, $48,843,385. State taxation for two years (1881–82), rate 74 cents on $100, $982,-012; county taxation, $1,522,229; city, town and district, $914,-786; State debt (1883), all funded, $375,582; county, city and town debt, $7,050,175.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Lincoln. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $2,500. The other State officers—selected for two years, except Secretary Board Agriculture one year, and Librarian four years—are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $6 a day; Secretary of State, $2,000; Treasurer, $2,500; Auditor, $2,500; Attorney-General, $2,000; Superintendent Public Instruction, $2,000; Adjutant-General, $500; Secretary Board Agriculture, $1,000; Commissioner Public Lands, $2,000; Librarian, $1,500.

The Legislature is composed of 33 Senators and 100 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $3 a day and 10 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Tuesday in January. Session limited to 40 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, elected by the people for six years. Salary of each Judge, $2,500.

Representatives in Congress, 3; Presidential electors, 5.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Tem.	Maj.
1872 President.....	18,245	7,705	.....	.....	10,540 R.
1874 Governor.....	20,874	8,471	3,987	1,257	7,159 R.
1876 President.....	31,916	17,554	2,336	4,964	14,362 R.
1876 Governor.....	31,947	17,219	3,022	30	14,728 R.
1878 "	29,469	13,473	9,475	.....	15,996 R.
1880 President.....	54,979	28,523	3,950	.....	26,456 R.
1880 Governor.....	55,237	28,167	3,898	.....	27,027 R.
1882 "	43,495	28,562	16,991	.....	14,933 R.

NEVADA.

NAME.—From the Sierra Nevada Mountains, which in turn duplicate the Sierra Nevadas of Spain. Nevada, or *nevado*, means, in Spanish, "white with snow." Popular name, "The Silver State."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory March 2, 1861. Act of admission dated March 21, 1864; actual admission, Oct. 31, 1864.

AREA.—Square miles, 109,740; acres, 70,233,600; persons to a square mile, 0.57.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1860	6,857	
1870	42,491	519.6
1880	62,266	46.5

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	42,019	Native	36,613	White	53,556
Female	20,247	Foreign	25,653	Black	488
Dwellings	14,557			Persons to a dwelling	4.28
Families	15,158			" " family	4.11
Voters—Males over 21	31,255			Natural militia, 18–44	25,967

Chinese	5,419						
Indians	2,803						

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Carson	.....	.....	6,712	Lyon	2,409	1,837	.....
Churchill	479	196	.....	Nye	1,875	1,087	.....
Douglas	1,581	1,215	.....	Ormsby	5,412	3,668	.....
Elko	5,716	3,447	.....	Roop	286	133	.....
Esmeralda	3,220	1,553	.....	Saint Mary's	.....	.....	105
Eureka	7,086	.....	.....	Storey	16,115	11,359	.....
Humboldt	3,480	1,916	40	Washoe	5,664	3,091	.....
Lander	3,624	2,815	.....	White Pine	2,682	7,189	.....
Lincoln	2,637	2,985	.....				

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 1; instructors, 1; students, 40.

Public schools, 185; value of school property, $282,870; teachers, 195; teachers' salaries, $131,019; receipts for school purposes, $275,967; expended for same, $212,164; school age,

6–18 years; school population (1882) 10,483; pupils enrolled (1882), 8,158; average attendance (1882), 5,286; average length of school year in 1882, 146 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 3,703, being 7.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 240; foreign white, 1,675; colored, Chinese and Indians, 2,154; total, 4,069, being 8 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 14; others, 23; total, 37. Circulation, 28,395.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 4,180; in professional and personal services, 10,373; in trade and transportation, 4,449; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 13,231.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 1,404; total acres in farms, 530,862; improved acres, 344,423; average size of farms, 378 acres; value of farms and buildings, $5,408,325; value of implements, $378,788; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $2,855,449.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	513,470 bush.	Oats	186,860 bush.
Butter	335,188 lbs.	Orchard products	$3,619
Cheese	17,420 "	Potatoes, Irish	302,143 bush.
Hay	95,853 tons.	Tobacco	1,500 lbs.
Indian Corn	12,891 bush.	Wheat	69,298 bush.
Milk	149,889 galls.	Wool	655,012 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	32,087	Other cattle	158,137
Mules and asses	1,258	Sheep	133,695
Working oxen	765	Swine	9,080
Milch cows	13,319		

Value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $3,399,749

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 184; capital invested, $1,323,300; hands employed, 577; wages paid, $461,807; value of material, $1,049,794; value of products, $2,179,626.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products.....$405,089 | Foundry and machine-shop....$320,955

Total steam and water power in use, 716 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

	Value.
Gold	$4,888,242
Silver	12,430,667
Copper ingots ..... 734,730 lbs.	
Total value of precious minerals	$17,318,909

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 509 miles of line; miles operated, 447; cost, $22,788,998; total investment, $25,714,003.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $19,152,542; of personal property, $8,216,714. State taxation (1883), 90 cents on $100, $246,324; county taxation, $619,169; city and town, $91,403. State debt (1883), all funded, $555,000; county, city and town debt, $1,024,523.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Carson City. Governor chosen for four years. Salary, $5,000. The other State officers, all chosen for four years, are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $3,000; Secretary of State, $3,000; Treasurer, $3,000; Comptroller, $3,000; Attorney-General, $3,000; Superintendent Public Instruction, $2,400; Surveyor-General, $3,000. The Lieutenant-Governor acts as Adjutant-General and Librarian.

The Legislature is composed of 20 Senators and 40 Representatives. Senators are elected for four years, Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $8 per day and 40 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Monday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two associates, chosen by the people for a term of six years. Salary of each Judge, $6,000.

Representative in Congress, 1; Presidential electors, 3.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President.....	6,236	8,413	2,177 R.
1874 Governor.....	10,339	7,755	2,584 D.
1876 President.....	9,308	10,383	1,075 R.
1878 Governor.....	9,151	9,678	527 R.
1880 President.....	9,611	8,732	879 D.
1882 Governor.....	7,770	6,535	1,235 D.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

NAME.—Named by Mason, grantee of the Plymouth Company, New Hampshire, after Hampshire county, England. Popular name, "The Granite State."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, June 21, 1788.

AREA.—Square miles, 9,005; acres, 5,763,200; persons to a square mile, 38.53.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per. cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790.....	141,885		1840.....	284,574	5.6
1800.....	183,858	29.5	1850.....	317,976	11.7
1810.....	214,460	16.6	1860.....	326,073	2.5
1820.....	244,022	13.7	1870.....	318,300	2.3 dec.
1830.....	269,328	10.3	1880.....	346,991	9.0

1880 *by Classes.*

Male....170,526	Native....	300,697	White.... 346,229	Chinese....	14
Female..176,465	Foreign...	46,294	Black.... 685	Indians....	63
Dwellings.....		68,381	Persons to a dwelling.....		5.07
Families.....		80,286	" " family.....		4.32
Voters—Males over 21.....		105,138	Natural militia, 18–44.....		70,410

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Belknap	17,948	17,681	18,549	Hillsborough	75,634	64,238	62,140
Carroll	18,224	17,332	20,465	Merrimack	46,300	42,151	41,408
Cheshire	28,734	27,265	27,434	Rockingham	49,064	47,297	50,122
Coos	18,580	14,932	13,161	Strafford	35,558	30,243	31,493
Grafton	38,788	39,103	42,260	Sullivan	18,161	18,058	19,041

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 1; instructors, 18; students, 235. Public schools, 2,552; value of school property, $2,328,796; teachers, 2,620; teachers' salaries (1882), 417,016; receipts for school purposes, $559,133; expended for same (1882), $578,702; school age, 5–15 years; school population (1882), 60,899; pupils

enrolled (1882), 64,349; average attendance (1882), 43,996; average length of school year in 1882, 96.27 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 11,982, being 4.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 2,710; foreign white, 11,498; colored, Chinese and Indians, 94; total, 14,302, being 5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 10; others, 79; total, 89. Circulation, 197,268.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 44,490; in professional and personal service, 28,206; in trade and transportation, 11,735; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 58,037.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 32,181; total acres in farms, 3,721,173; improved acres, 2,308,112; average size of farms, 116 acres; value of farms and buildings, $75,834,389; value of implements, $3,069,240; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $13,474,330.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	77,877 bush.	Oats	1,017,620 bush.
Buckwheat	94,090 "	Orchard products	$972,291
Butter	7,247,272 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	3,358,828 bush.
Cheese	807,076 "	Rye	34,638 "
Hay	583,069 tons.	Tobacco	170,843 lbs.
Hops	23,955 lbs.	Wheat	169,316 bush.
Indian Corn	1,350,248 bush.	Wool	1,060,589 lbs.
Milk	5,739,128 galls.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	46,773	Other cattle	112,689
Mules and asses	87	Sheep	211,825
Working oxen	29,152	Swine	53,437
Milch cows	90,564		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $9,812,064

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 3,181; capital invested, $51,112,263; hands employed, 48,831; wages paid, $14,814,793; value of material, $43,552,462; value of products, $73,978,028.

The principal products are:

Boots and shoes	$7,230,804	Dyeing and finishing	$1,568,100
Cotton goods	18,226,573	Flour and mill products	2,542,784

Machinery	$2,024,656	Mixed textiles	$2,703,281
Hosiery	2,362,779	Paper	1,731,170
Leather curried and tanned	4,477,350	Woollen goods	8,113,839
Liquors, malt	1,265,477	Worsted goods	2,694,232
Lumber, sawed	3,842,012		

Total steam and water power in use, 87,750 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$10,999
Silver		16,000
Copper ingots	34,050 lbs.	5,993
Minor minerals		112,550
Total precious minerals, $26,999. Non-precious		118,543

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 890 miles of line; miles operated, 638; cost, $25,176,984; total investment, $27,281,758. Steam craft, 25; tonnage, 2,000; value, $122,900. Sail craft, 69; tonnage, 9,482; value, $237,050.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $112,911,992; of personal property, $100,085,140. State taxation (1883), rate 19 cents on $100, $398,692; county, $483,978; city and town, $1,818,290. State debt (1883) funded, $3,306,000; unfunded, $100; county, city and town debt, $7,162,980.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Concord. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $1,000. The other State officers are: Secretary of State (two years), salary, $800; Treasurer (two years), $1,800; Attorney-General (five years), $2,200; Superintendent Public Instruction (two years), $2,000; Commissioner of Insurance (three years), fees; three Railroad Commissioners (one, two and three years), $2,500, $2,200 and $2,000; Adjutant-General (two years), $1,000; Secretary Board Agriculture (two years), $1,000; State Librarian (two years), $800.

The Legislature is composed of 24 Senators and 321 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $3 a day and mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Wednesday in June. No limit to the session.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice, salary, $2,900, and six Associate Justices, salary of each, $2,700. They are all ap-

pointed by the Governor and Council until such time as they shall reach seventy years of age.

Representatives in Congress, 2; Presidential Electors, 4.

POLITICS for twelve years:

		Rep.	Dem.	Tem.	Maj.
1872	President.....	37,168	31,425	200	5,743 R.
1875	Governor.....	39,293	39,121	792	172 R.
1876	President.....	41,539	38,509	82	3,030 R.
1877	Governor.....	40,755	36,721	338	4,034 R.
1878	"	38,175	31,135	6,507	7,040 R.
1880	President.....	44,855	40,798	708	4,057 R.
1880	Governor.....	44,435	40,866	892	3,569 R.
1882	"	38,399	36,879	.....	1,520 R.

NEW JERSEY.

NAME.—So called in honor of Sir George Carteret, one of its original proprietors, an inhabitant of the Island of Jersey, in the British Channel, who bravely defended the island against the Long Parliament during the civil war.

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, Dec. 18, 1787.

AREA.—Square miles, 7,455; acres, 4,771,200; persons to a square mile, 151.73.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790.....	184,139	...	1840.....	373,306	16.3
1800.....	211,149	14.6	1850.....	489,555	31.1
1810.....	245,562	16.2	1860.....	672,035	37.2
1820..... ...	277,426	12.9	1870.....	906,096	34.8
1830.....	320,823	15.6	1880.....1,131,116		24.8

1880 *by Classes.*

Male....559,922	Native.....	909,416	White....1,092,017	Chinese....	172
Female..571,194	Foreign.....	221,700	Black.... 38,853	Indians....	74
Dwellings.....		190,403	Persons to a dwelling.....		5.94
Families.....		232,309	" " family.....		4.87
Voters—Males over 21.....		300,635	Natural militia, 18–44.....		230,054

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Atlantic	18,704	14,093	11,786	Middlesex	52,286	45,029	34,812
Bergen	36,786	30,122	21,618	Monmouth	55,538	46,195	39,346
Burlington	55,402	53,639	49,730	Morris	50,861	43,137	34,677
Camden	62,942	46,193	34,457	Ocean	14,455	13,628	11,176
Cape May	9,765	8,349	7,130	Passaic	68,860	46,416	29,013
Cumberland	37,687	34,665	22,605	Salem	24,579	23,940	22,458
Essex	189,929	143,839	98,877	Somerset	27,162	23,510	22,057
Gloucester	25,886	21,562	18,444	Sussex	23,539	23,168	23,846
Hudson	187,944	129,067	62,717	Union	55,571	41,859	27,780
Hunterdon	38,570	36,963	33,654	Warren	36,589	34,336	28,433
Mercer	58,061	46,386	37,419				

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 4; instructors, 75; students, 727. Public schools, 3,241; value of school property, $6,298,500; teachers, 3,422; teachers' salaries (1882), $1,776,052; receipts for school purposes, $1,881,103; expended for same (1882), $2,142,385; school age, 5–18 years; school population (1882), 343,897; pupils enrolled, 209,526; average attendance (1882), 113,532; average length of school year in 1882, 192 days.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 39,136, being 4.5 per cent. of all those over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 20,093; foreign white, 23,956; colored, Chinese and Indians, 9,200; total, 53,249, being 6.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 27; others, 190; total, 217. Circulation, 256,040.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 59,214; in professional and personal service, 110,722; in trade and transportation, 66,382; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 160,561.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 34,307; total acres in farms, 2,929,773; improved acres, 2,096,297; average size of farms, 85 acres; value of farms and buildings, $190,895,833; value of implements, $6,921,085; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $29,650,756.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	4,091 bush.	Orchard products	$860,090
Buckwheat	466,414 "	Potatoes, Irish	3,563,793 bush.
Butter	9,513,835 lbs.	" sweet	2,086,731 "
Cheese	66,518 "	Rye	949,064 "
Hay	518,990 tons.	Tobacco	172,315 lbs.
Indian Corn	11,150,705 bush.	Wheat	1,901,739 bush.
Milk	15,472,783 galls.	Wool	441,110 lbs.
Oats	3,710,573 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	86,940	Other cattle	69,786
Mules and asses	9,267	Sheep	117,020
Working oxen	2,022	Swine	219,069
Milch cows	152,078		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $14,861,412

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 7,128; capital invested, $106,226,593; hands employed, 126,038; wages paid, $46,083,045; value of material, $165,285,779; value of products, $254,380,236.

The principal products are:

Boots and shoes	$7,055,751	Hats and caps	$6,152,447
Bakery products	2,798,311	Iron and steel	10,341,896
Brick and tile	1,672,533	Jewelry	4,079,677
Carriages and wagons	1,808,593	Leather, tanned and curried	15,475,222
Celluloid goods	1,251,540	Liquors, malt	4,532,733
Clothing, men's	4,737,525	Paper	2,015,569
Cotton goods	5,039,519	Sewing machines	4,640,852
Drugs and chemicals	4,993,965	Silk and silk goods	17,122,230
Dyeing and finishing	3,365,700	Slaughtering and packing	20,719,640
Fertilizers	2,423,805	Smelting and refining	8,370,100
Flour and mill products	8,459,944	Stone and earthenware	2,598,757
Machinery	11,282,748	Sugar and molasses refined	22,841,258
Canned goods	1,417,085	Tobacco and cigars	6,572,759
Glass	2,810,170	Woollen goods	4,984,007

Total steam and water power in use, 99,858 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Iron ore	754,872 tons	$2,900,442
Zinc ore	39,381 "	451,070
Minor minerals	33,828 "	40,270
Total value of mineral products		$3,391,782

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,863 miles of line; miles operated, 1,823; cost, $197,833,199; total investment, $240,992,895. Length of canal lines, 171 miles; cost, $10,776,353. Steam craft, 175; tonnage, 43,688; value,

$2,461,150. Sail craft, 906; tonnage, 58,123; value, $1,453,050. Canal boats and barges, 621; tonnage, 62,293; value, $570,350.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1882), $452,062,356; of personal property, $125,922,571. State taxation (1882), rate 25 cents on $100, $1,200,906; county taxation, $1,938,318; city, town and district, $5,736,036. State debt (1882), all funded, $1,796,300; county, city and town debt, $48,733,427.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Trenton. Governor elected for three years. Salary, $5,000. The other State officers are: Secretary of State (five years), salary, $6,000; Treasurer (three years), $4,000; Comptroller (three years), $4,000; Attorney-General (five years), $7,000; Superintendent Public Instruction (three years), $3,000; Adjutant-General (five years), $1,200; Secretary Board Agriculture (appointed), fees; State Librarian (five years), $1,500.

The Legislature is composed of 21 Senators and 60 Representatives. Senators are elected for three years; Representatives for one year. Salary of a Legislator, $500. Legislature meets annually on second Tuesday in January. No limit to sessions.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Judiciary consists of a Chancellor chosen for seven years, salary, $10,000; and a Supreme Court composed of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices. The Judges are appointed by the Governor and Senate for the term of seven years. Salary of Chief Justice, $7,500; of Associate Justices, $7,000 each.

Representatives in Congress, 7; Presidential electors, 9.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1872 President	76,801	91,611	14,810 R.
1874 Governor	97,283	84,050	13,233 D.
1876 President	115,956	103,511	12,445 D.
1877 Governor	97,840	85,094	12,746 D.
1880 "	121,666	121,015	651 D.
1880 President	122,565	120,555	2,010 D.
1883 Governor	103,856	97,047	6,809 D.

NEW MEXICO TERRITORY.

NAME.—An acquisition from Mexico. Hence the name.

ORGANIZATION.—Act of Sept. 9, 1850.

AREA.—Square miles, 122,460; acres, 78,374,400; population to a square mile, 0.98.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1850.....	61,547		1870.....	91,874	1.7 dec.
1860.....	93,516	51.9	1880.....	119,565	30.1

1880 *by Classes.*

Male....64,496	Native.....111,514	White....108,721	Chinese.... 57
Female..55,069	Foreign.... 8,051	Black.... 1,015	Indians....9,772
Dwellings..... 26,311	Persons to a dwelling..... 4.54
Families 28,255	Persons to a family..... 4.23
Voters—Males over 21..... 34,076	Natural militia, 18–44.....28,452

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Arizona.....	.....	.....	6,482	Rio Arriba.....	11,023	9,294	9,849
Bernalillo.....	17,225	7,591	8,769	San Miguel.....	20,638	16,058	13,714
Colfax.....	3,398	1,992	.....	Santa Ana.....	.....	2,599	3,572
Donna Ana.....	7,612	5,864	6,239	Santa Fe.....	10,867	9,699	8,114
Grant.....	4,539	1,143	.....	Socorro.....	7,875	6,683	5,787
Lincoln.....	2,513	1,803	.....	Taos.....	11,029	12,079	14,103
Mora.....	9,751	8,056	5,566	Valencia.....	13,095	9,093	11,321

EDUCATION.—Public schools, 162; value of school property, $13,500; teachers, 164; teachers' salaries, $28,002; receipts for school purposes, $32,171; expended for same, $28,973; school age, 7–18 years; school population, 20,255; pupils enrolled, 4,755; average attendance, 3,150.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 52,994, or 60.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 46,329; foreign white, 3,268; colored, Chinese and Indians, 7,559; total. 57,156, or 65 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 3; others, 15; total, 18. Circulation, 8,855.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 14,139; in professional and personal services, 19,042; in trade and transportation, 3,264; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 4,377.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 5,053; total acres in farms, 631,131; improved acres, 237,392; average size of farms,

125 acres; value of farms and buildings, $5,514,399; value of implements, $255,162; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand $1.897,974.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	50,053 bush.	Potatoes, Irish	21,883 bush.
Butter	44,827 lbs.	" sweet	3,217 "
Cheese	10,501 "	Rye	240 "
Hay	7,650 tons.	Tobacco	890 lbs.
Indian Corn	633,786 bush.	Wheat	706,641 bush.
Oats	156,527 "	Wool	4,019,188 lbs.
Orchard products	$26,706		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	14,547	Other cattle	137,314
Mules and asses	9,063	Sheep	2,088,831
Working oxen	16,432	Swine	7,857
Milch cows	12,955		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $5,010,800

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 144; capital invested, $463,275; hands employed, 557; wages paid, $218,-731; value of material, $871,352; value of products, $1,284,-846.

The principal manufactures are:

Grist-mill products	$529,171	All others	$755,675

Total steam and water power in use, 1,359 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

	Value.
Gold	$49,354
Silver	392,337
Copper	4,055 lbs.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed valuation of real estate and personal property (1883), $27,137,903. Territorial taxation (1882), $94,352; county taxation, $70,719. Territory has no debt; county indebtedness, $84,872.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Santa Fé. Governor appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of Senate, for four years. Salary, $2,600.

Legislature composed of 12 Senators and 24 Representatives. Term of both, two years. Legislature sits biennially, meeting on first Monday in January. Session limited to 60 days. Salary of a Legislator, $4 per day and 20 cents mileage.

Territorial elections held every two years on Tuesday after first Monday in November. Delegate and Presidential elections on same date.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two associates, appointed by the President for four years. Salary of each, $3,000.

POLITICS.—Vote for Delegate:

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1880	10,835	9,562	1,273 R.
1882	15,062	13,378	1,684 R.

NEW YORK.

NAME (originally New Netherlands).—So called in honor of the Duke of York, original English grantee, and afterwards King James II. Popular names, "Empire State" and "Excelsior State."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, July 26, 1788.

AREA.—Square miles, 47,620; acres, 30,476,800; persons to a square mile, 106.74.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	340,120		1840	2,428,921	26.5
1800	589,051	73.1	1850	3,097,394	27.5
1810	959,049	62.8	1860	3,880,735	25.2
1820	1,372,111	43.0	1870	4,382,759	12.9
1830	1,918,608	39.8	1880	5,082,871	15.9

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	2,505,322	Native	3,871,492	White	5,016,022
Female	2,577,549	Foreign	1,211,379	Black	65,104
Chinese	926				
Indians	819				
Dwellings	772,512			Persons to a dwelling	6.58
Families	1,078,905			" " family	5.46
Voters—Males over 21	1,408,751			Natural militia, 18–44	1,0 775

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Albany	154,890	133,052	113,917	Oneida	115,475	110,008	105,202
Allegany	41,810	40,814	41,881	Onondaga	117,893	104,183	90,686
Broome	49,783	44,103	35,906	Ontario	49,541	45,108	44,563
Cattaraugus	55,806	43,909	43,886	Orange	88,220	80,902	63,812
Cayuga	65,081	59,550	55,767	Orleans	30,128	27,689	28,717
Chautauqua	65,342	59,327	58,422	Oswego	77,911	77,941	75,958
Chemung	43,065	35,281	26,917	Otsego	51,397	48,967	50,157
Chenango	39,981	40,564	40,934	Putnam	15,181	15,420	14,002
Clinton	50,897	47,947	45,735	Queens	90,574	73,803	57,391
Columbia	47,928	47,044	47,172	Rensselaer	115,328	99,549	86,328
Cortland	25,825	25,173	26,294	Richmond	38,991	33,029	25,492
Delaware	42,721	42,972	42,465	Rockland	27,690	25,213	22,492
Duchess	79,184	74,041	64,941	Saint Lawrence	85,997	84,826	83,689
Erie	219,884	178,699	141,971	Saratoga	55,156	51,529	51,729
Essex	34,515	29,042	28,214	Schenectady	23,538	21,347	20,002
Franklin	32,390	30,271	30,837	Schoharie	32,910	33,340	34,469
Fulton	30,985	27,064	24,162	Schuyler	18,842	18,989	18,840
Genesee	32,806	31,606	32,189	Seneca	29,278	27,823	28,138
Greene	32,695	31,832	31,930	Steuben	77,586	67,717	66,690
Hamilton	3,923	2,960	3,024	Suffolk	53,888	46,924	43,275
Herkimer	42,669	39,929	40,561	Sullivan	32,491	34,550	32,385
Jefferson	66,103	65,415	69,825	Tioga	32,673	30,572	28,748
Kings	599,495	419,921	279,122	Tompkins	34,445	33,178	31,409
Lewis	31,416	28,699	28,580	Ulster	85,838	84,075	76,381
Livingston	39,562	38,309	39,546	Warren	25,179	22,592	21,434
Madison	44,112	43,522	43,545	Washington	47,871	49,568	45,904
Monroe	144,903	117,868	100,648	Wayne	51,700	47,710	47,762
Montgomery	38,315	34,457	30,866	Westchester	108,988	131,348	99,497
New York	1,206,299	942,292	813,669	Wyoming	30,907	29,164	31,968
Niagara	54,173	50,437	50,399	Yates	21,087	19,595	20,290

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 28; instructors, 535; students, 6,646.

Public schools, 18,615; value of school property, $31,235,401; teachers, 20,738; teachers' salaries (1882), $7,986,261; receipts for school purposes, $11,035,511; expended for same (1882), $11,422,593; school age, 5–21 years; school population (1882), 1,681,161; pupils enrolled (1882), 1,041,068; average attendance (1882), 569,471; average length of school session in 1882, 176 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 166,625, being 4.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 59,516; foreign white, 148,659; colored, Chinese and Indians, 11,425; total, 219,600, being 5.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 116; others, 1,296; total, 1,412. Circulation, 9,398,495.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 377,460; in professional and personal service, 537,897; in trade and transportation, 339,419; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 629,869.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 241,058; total acres in farms, 23,780,754; improved acres, 17,717,862; average size of farms, 99 acres; value of farms and buildings, $1,056,176,741; value of implements, $42,592,741; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $178,025,695.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	7,792,062 bush.	Oats	37,575,506 bush.
Buckwheat	4,461,200 "	Orchard products	$8,409,794
Butter	111,922,423 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	33,644,807 bush.
Cheese	8,362,590 "	" sweet	6,833 "
Hay	5,240,563 tons.	Rye	2,634,690 "
Hops	21,628,931 lbs.	Tobacco	6,481,431 lbs.
Indian Corn	25,690,156 bush.	Wheat	11,587,766 bush.
Milk	231,965,533 galls.	Wool	8,827,195 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	610,358	Other cattle	862,233
Mules and asses	5,072	Sheep	1,715,180
Working oxen	37,633	Swine	751,907
Milch cows	1,437,855		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $117,868,283

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 42,739; capital invested, $514,246,575; hands employed, 531,533; wages paid, $198,634,029; value of material, $679,612,545; value of products, $1,080,696,598.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$10,717,766	Iron and steel	$22,219,219
Blank books	5,296,691	Jewelry	5,340,806
Boots and shoes	18,979,259	Lard	14,758,718
Bakery products	19,937,953	Leather, tanned and curried	32,939,670
Carpets	8,419,254	Liquors, malt	35,392,677
Carriages and wagons	8,888,479	Lumber, sawed and planed	22,430,676
Cheese and butter	12,295,353	Malt	9,874,098
Clothing, men's	81,133,611	Marble-work	10,189,267
" women's	20,314,307	Mixed textiles	13,376,380
Confectionery	6,686,389	Musical instruments	8,084,154
Cooperage	6,765,719	Paints	9,455,900
Cordage	5,207,135	Paper	8,524,279
Cotton goods	9,723,527	Printing and publishing	27,885,376
Drugs	9,991,259	Shirts	11,014,820
Flour and mill products	49,331,984	Shipbuilding	7,985,044
Machinery	44,714,915	Silk and satin goods	10,170,140
Furniture	15,210,879	Slaughtering and packing	43,096,138
Gloves	5,718,529	Sugar and molasses refined	71,237,051
Grease and tallow	7,322,970	Tin and copper ware	9,858,768
Hats and caps	6,464,058	Tobacco and cigars	33,675,241
Hosiery	9,899,540	Woollen goods	9,874,973

Total steam and water power in use, 454,143 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Iron ore	1,239,759 tons	$3,499,132
Minor minerals		1,623,011
Total value of mineral products		$5,122,143

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 6,723 miles of line; miles operated, 6,437; cost, $670,307,286; total investment, $740,271,251. Length of canal lines, 608 miles; cost, $68,229,416. Steam craft, 1,230; tonnage, 358,445; value, $25,708,650. Sail craft, 2,984; tonnage, 623,681; value, $15,592,000. Canal boats, barges and flats, 5,944; total tonnage, $1,006,101; value, $6,963,395.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1882), $2,432,661,378; of personal property, $351,021,189. State taxation (1882), rate 32.5 cents on $100, $7,690,416; county taxation, $6,160,119; city and town, $42,352,053. State debt (1883) net, and all funded, $6,385,356; county, city and town debts, $211,186,582.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Albany. Governor elected for three years. Salary, $10,000. The other State officers are: Lieutenant-Governor, three years, salary, $5,000; Secretary of State, two years, $5,000; Treasurer, two years, $5,000; Comptroller, two years, $6,000; Attorney-General, two years, $5,000; Superintendent Public Instruction, three years, $5,000; Adjutant-General, three years, $3,000; State Librarian, three years, $2,500; State Engineer, two years, $5,000; Superintendent of Insurance, three years, $7,000.

The Legislature is composed of 32 Senators and 128 Representatives. Senators are elected for two years; Representatives for one year. Salary of a Legislator, $1,500 a year and 10 cents mileage. Legislature meets annually on first Tuesday in January. No limit to length of session.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and six Associate Justices, elected by the people for fourteen years. Salary of Chief Justice, $7,500; of Associate Justices, $7,000.

Representatives in Congress, 34; Presidential electors, 36.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Grbk.	Tem.	Maj.
1872 President ...	387,279	440,759	.....	.....	53,480 R.
1874 Governor....	416,391	366,074	.....	11,168	50,317 D.
1876 "	519,831	489,031	.....	.....	30,800 D.
1876 President....	522,043	489,225	.....	.....	32,818 D.
1878 Sup. Judge..	356,451	391,112	75,133	.....	34,661 R.
1880 President....	534,511	555,544	12,373	.....	21,033 R.
1882 Governor....	535,347	341,523	26,602	.....	193,824 D.
1883 Sec. of State..	427,491	446,088	7,066	18,205	18,597 R.

NORTH CAROLINA.

NAME.—"Fort Charles, the Carolina, so called in honor of Charles IX. of France, first gave a name to the country, a century before it was occupied by the English. The name remained, though the early colony perished." *Bancroft*, vol. i., p. 62. Popular names, "Old North State" and "Turpentine State."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, Nov. 21, 1789.

AREA.—Square miles, 48,580; acres, 31,091,200; persons to a square mile, 28.81.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790.....	393,751		1840.....	753,419	2.0
1800.....	478,103	21.4	1850.....	869,039	15.3
1810.....	555,500	16.1	1860.....	992,622	14.2
1820.....	638,829	15.0	1870.....1,071,361		7.9
1830.....	737,987	15.5	1880.....1,399,750		30.6

1880 *by Classes.*

Male.....687,908	Native...1,396,008	White.... 867,242	Chinese..... 1
Female...711,842	Foreign.. 3,742	Black.... 531,277	Indians....1,230
Dwellings.....264,305		Persons to a dwelling..... 5.30	
Families.....270,994		" " family..... 5.17	
Voters—Males over 21.....294,750		Natural militia, 18–44.....241,140	

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Alamance	14,613	11,874	11,852
Alexander	8,355	6,868	6,022
Alleghany	5,486	3,691	3,590
Anson	17,994	12,428	13,664
Ashe	14,437	9,573	7,956
Beaufort	17,474	13,011	14,766
Bertie	16,399	12,950	14,310
Bladen	16,158	12,831	11,995
Brunswick	9,389	7,754	8,406
Buncombe	21,909	15,412	12,654
Burke	12,809	9,777	9,237
Cabarrus	14,964	11,954	10,546
Caldwell	10,291	8,476	7,497
Camden	6,274	5,361	5,343
Carteret	9,784	9,010	8,186
Caswell	17,825	16,081	16,215
Catawba	14,946	10,984	10,729
Chatham	23,453	19,723	19,101
Cherokee	8,182	8,080	9,166
Chowan	7,900	6,450	6,842
Clay	3,316	2,461	.....
Cleaveland	16,571	12,696	12,348
Columbus	14,439	8,474	8,597
Craven	19,729	20,516	16,268
Cumberland	23,836	17,035	16,369
Currituck	6,476	5,131	7,415
Dare	3,243	2,778	.....
Davidson	20,333	17,414	16,601
Davie	11,096	9,620	8,494
Duplin	18,773	15,542	15,784
Edgecombe	26,181	22,970	17,376
Forsyth	18,070	13,050	12,692
Franklin	20,829	14,134	14,107
Gaston	14,254	12,602	9,307
Gates	8,897	7,724	8,443
Graham	2,335	.....	.....
Granville	31,286	24,831	23,396
Greene	10,037	8,687	7,925
Guilford	23,585	21,736	20,056
Halifax	30,300	20,408	19,442
Harnett	10,862	8,895	8,039
Haywood	10,271	7,921	5,801
Henderson	10,281	7,706	10,448
Hertford	11,843	9,273	9,504
Hyde	7,765	6,445	7,732
Iredell	22,675	16,931	15,347
Jackson	7,343	6,683	5,515
Johnston	23,461	16,897	15,656
Jones	7,491	5,002	5,730
Lenoir	15,344	10,434	10,220
Lincoln	11,061	9,573	8,195
McDowell	9,836	7,592	7,120
Macon	8,064	6,615	6,004
Madison	12,810	8,192	5,908
Martin	13,140	9,647	10,195
Mecklenburg	34,175	24,299	17,374
Mitchell	9,435	4,705	.....
Montgomery	9,374	7,487	7,649
Moore	16,821	12,040	11,427
Nash	17,731	11,077	11,687
New Hanover	21,376	27,978	21,715
Northampton	20,032	14,749	13,372
Onslow	9,829	7,569	8,856
Orange	23,698	17,507	16,947
Pamlico	6,323	.....	.....
Pasquotank	10,369	8,131	8,940
Pender	12,468	.....	.....
Perquimans	9,466	7,945	7,238
Person	13,719	11,170	11,221
Pitt	21,794	17,276	16,080
Polk	5,062	4,319	4,043
Randolph	20,836	17,551	16,793
Richmond	18,245	12,882	11,009
Robeson	23,880	16,262	15,489
Rockingham	21,744	15,708	16,476
Rowan	19,965	16,810	14,589
Rutherford	15,198	13,121	11,573
Sampson	22,894	16,436	16,624
Stanley	10,505	8,315	7,801
Stokes	15,353	11,208	10,402
Surry	15,302	11,252	10,380
Swain	3,784	.....	.....
Transylvania	5,340	3,536	.....
Tyrrell	4,545	4,173	4,944
Union	18,056	12,217	11,202
Wake	47,939	35,617	28,627
Warren	22,619	17,768	15,726
Washington	8,928	6,516	6,357
Watauga	8,160	5,287	4,957
Wayne	24,951	18,144	14,905
Wilkes	19,181	15,539	14,749
Wilson	16,064	12,258	9,720
Yadkin	12,420	10,697	10,714
Yancey	7,694	5,909	8,655

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 9; instructors, 81; students, 1,145. Public schools, 6,161; value of school property, $248,015; teachers, 6,266; teachers' salaries, $328,717; receipts for school purposes, $553,464; expended for same, $383,709; school age, 6–21 years; school population (1882), 463,160; pupils enrolled (1882), 263,071; average attendance (1882), 132,546; average length of school year in 1882, 62.5 days.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 367,890, being 38.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 191,913; foreign white, 119; colored, Chinese and Indians, 271,943; total, 463,975, being 48.3 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 13; others, 127; total, 140. Circulation, 104,846.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 360,937; in professional and personal services, 69,321; in trade and transportation, 15,966; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 33,963.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 157,609; total acres in farms, 22,363,558; improved acres, 6,481,191; average size of farms, 142 acres; value of farms and buildings, $135,793,602; value of implements, $6,078,476; total value of farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $51,729,611.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	2,421 bush.	Orchard products	$903,513
Buckwheat	44,668 "	Potatoes, Irish	722,773 bush.
Butter	7,212,507 lbs.	" sweet	4,576,148 "
Cheese	57,380 "	Rice	5,609,191 lbs.
Cotton	389,598 bales.	Rye	285,160 bush.
Hay	93,711 tons.	Tobacco	26,986,213 lbs.
Indian Corn	28,019,839 bush.	Wheat	3,397,393 bush.
Milk	446,798 gal.	Wool	917,756 lbs.
Oats	3,838,068 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	133,686	Other cattle	375,105
Mules and asses	81,871	Sheep	461,638
Working oxen	50,188	Swine	1,453,541
Milch cows	232,133		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $22,414,659

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 3,802; capital invested, $13,045,639; hands employed, 18,109; wages paid, $2,740,768; value of materials, $13,090,937; value of products, $20,095,037.

The principal manufactures are:

Cotton goods	$2,554,482	Tar and turpentine	$1,758,488
Flour and mill products	6,462,806	Tobacco	2,215,154
Leather, tanned	367,920	Woollen goods	303,160
Lumber, sawed	2,672,796		

Total steam and water power in use, 45,088 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$118,953
Silver		140
Coal, bituminous	350 tons.	400
Iron ore	3,276 "	5,102
Copper ingots	1,640,000 lbs.	350,000
Minor minerals		79,855
Total value of mineral products		$554,450

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,578 miles of line; miles operated, 1,322; cost, $43,085,123; total investment, $44,871,170. Length of canal lines, 13 miles; cost, $300,000. This does not include 40 miles of drainage and lumber canals. Steam craft, 52; tonnage, 3,851; value, $205,700. Sail craft, 289; tonnage, 9,158; value, $228,925. Flats, 144; tonnage, 8,940; value, $36,800.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $104,742,911; of personal property, $62,995,728. State taxation (1883), rate 28 cents on $100, $700,000; county taxation, $986,956; city and town, $222,273. State debt (1883) funded, $11,270,345; unfunded, $4,151,700; county, city and town debts, $2,487,990.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Raleigh. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $3,000. The other State officers—terms four years—are: Lieutenant-Governor; Secretary of State, salary, $2,000; Treasurer, $3,000; Auditor, $1,500; Attorney-General, $1,000; Superintendent Public Instruction, $1,500; Adjutant-General, $600; Commissioner of Agriculture, $1,200; Commissioner of Lands; State Librarian, $750.

The Legislature is composed of 50 Senators and 120 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $4 a day and ten cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on Wednesday after first Monday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

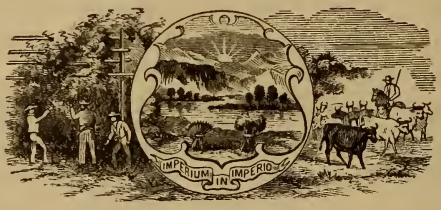
The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, elected by the people for eight years. Salary of each, $2,500.

Representatives in Congress, 9; Presidential electors, 11.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1872 President	91,363	67,489	23,874 R.
1872 Governor	98,630	96,731	1,899 R.
1876 President	108,419	125,427	17,008 D.
1876 Governor	109,990	123,198	13,208 D.
1880 President	115,878	124,204	8,326 D.
1880 Governor	115,590	121,827	6,237 D.
1882 Cong. at Large	111,242	111,756	514 D.

OHIO.



NAME.—From the river and southern boundary. By some, the Indian word Ohio is rendered, "beautiful." A kindred word in the Wyandotte dialect signifies "something to eat." Popular name, "Buckeye State."

ADMISSION.—Act of admission dated April 30, 1802; actual admission, Nov. 29, 1802.

AREA.—Square miles, 40,760; acres, 26,086,400; persons to a square mile, 78.46.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1800	45,365		1850	1,980,329	30.3
1810	230,760	408.6	1860	2,339,511	18.1
1820	581,295	151.9	1870	2,665,260	13.9
1830	937,903	61.3	1880	3,198,062	19.9
1840	1,519,467	62.0			

1880 *by Classes.*

Males....1,613,936	Native....2,803,119	White...3,117,920	Chinese.... 112
Females..1,584,126	Foreign.... 394,943	Black... 79,900	Indians.... 130
Dwellings..... 586,664	Persons to a dwelling 5.45
Families..... 641,907	" " family..... 4.98
Voters—Males over 21.. 826,577	Natural militia, 18–44 647,092

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adams	24,005	20,750	20,309	Licking	40,450	35,756	37,011
Allen	31,314	23,623	19,185	Logan	26,267	23,028	20,996
Ashland	23,883	21,933	22,951	Lorain	35,526	30,308	29,744
Ashtabula	37,139	32,517	31,814	Lucas	67,377	46,722	25,831
Athens	28,411	23,768	21,364	Madison	20,129	15,633	13,015
Auglaize	25,444	20,041	17,187	Mahoning	42,871	31,001	25,894
Belmont	49,638	39,714	36,398	Marion	20,565	16,184	15,490
Brown	32,911	30,802	29,958	Medina	21,453	20,092	22,517
Butler	42,579	39,912	35,840	Meigs	32,325	31,465	26,534
Carroll	16,416	14,491	15,738	Mercer	21,808	17,254	14,104
Champaign	27,817	24,188	22,698	Miami	36,158	32,740	29,959
Clarke	41,948	32,070	25,300	Monroe	26,496	25,779	25,741
Clermont	36,713	34,268	33,034	Montgomery	78,550	64,006	52,230
Clinton	24,756	21,914	21,461	Morgan	20,074	20,363	22,119
Columbiana	48,602	38,299	32,836	Morrow	19,072	18,583	20,445
Coshocton	26,642	23,600	25,032	Muskingum	49,774	44,886	44,416
Crawford	30,583	25,556	23,881	Noble	21,138	19,949	20,751
Cuyahoga	196,943	132,110	78,033	Ottawa	19,762	13,364	7,016
Darke	40,496	32,278	26,009	Paulding	13,485	8,544	4,945
Defiance	22,515	15,719	11,886	Perry	28,218	18,453	19,678
Delaware	27,381	25,175	23,902	Pickaway	27,415	24,875	23,469
Erie	32,640	28,188	24,474	Pike	17,927	15,447	13,643
Fairfield	34,284	31,138	30,538	Portage	27,500	24,584	24,208
Fayette	20,364	17,170	15,935	Preble	24,533	21,809	21,820
Franklin	86,797	63,019	50,361	Putnam	23,713	17,081	12,808
Fulton	21,053	17,789	14,043	Richland	36,306	32,516	31,158
Gallia	28,124	25,545	22,043	Ross	40,307	37,097	35,071
Geauga	14,251	14,190	15,817	Sandusky	32,057	25,503	21,429
Greene	31,349	28,038	26,197	Scioto	33,511	29,302	24,297
Guernsey	27,197	23,838	24,474	Seneca	36,947	30,827	30,868
Hamilton	313,374	260,370	216,410	Shelby	24,137	20,748	17,493
Hancock	27,784	23,847	22,886	Stark	64,031	52,508	42,978
Hardin	27,023	18,714	13,570	Summit	43,788	34,674	27,344
Harrison	20,456	18,682	19,110	Trumbull	44,880	38,659	30,656
Henry	20,585	14,028	8,901	Tuscarawas	40,198	33,840	32,463
Highland	30,281	29,133	27,773	Union	22,375	18,730	16,507
Hocking	21,126	17,925	17,057	Van Wert	23,028	15,823	10,238
Holmes	20,776	18,177	20,589	Vinton	17,223	15,027	13,631
Huron	31,609	28,532	29,616	Warren	28,392	26,689	26,902
Jackson	23,686	21,759	17,941	Washington	43,244	40,609	36,268
Jefferson	33,018	29,188	26,115	Wayne	40,076	35,116	32,483
Knox	27,431	26,333	27,735	Williams	23,821	20,991	16,633
Lake	16,326	15,935	15,576	Wood	34,022	24,596	17,886
Lawrence	39,068	31,380	23,249	Wyandot	22,395	18,553	15,596

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 35; instructors, 363; students, 6,-186.

Public schools, 16,473; value of school property, $21,643,515; teachers, 16,875; teachers' salaries (1882), $5,376,087; receipts for school purposes, $11,085,315; expended for same (1882), $8,-820,914; school age, 6–21 years; school population (1882), 1,081,321; pupils enrolled (1882), 751,101; average attendance, (1882), 483,232; average length of school year in 1882, 155 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 86,754, being 3.6 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 83,183; foreign white, 32,308; colored, Chinese and Indians, 16,356; total, 131,847, being 5.5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 56; others, 720; total, 776. Circulation, 1,885,347.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 397,495; in professional and personal service, 250,371; in trade and transportation, 104,315; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 242,294.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 247,189; total acres in farms, 24,529,226; improved acres, 18,081,091; average size of farms, 99 acres; value of farms and buildings, $1,127,497,353; value of implements, $30,521,180; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $156,777,152.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	1,707,129 bush.	Oats	28,664,505 bush.
Buckwheat	280,229 "	Orchard products	$3,576,242
Butter	67,634,263 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	12,719,215 bush.
Cheese	2,170,245 "	" sweet	239,578 "
Hay	2,210,923 tons.	Rye	389,221 bush.
Hops	5,510 lbs.	Tobacco	34,735,235 lbs.
Indian Corn	111,877,124 bush.	Wheat	46,014,869 bush.
Milk	46,801,537 galls.	Wool	25,003,756 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	736,478	Other cattle	1,084,917
Mules and asses	19,481	Sheep	4,902,486
Working oxen	8,226	Swine	3,141,333
Milch cows	767,043		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $103,707,730

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 20,699; capital invested, $188,939,614; hands employed, 183,609; wages paid, $62,103,800; value of material, $215,334,258; value of products, $348,298,390.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$15,479,825	Brick and tile	$3,481,291
Boots and shoes	4,167,476	Carriages and wagons	10,043,404
Bakery products	3,805,506	Cars	3,429,996

Cheese and butter	$2,756,976	Marble work	$2,240,160
Clothing, men's	20,008,398	Oils	4,953,808
Cooperage	3,486,032	Paper	5,108,194
Flour and mill products	38,950,264	Printing and publishing	6,579,565
Machinery	18,242,325	Saddlery	3,170,413
Furniture	6,865,027	Sashes and doors	4,043,844
Iron and steel	34,918,360	Slaughtering and packing	19,231,297
Leather, tanned and curried	8,243,900	Tin and copper ware	3,230,208
Liquors, malt and distilled	15,817,750	Tobacco and cigars	9,396,940
Lumber, planed and sawed	16,826,127		

Total steam and water power in use, 261,143 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	5,932,853 tons	$7,629,488
Iron ore	198,835 "	448,000
Total mineral products		8,077,488
Add petroleum 24,313 barrels at 42 galls. @ 2¼ cents a gal.		22,977
Grand total of all mineral products		$8,100,465

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 7,968 miles of line; miles operated, 7,522; cost, $616,114,849; total expenditure, $662,842,398. Length of canal lines, 674 miles; slack-water lines, 75 miles: cost of both, $15,370,267. Steam craft, 236; tonnage, 73,525; value, $3,612,700. Sail craft, 196; tonnage, 56,275; value, $1,406,875. Canal boats, flats and barges, 764; tonnage, 116,744; value, $476,825.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $1,116,681,655; personal property, $518,229,079. State taxation (1883), rate 29 cents on $100, $4,553,242; county taxation, $6,131,502; city, town and village, $15,144,667. State debt (1883), funded, $4,901,665; county, city and town debts, $43,021,454.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Columbus. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $4,000. The other State officers are: Lieutenant-Governor, two years, salary $800; Secretary of State, two years, $2,000; Treasurer, two years, $3,000; Auditor, four years, $3,000; Attorney-General, two years, $1,500; Adjutant-General, two years, $2,000; Commissioner of Common Schools, three years, $2,000; Superintendent of Insurance, three years, $2,000; Railroad Commissioner, two years, $2,000; Secretary Board of Agriculture (by Board), $2,000; State Librarian, two years, $1,500; Statistical Commissioner, two years, $2,000.

The Legislature is composed of 33 Senators and 105 Representatives, all selected for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $600 a year and mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Monday in January, but may hold adjourned sessions. No limit to length of session.

State and Congressional elections held on second Tuesday in October. Presidential elections on Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

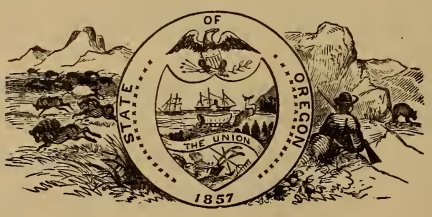
The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and four Associate Justices, elected by the people for a term of five years. Salary of each, $3,500, increased to $5,000 for next incumbents.

Representatives in Congress, 21; Presidential electors, 23.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Grbk.	Tem.	Maj.
1872 President.....	281,852	245,484	.....	2,100	36,368 R.
1873 Governor.....	213,837	214,654	.....	.....	817 D.
1875 "	297,817	292,273	.....	2,593	5,544 R.
1876 President.....	330,698	323,182	.....	.....	7,516 R.
1877 Governor.....	249,105	271,625	29,201	.....	22,520 D.
1879 "	336,261	319,232	9,072	.....	17,029 R.
1880 President.....	375,048	340,821	6,456	.....	34,227 R.
1881 Governor.....	312,735	288,426	6,330	.....	24,309 R.
1883 "	347,064	359,593	2,785	8,361	12,529 D.

OREGON.



NAME.—From the river, called by Carver, Oregon or Oregan, *i. e.*, "River of the West." According to others from the Spanish *oregano*, wild marjoram, abundant on the Pacific coast.

ADMISSION.—Organized as a Territory, Aug. 14, 1848; act of admission, and actual admission, Feb. 14, 1859.

AREA.—Square miles, 94,560; acres, 60,518,400; persons to a square mile, 1.85.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1850.....	13,294		1870.....	90,923	73.3
1860.....	52,465	294.6	1880.....	174,768	92.2

1880 *by Classes.*

Male....103,381	Native....144,265	White....163,075	Chinese....9,512
Female.. 71,387	Foreign....30,503	Black.... 487	Indians....1,694
Dwellings.....32,374		Persons to a dwelling..... 5.4	
Families.....33,468		" " family..... 5.22	
Voters—Males over 21.....59,629		Natural militia, 18–44..... 48,783	

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Baker.....	4,616	2,804	.....	Lane.....	9,411	6,426	4,780
Benton.....	6,403	4,584	3,074	Lewis.....	.....	.....	.....
Clackamas.....	9,260	5,993	3,466	Linn.....	12,676	8,717	6,772
Clarke.....	.....	.....	.....	Marion.....	14,576	9,965	7,088
Clatsop.....	7,222	1,255	498	Multnomah.....	25,203	11,510	4,150
Columbia.....	2,042	863	532	Polk.....	6,601	4,701	3,625
Coos.....	4,834	1,644	445	Tillamook.....	970	408	95
Curry.....	1,208	504	393	Umatilla.....	9,607	2,916	.....
Douglas.....	9,596	6,066	3,203	Umpqua.....	.....	.....	1,250
Grant.....	4,303	2,251	.....	Union.....	6,650	2,552	.....
Jackson.....	8,154	4,778	3,736	Wasco.....	11,120	2,509	1,689
Josephine.....	2,485	1,204	1,623	Washington.....	7,082	4,261	2,801
Lake.....	2,804	.....	.....	Yam Hill.....	7,945	5,012	3,245

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 7; instructors, 50; students, 1,187. Public schools, 1,068; value of school property, $249,087; teachers, 1,141; teachers' salaries (1882), $249,378; receipts for school purposes, $340,932; expended for same (1882), $346,961; school age, 4–20 years; school population (1882), 65,216; pupils enrolled (1882), 37,743; average attendance (1882), 27,347; average length of school year in 1882, 90.6 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 5,376, being 4.1 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 3,433; foreign white, 910; colored, Chinese and Indians, 3,080; total, 7,423, being 5.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 7; others, 67; total, 74. Circulation, 81,078.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 27,091; in professional and personal services, 16,645; in trade and transportation, 6,149; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 17,458.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 16,217; total acres in

farms, 4,214,712; improved acres, 2,198,645; average size of farms, 260 acres; value of farms and buildings, $56,908,575; value of implements, $2,956,173; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $13,234,548.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	920,977 bush.	Oats	4,385,650 bush.
Buckwheat	6,215 "	Orchard products	$583,663
Butter	2,443,725 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	1,359,930 bush.
Cheese	153,198 "	Rye	13,305 "
Hay	266,187 tons.	Tobacco	17,325 lbs.
Hops	244,371 lbs.	Wheat	7,480,010 bush.
Indian Corn	126,862 bush.	Wool	5,718,524 lbs.
Milk	227,540 galls.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	124,107	Other cattle	352,561
Mules and asses	2,804	Sheep	1,083,162
Working oxen	4,132	Swine	156,222
Milch cows	59,549		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $13,808,392

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 1,080; capital invested, $6,312,056; hands employed, 3,473; wages paid, $1,667,046; value of material, $6,954,436; value of products, $10,931,232.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products	$3,475,531	Tin and copperware	$311,650
Lumber, sawed	2,030,463	Woollen goods	549,030
Saddlery	385,350		

Total steam and water power in use, 13,589 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$1,097,701
Silver		27,793
Coal, bituminous	43,205 tons	97,810
Iron ore	6,972 "	4,669

Value of precious metals, $1,125,494; of non-precious . . $102,479

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 880 miles of line; miles operated, 734; cost, $45,928,924; total investment, $55,213,550. The only canal line is the Willamette ship canal, three-quarters of a mile long and costing $600,000. Steam craft, 89; tonnage, 31,371; value, $2,177,000. Sail craft, 38; tonnage, 7,041; value, $176,025. Barges and flats, 100; value, $26,600.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal estate (1882), $59,256,175. State taxation (1882), rate 55 cents on $100, $258,000; county taxation, $454,699; city, town and village, $195,014. State debt (1882), all funded, $304,020; county, city and town indebtedness, $337,126.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Salem. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $1,500. The other State officers are: Secretary of State (four years), salary, $1,500; Treasurer (four years), $800; Superintendent Public Instruction (four years), $1,500; State Librarian (two years), $500.

The Legislature is composed of 30 Senators and 60 Representatives. Senators are chosen for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $3 a day and 15 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Monday in January. Session limited to 40 days.

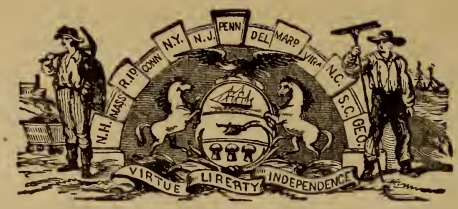
State election held on first Monday in June of every second year. Presidential election on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, elected by the people for a term of six years. Salary of each, $2,000.

Representatives in Congress, 1; Presidential electors, 3.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Maj.
1872 President	7,753	11,818	.....	3,065 R.
1874 Governor	9,713	9,163	6,532	550 D.
1876 President	14,158	15,208	508	1,050 R.
1878 Governor	16,063	16,009	1,353	54 D.
1880 President	19,950	20,618	245	668 R.
1882 Governor	20,069	21,481	.....	1,312 R.



PENNSYLVANIA.

NAME.—Penn's woods (Lat. *sylva*, a wood). Named in honor of Penn, the grantee and founder. Popular name, "The Keystone State."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, Dec. 12, 1787.

AREA.—Square miles, 44,985; acres, 28,790,400; persons to a square mile, 95.21.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	434,373		1840	1,724,033	27.8
1800	602,365	38.6	1850	2,311,786	34.0
1810	810,091	34.4	1860	2,906,215	25.7
1820	1,047,507	29.3	1870	3,521,951	21.1
1830	1,348,233	28.7	1880	4,282,891	21.6

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	2,136,655	Native	3,695,062	White	4,197,016
Female	2,146,236	Foreign	587,829	Black	85,535
Dwellings	776,124	Persons to a dwelling	5.52		
Families	840,452	" " family	5.1		
Voters—Males over 21	1,094,284	Natural militia, 18–44	853,972		

Chinese	156
Indians	184

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adams	32,455	30,315	28,006	Dauphin	76,148	60,740	46,756
Allegheny	355,869	262,204	178,831	Delaware	56,101	39,403	30,597
Armstrong	47,641	43,382	35,797	Elk	12,800	8,488	5,915
Beaver	39,605	36,148	29,140	Erie	74,688	65,973	49,432
Bedford	34,929	29,635	26,736	Fayette	58,842	43,284	39,909
Berks	122,597	106,701	93,818	Forest	4,385	4,010	898
Blair	52,740	38,051	27,829	Franklin	49,855	45,365	42,126
Bradford	58,541	53,204	48,734	Fulton	10,149	9,360	9,131
Bucks	68,656	64,356	63,578	Greene	28,273	25,887	24,343
Butler	52,536	36,510	35,594	Huntingdon	33,954	31,251	28,100
Cambria	46,811	36,569	29,155	Indiana	40,527	36,138	33,687
Cameron	5,159	4,273	.....	Jefferson	27,935	21,656	18,270
Carbon	31,923	28,144	21,033	Juniata	18,227	17,390	16,986
Centre	37,922	34,418	27,000	Lackawanna	89,269	.....	.....
Chester	83,481	77,805	74,578	Lancaster	139,447	121,340	116,314
Clarion	40,328	26,537	24,988	Lawrence	33,312	27,298	22,999
Clearfield	43,408	25,741	18,759	Lebanon	38,476	34,096	31,831
Clinton	26,278	23,211	17,723	Lehigh	65,969	56,796	43,753
Columbia	32,409	28,766	25,665	Luzerne	133,665	160,915	90,244
Crawford	68,607	63,832	48,755	Lycoming	57,486	47,626	37,399
Cumberland	45,977	43,912	40,098	McKean	42,565	8,825	8,859

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Mercer	56,161	49,977	36,856
Mifflin	19,577	17,508	16,340
Monroe	20,175	18,362	16,758
Montgomery	96,494	81,612	70,500
Montour	15,468	15,344	13,053
Northampton	70,312	61,432	47,904
Northumberland	53,123	41,444	28,922
Perry	27,522	25,447	22,793
Philadelphia	847,170	674,022	565,529
Pike	9,663	8,436	7,155
Potter	13,797	11,265	11,470
Schuylkill	129,974	116,428	89,510
Snyder	17,797	15,606	15,035
Somerset	33,110	28,226	26,778
Sullivan	8,073	6,191	5,637
Susquehanna	40,354	37,523	36,267
Tioga	45,814	35,097	31,044
Union	16,905	15,565	14,145
Venango	43,670	47,925	25,043
Warren	27,981	23,897	19,190
Washington	55,418	48,483	46,805
Wayne	33,513	33,188	32,239
Westmoreland	78,036	58,719	53,736
Wyoming	15,598	14,585	12,540
York	87,841	76,134	68,200

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 26; instructors, 328; students, 4,434.

Public schools, 18,616; value of school property, $25,919,397; teachers, 19,388; teachers' salaries (1882), $4,863,718; receipts for school purposes, $8,126,827; expended for same, $8,263,245; school age, 6–21 years; school population, 1,422,377; pupils enrolled, 945,315; average attendance, 611,317; average length of school year in 1882, 153.78 days.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 146,138, being 4.6 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 123,206; foreign white, 86,775; colored, Chinese and Indians, 18,033; total, 228,014, being 7.1 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 100; others, 885; total, 985. Circulation, 5,517,343.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 301,112; in professional and personal service, 446,713; in trade and transportation, 179,965; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 528,277.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 213,542; total acres in farms, 19,791,341; improved acres, 13,423,007; average size of farms, 93 acres; value of farms and buildings, $975,689,410; value of implements, $35,473,037; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $129,760,476.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	438,100 bush.	Hay	2,811,654 tons.
Buckwheat	3,593,326 "	Hops	36,995 lbs.
Butter	79,336,012 lbs.	Indian Corn	45,821,531 bush.
Cheese	1,008,686 "	Milk	36,540,540 galls.

Principal Products—Continued.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Oats	33,841,439 bush.	Rye	3,683,621 bush.
Orchard products	$4,862,826	Tobacco	36,943,272 lbs.
Potatoes, Irish	16,284,819 bush.	Wheat	19,462,405 bush.
" sweet	184,142 "	Wool	8,470,273 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	533,587	Other cattle	861,019
Mules and asses	22,914	Sheep	1,776,598
Working oxen	15,062	Swine	1,187,968
Milch cows	854,156		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $84,242,877

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 31,232; capital invested, $474,510,993; hands employed, 387,072; wages paid, $134,055,904; value of material, $465,020,563; value of products, $744,818,445.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$3,686,212	Hosiery	$8,935,147
Boots and shoes	9,590,002	Iron and steel	145,576,268
Bakery products	8,448,474	Iron pipe	8,418,975
Brick and tile	4,813,153	Leather, curried and tanned, etc	41,639,289
Carpets	14,304,660	Liquors, malt and distilled	11,980,832
Carriages and wagons	4,760,723	Lumber, planed and sawed	27,060,112
Cars	8,082,272	Marble work	3,135,651
Clothing, men's	23,821,887	Mixed textiles	20,882,764
Coke	4,190,136	Paints	3,674,043
Confectionery	3,564,934	Paper	5,355,912
Cooperage	3,256,552	Printing and publishing	10,229,893
Cotton goods	21,640,397	Ship-building	6,689,471
Drugs	13,092,863	Slaughtering and packing	9,908,545
Dyeing and finishing	6,259,852	Sugar and molasses, refined	24,294,929
Flour and mill products	41,522,662	Tin and copperware	5,442,555
Machinery	35,029,673	Tobacco and cigars	7,816,807
Furniture	7,588,229	Woollen goods	32,341,291
Glass	8,720,584	Worsted goods	10,072,473
Hardware	3,725,526		

Total steam and water power in use, 512,408 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, anthracite	28,612,595 tons.	$42,116,500
Coal, bituminous	18,075,548 "	18,267,151
Iron ore	1,820,561 "	4,318,999
Zinc ore	20,459 "	394,568
Copper ingots	214,736 lbs.	36,256
Minor minerals		426,102
Total mineral products		$65,559,576
To which add Petroleum, 24,224,646 barrels, @ 42 gallons per barrel, 1,017,435,132 gallons, @ 2¼ cents a gallon for crude, equals		$22,892,285
Grand total of all mineral products		$88,451,861

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 6,608 miles of line; miles operated, 9,754; cost, $466,058,385; total investment, $809,734,001. Length of canal lines in operation, 629 miles; slack-water lines, 146 miles; cost, $37,706,645. Steam craft, 416; tonnage, 116,601; value, $8,479,300. Sail craft, 655; tonnage, 138,000; value, $3,429,975. Canal boats, barges and flats, 5,560; tonnage, 1,036,453; value, $4,968,100.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate, $1,540,007,957; of personal property, $143,451,059. No State taxation on real estate. Amount of State taxation on personal property, rate 30 cents per $100, $437,716 for 1882; total State revenue from tax on corporations, licenses, etc., $6,346,540; county taxation, $4,612,165; city, town and village taxation, $23,506,591. State debt (1883), net and funded, $13,794,328; unfunded, $880,719; county, city and town indebtedness, $93,318,474.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Harrisburg. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $10,000. The other State officers are: Lieutenant-Governor, four years, salary, $3,000; Secretary of State, four years, $4,000; Treasurer, two years, $5,000; Auditor-General, three years, $3,000; Secretary Internal Affairs, four years, $3,000; Attorney-General, four years, $3,500; Adjutant-General, four years, $2,500; Superintendent Board Public Instruction, four years, $2,500; Insurance Commissioner, three years, $3,000; State Librarian, four years, $1,800.

The Legislature is composed of 50 Senators and 201 Representatives. Senators elected for four years, Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $1,000 for session of 100 days and 5 cents mileage. Ten dollars a day is allowed for an additional 50 days. Session limited to 150 days. Legislature meets biennially on first Tuesday in January.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

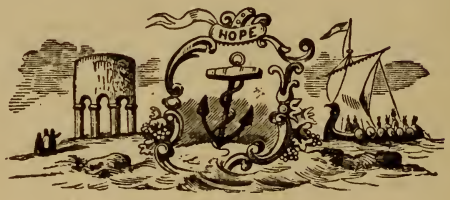
The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice, salary, $8,500, and six Associate Justices, salary of each, $8,000, all elected by the people for a term of twenty-one years.

Representatives in Congress, 28; Presidential electors, 30.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Tem.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 Governor	353,387	317,760	1,259	.....	35,627 R.
1872 President	349,589	211,841	1,630	.....	137,748 R.
1875 Governor	304,175	292,145	13,244	.....	12,030 R.
1876 President	384,148	366,204	1,318	7,204	17,944 R.
1878 Governor	319,490	297,137	3,759	81,758	22,353 R.
1880 President	444,704	407,428	1,939	20,668	37,276 R.
1882 Governor	315,589	355,791	5,196	43,743 Ind.	40,202 D.
1883 Auditor-General	319,106	302,031	6,602	4,452 Gbk.	17,075 R.

RHODE ISLAND.



NAME.—Probably so called from a fancied resemblance to the Island of Rhodes, in the Mediterranean. Some ally it to the German Roth or red island, others to Road or Roadstead Island, as being on or near harborage. Popular name "Little Rhody."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, May 29, 1790; the last State to do so.

AREA.—Square miles, 1,085; acres, 694,400; persons to a square mile, 254.87.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	68,825		1840	108,830	11.9
1800	69,122	0.4	1850	147,545	35.5
1810	76,931	11.2	1860	174,620	18.3
1820	83,015	7.9	1870	217,353	24.4
1830	97,199	17.0	1880	276,531	27.2

1880 *by Classes.*

Male.....133,030	Native....202,538	White...269,939	Chinese.....27
Female...143,501	Foreign... 73,993	Black... 6,488	Indians.....77

Dwellings	41,388	Persons to a dwelling	6.68
Families	60,259	" " family	4.59
Voters—Males over 21	76,898	Natural militia, 18–44	57,854

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Bristol	11,394	9,421	8,907	Providence	197,874	149,190	107,799
Kent	20,588	18,595	17,303	Washington	22,495	20,097	18,715
Newport	24,180	20,050	21,896				

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 1; instructors, 17; students, 270.

Public schools, 850; value of school property, $1,895,877; teachers, 902; teachers' salaries (1882), $417,553; receipts for school purposes, $541,607; expended for same (1882), $591,836; school age, 5–15 years; school population (1882), 55,832; pupils enrolled (1882), 45,695; average attendance (1882), 29,390; average length of school session in 1882, 184 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 17,456, being 7.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 4,261; foreign white, 19,283; colored, Chinese and Indians, 1,249; total, 24,793, being 11.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 8; others, 36; total, 44. Circulation, 98,326.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 10,945; in professional and personal services, 24,657; in trade and transportation, 15,217; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 66,160.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 6,216; total acres in farms, 514,813; improved acres, 298,486; average size of farms, 83 acres; value of farms and buildings, $25,882,079; value of implements, $902,825; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $3,670,135.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	17,783 bush.	Orchard products	$58,751
Buckwheat	1,254 "	Potatoes, Irish	606,793 bush.
Butter	1,007,103 lbs.	" sweet	714 "
Cheese	67,171 "	Rye	12,997 "
Hay	79,328 tons.	Tobacco	785 lbs.
Indian Corn	372,967 bush.	Wheat	240 bush.
Milk	3,831,706 galls.	Wool	65,680 lbs.
Oats	159,339 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	9,661	Other cattle	10,601
Mules and asses	46	Sheep	17,211
Working oxen	3,523	Swine	14,121
Milch cows	21,460		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $2,254,142

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 2,205; capital invested, $75,575,943; hands employed, 62,878; wages paid, $21,355,619; value of material, $58,103,443; value of products, $104,163,621.

The principal manufactures are:

Boots and shoes	$1,455,420	Mixed textiles	$2,718,822
Cotton goods	24,609,461	Rubber goods	2,217,000
Dyeing and finishing	6,874,254	Screws	1,367,672
Flour and mill products	1,137,999	Slaughtering and packing	3,876,740
Machinery	6,281,707	Woollen goods	15,410,450
Gold and silver, refined	1,421,100	Worsted goods	6,177,754
Jewelry	5,650,133		

Total steam and water power in use, 63,575 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, anthracite	6,176 tons	$15,440

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 147 miles of line; miles operated, 139; cost, $5,627,831; total investment, $6,943,309. Steam craft, 70; tonnage, 21,487; value, $1,539,650. Sail craft, 241; tonnage, 16,588; value, $414,675. Barges and flats, 80; tonnage, 9,000; value, $132,600.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $243,658,190; of personal property, $84,872,369. State taxation (1883), rate 12 cents on $100, $492,796; county taxation, none; city and town, $2,298,477. State debt (1883), net and funded, $1,159,846; county, city and town debts, $11,270,327.

GOVERNMENT.—Capitals, Newport and Providence. Governor elected for one year. Salary, $1,000. The other State officers—term one year except Adjutant-General, five years—are, Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $500; Secretary of State, $2,500; Treasurer, $2,500; Auditor, $1,000; Insurance Commis-

sioner, $1,500; Railroad Commissioner, $500; Attorney-General, $2,500; Adjutant-General, $600; Commissioner of Public Schools, by Board of Education, $2,500.

The Legislature is composed of 36 Senators and 72 Representatives, all elected for one year, and each receiving one dollar a day and eight cents mileage. Legislature meets annually on last Tuesday in May at Newport, and holds an adjourned session at Providence. No limit to length of sessions.

State elections held annually on first Wednesday in April.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and four associates, elected by the Legislature till their places are filled, the effect being a choice for life, good behavior, or mental competency. Salary of Chief Justice, $4,500, and of the Associate Justices, $4,000 each.

Representatives in Congress, 2; Presidential electors, 4.

POLITICS for twelve years:

		Rep.	Dem.	Ind.	Maj.
1872	President.....	13,665	5,329	....	8,336 R.
1876	"	15,787	10,712	....	5,075 R.
1877	Governor.....	12,458	11,787	....	671 R.
1878	"	11,454	7,639	....	3,815 R.
1879	"	9,717	5,508	....	4,209 R.
1880	President.....	18,195	10,779	....	7,416 R.
1881	Governor.....	10,489	4,756	281	5,733 R.
1882	"	10,056	5,311	....	4,745 R.
1883	"	13,078	10,201	706	2,877 R.
1884	"	15,903	9,498	....	6,405 R.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

NAME.—See North Carolina. Popular name "Palmetto State."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, May 23, 1788.

AREA.—Square miles, 30,170; acres, 19,308,800; persons to a square mile, 33.00.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	249,073	...	1840	594,398	2.2
1800	345,591	38.7	1850	668,507	12.4
1810	415,115	20.1	1860	703,708	5.2
1820	502,741	21.1	1870	705,606	0.2
1830	581,185	15.6	1880	995,577	41.0

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	490,408	Native	987,891	White	391,105
Female	505,169	Foreign	7,686	Black	604,332
Dwellings	191,914			Persons to a dwelling	5.19
Families	202,062			" " family	4.93
Voters—Males over 21	205,789			Natural militia, 18–44	170,922

Chinese	9				
Indians	131				

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Abbeville	40,815	31,129	32,385	Kershaw	21,538	11,754	13,086
Aiken	28,112	.....	.....	Lancaster	16,903	12,087	11,797
Anderson	33,612	24,049	22,873	Laurens	29,444	22,536	23,858
Barnwell	39,857	35,724	30,743	Lexington	18,564	12,988	15,579
Beaufort	30,176	34,359	40,053	Marion	34,107	22,160	21,190
Charleston	102,800	88,863	70,100	Marlborough	20,598	11,814	12,434
Chester	24,153	18,805	18,122	Newberry	26,497	20,775	20,879
Chesterfield	16,345	10,584	11,834	Oconee	16,256	10,536	.....
Clarendon	19,190	14,038	13,095	Orangeburgh	41,395	16,865	24,896
Colleton	36,386	25,410	41,916	Pickens	14,389	10,269	19,639
Darlington	34,485	26,243	20,361	Richland	28,573	23,025	18,307
Edgefield	45,844	42,486	39,887	Spartanburgh	44,409	25,784	26,919
Fairfield	27,765	19,888	22,111	Sumter	37,037	25,268	23,859
Georgetown	19,613	16,161	21,305	Union	24,080	19,248	19,635
Greenville	37,496	22,262	21,892	Williamsburgh	24,110	15,489	15,489
Hampton	18,741	.....	.....	York	30,713	24,286	21,502
Horry	15,574	10,721	7,962				

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 9; instructors, 65; students, 618. Public schools, 3,077; value of school property, $407,256; teachers, 3,204; teachers' salaries (1882), 349,696; receipts for school purposes, $405,551; expended for same (1882), $378,886; school age, 6–16 years; school population, 262,279; pupils enrolled, 145,974; average attendance (1882), 101,816; average length of school year in 1882, 80 days.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 321,780, being 48.2 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 59,415; foreign white, 362; colored, Chinese and Indians, 310,071; total, 369,848, being 55.4 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 4; others, 78; total, 82. Circulation, 70,902.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 294,602; in professional and personal services, 64,246; in trade and transportation, 13,556; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 19,698.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 93,864; total acres in farms, 13,457,613; improved acres, 4,132,050; average size of farms, 143 acres; value of farms and buildings, $68,677,482; value of implements, $3,202,710; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $41,969,749.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	16,257 bush.	Potatoes, Irish	144,942 bush.
Butter	3,196,851 lbs.	" sweet	2,189,622 "
Cheese	16,018 "	Rice	52,077,515 lbs.
Cotton	522,548 bales.	Rye	27,049 bush.
Hay	2,706 tons.	Sug. & mol., 229 hhds.	138,944 galls
Indian Corn	11,767,099 bush.	Tobacco	45,678 lbs.
Milk	257,186 galls.	Wheat	962,358 bush.
Oats	2,715,505 bush.	Wool	272,758 lbs.
Orchard products	$78,934		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	60,660	Other cattle	199,321
Mules and asses	67,005	Sheep	118,889
Working oxen	24,507	Swine	628,198
Milch cows	139,881		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $12,279,412

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 2,078; cap-

ital invested, $11,205,894; hands employed, 15,828; wages paid, $2,836,289; value of material, $9,885,538; value of products, $16,738,008.

The principal manufactures are:

Cotton goods	$2,895,769	Lumber, sawed	$2,031,507
Fertilizers	2,691,053	Tar and turpentine	1,893,206
Flour and mill products	3,779,470		

Total steam and water power in use, 25,868 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$13,040
Silver		56
Minor minerals	7,427 tons	27,709
Total mineral products		$40,805

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,517 miles of line; miles operated, 1,442; cost, $40,783,037; total investment, $41,998,949. Steam craft, 41; tonnage, 5,242; value, $242,700. Sail craft, 173; tonnage, 5,017; value, $125,425. Flats, 375; value, $124,150.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $87,132,401; of personal property, $48,249,939. State taxation (1883), rate 47.5 cents on $100, $351,910; county taxation, $554,164; city, town and village, $542,109. State debt (1883), funded, $6,103,024; unfunded, $6,531,299; county, city and town debts, $6,706,767.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Columbia. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $3,500. The other State officers—terms two years—are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $1,000; Secretary of State, $2,100; Treasurer, $2,100; Comptroller, $2,100; Attorney-General, $2,100; Superintendent Public Education, $2,100; Commissioner Agriculture, $2,100; Adjutant-General, $1,500; three Railroad Commissioners, two, three and four years; State Librarian, $625.

The Legislature is composed of 35 Senators and 124 Representatives. Senators elected for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $5 a day and 10 cents mileage. Legislature meets annually on fourth Tuesday in November. No limit to length of session.

State elections held biennially, and with Congressional and Presidential elections, on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice, salary, $4,000, and two Associate Justices, salaries of each, $3,500, all elected by the Legislature for a term of six years.

Representatives in Congress, 7; Presidential electors, 9.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1872 Governor	69,838	36,553	33,285 R.
1872 President.....	72,290	22,683	49,607 R.
1874 Governor.....	80,403	68,818	11,585 R.
1876 President.....	91,870	90,896	974 R.
1878 Congress	45,081	116,917	71,836 D.
1880 Governor.....	4,277 Grbk.	117,432	113,155 D.
1880 President.....	57,966	111,236	53,270 D.
1882 Governor.....	17,719 Grbk.	67,158	49,439 D.

TENNESSEE.

NAME.—So called from the river Tennessee, which is the river "of the big bend," or "curved spoon," as some have it. Popular name, "The Big Bend State."

ADMISSION.—Act of admission, and date of admission, June 1, 1796.

AREA.—Square miles, 41,750; acres, 26,720,000; persons to a square mile, 36.94.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790.....	35,691		1840.....	829,210	21.6
1800.....	105,602	195.8	1850.....	1,002,717	20.9
1810.....	261,727	147.8	1860.....	1,109,801	10.6
1820.....	422,771	61.5	1870.....	1,258,520	13.4
1830.....	681,904	61.2	1880.....	1,542,359	22.5

1880 *by Classes.*

Male....769,277	Native....1,525,657	White....1,138,831	Chinese.... 25
Female..773,082	Foreign... 16,702	Black.... 403,151	Indians....352
Dwellings..... 276,734		Persons to a dwelling..... 5·57	
Families..... 286,539		" " family..... 5.38	
Voters—Males over 21..... 330,305		Natural militia, 18–44..... 276,895	

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Anderson	10,820	8,704	7,068
Bedford	26,025	24,333	21,584
Benton	9,780	8,234	8,463
Bledsoe	5,617	4,870	4,459
Blount	15,985	14,237	13,270
Bradley	12,124	11,652	11,701
Campbell	10,005	7,445	6,712
Cannon	11,859	10,502	9,509
Carroll	22,103	19,447	17,437
Carter	10,019	7,909	7,124
Cheatham	7,956	6,678	7,258
Claiborne	13,373	9,321	9,643
Clay	6,987	.....	.....
Cocke	14,808	12,458	10,408
Coffee	12,894	10,237	9,689
Crockett	14,109	.....	.....
Cumberland	4,538	3,461	3,460
Davidson	79,026	62,897	47,055
Decatur	8,498	7,772	6,276
DeKalb	14,813	11,425	10,573
Dickson	12,460	9,340	9,982
Dyer	15,118	13,706	10,536
Fayette	31,871	26,145	24,327
Fentress	5,941	4,717	5,054
Franklin	17,178	14,970	13,848
Gibson	32,685	25,666	21,777
Giles	36,014	32,413	26,166
Grainger	12,384	12,421	10,962
Greene	24,005	21,668	19,004
Grundy	4,592	3,250	3,093
Hamblen	10,187	.....	.....
Hamilton	23,642	17,241	13,258
Hancock	9,098	7,148	7,020
Hardeman	22,921	18,074	17,769
Hardin	14,793	11,768	11,214
Hawkins	20,610	15,837	16,162
Haywood	26,053	25,094	19,232
Henderson	17,430	14,217	14,491
Henry	22,142	20,380	19,133
Hickman	12,095	9,856	9,312
Houston	4,295	.....	.....
Humphreys	11,379	9,326	9,096
Jackson	12,008	12,583	11,725
James	5,187	.....	.....
Jefferson	15,846	19,476	16,043
Johnson	7,766	5,852	5,018
Knox	39,124	28,990	22,813
Lake	3,968	2,428	.....
Lauderdale	14,918	10,838	7,559
Lawrence	10,383	7,601	9,320
Lewis	2,181	1,986	2,241
Lincoln	26,960	28,050	22,828
Loudon	9,148	.....	.....
McMinn	15,064	13,969	13,555
McNairy	17,271	12,726	14,732
Macon	9,321	6,633	7,290
Madison	30,874	23,480	21,535
Marion	10,910	6,841	6,190
Marshall	19,259	16,207	14,592
Maury	39,904	36,289	32,498
Meigs	7,117	4,511	4,667
Monroe	14,283	12,589	12,607
Montgomery	28,481	24,747	20,895
Moore	6,233	.....	.....
Morgan	5,156	2,969	3,353
Obion	22,912	15,584	12,817
Overton	12,153	11,297	12,637
Perry	7,174	6,925	6,542
Polk	7,269	7,369	8,726
Putnam	11,501	8,698	8,558
Rhea	7,073	5,538	4,991
Roane	15,237	15,622	13,583
Robertson	18,861	16,166	15,265
Rutherford	36,741	33,289	27,918
Scott	6,021	4,054	3,519
Sequatchie	2,565	2,335	2,120
Sevier	15,541	11,028	9,122
Shelby	78,430	76,378	48,092
Smith	17,799	15,994	16,357
Stewart	12,690	12,019	9,896
Sullivan	18,321	13,136	13,552
Sumner	23,625	23,711	22,030
Tipton	21,033	14,884	10,705
Trousdale	6,646	.....	.....
Unicoi	3,645	.....	.....
Union	10,260	7,605	6,117
Van Buren	2,933	2,725	2,581
Warren	14,079	12,714	11,147
Washington	16,181	16,317	14,829
Wayne	11,301	10,209	9,115
Weakeley	24,538	20,755	18,216
White	11,176	9,375	9,381
Williamson	28,313	25,328	23,827
Wilson	28,747	25,881	26,072

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 19; instructors, 168; students, 2,941.

Public schools, 5,688; value of school property, $1,025,858; teachers, 5,937; teachers' salaries (1882), $718,921; receipts for school purposes, $973,198; expended for same (1882), $827,154; school age, 6–21 years; school population (1882), 549,179; pupils enrolled (1882), 264,356; average attendance (1881), 180,509; average length of school year in 1882, 73 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 294,385, being 27.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 214,994; foreign white, 1,233; colored, Chinese and Indians, 194,495; total, 410,722, being 38.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 12; others, 180; total, 192. Circulation, 298,619.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 294,153; in professional and personal services, 94,107; in trade and transportation, 23,628; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 36,082.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 165,650; total acres in farms, 20,666,915; improved acres, 8,496,556; average size of farms, 125 acres; value of farms and buildings, $206,749,837; value of implements, $9,054,863; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $62,076,311.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	30,019 bush.	Oats	4,722,190 bush.
Buckwheat	33,434 "	Orchard products	$919,844
Butter	17,886,369 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	1,354,481 bush.
Cheese	98,740 "	" sweet	2,369,901 "
Cotton	330,621 bales.	Rye	156,419 "
Hay	186,698 tons.	Tobacco	29,365,052 lbs.
Indian Corn	62,764,429 bush.	Wheat	7,331,353 bush.
Milk	1,006,795 galls.	Wool	1,918,295 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	266,119	Other cattle	452,462
Mules and asses	173,498	Sheep	672,789
Working oxen	27,312	Swine	2,160,495
Milch cows	303,900		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $43,651,470

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 4,326; capital invested, $20,092,845; hands employed, 22,445; wages paid, $5,254,775; value of material, $23,834,262; value of products, $37,074,886.

The principal manufactures are:

Carriages and wagons	$1,253,721	Liquors, distilled	$540,729
Cotton goods	934,014	Lumber, planed and sawed	4,015,310
Flour and mill products	10,784,804	Oil and oil cake	1,235,000
Machinery	1,191,531	Printing and publishing	653,645
Furniture	954,100	Slaughtering and packing	1,376,476
Iron and steel	2,274,203	Tin and copperware	710,813
Leather, tanned and curried	2,051,087	Woollen goods	620,724

Total steam and water power in use, 51,952 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$1,998
Coal, bituminous	494,491 tons	628,954
Iron ore	89,933 "	129,951
Lead ore	60 "	2,500
Zinc ore	3,699 "	22,145
Copper ingots	153,880 lbs.	.....
Total mineral products		$785,548

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 2,194 miles of line; miles operated, 1,928; cost, $120,195,150; total investment, $126,323,124. Steam craft, 61; tonnage, 11,348; value, $58,900. Barges, 29; value, $5,800.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1882), $195,635,100; of personal property, $16,133,338. State taxation (1882), rate 20 cents on $100, $954,903; county, $1,488,126; city town and village, $644,568. State debt funded, $20,206,300; unfunded, $6,336,550; county, city and town debt, $9,947,469.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Nashville. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $4,000. The other State officers are: Secretary of State (four years), salary, $1,800; Treasurer (two years), $2,700; Comptroller (two years), $2,700; Attorney-General (two years), $3,000; Superintendent Public Instruction (two years), $1,800; Adjutant-General (two years), $1,200; Commissioner of Agriculture (two years), $3,000; Land Register (four years), fees; three Railroad Commissioners (two years), each $2,000; State Librarian (two years), $1,000.

The Legislature is composed of 33 Senators and 99 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of each, $4 a day and 16 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Monday in January. Session limited to 75 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice, and four associates, elected by the people for eight years. Salary of each, $4,000.

Representatives in Congress, 10; Presidential electors, 12.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind.	Maj.
1872 President.....	94,391	83,655	....	10,736 D.
1874 Governor.....	103,061	55,843	....	47,218 D.
1876 President.....	133,166	89,566	....	43,600 D.
1878 Governor.....	89,018	42,328	....	46,690 D.
1880 President.....	130,381	98,760	....	31,621 D.
1882 Governor.....	109,873	80,149	7,246	29,624 D.

TEXAS.

NAME.—So called by the Spaniards, in 1690, who that year drove the French from their settlement at Matagorda. Popular name, "The Lone Star State."

ADMISSION.—Texas was admitted by annexation. Act of admission, March 1, 1845; actual admission, Dec. 29, 1845.

AREA.—Square miles, 262,290; acres, 167,865,600; persons to a square mile, 6.07.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1850.....	212,592	
1860.....	604,215	184.2
1870.....	818,579	35.4
1880.....	1,591,749	94.4

1880 *by Classes.*

Male.....837,840	Native.....1,477,133	White....1,197,237	Chinese....136
Female. .753,909	Foreign.... 114,616	Black 393,384	Indians....992
Dwellings.....	287,562	Persons to a dwelling.....5.54	
Families	297,259	" " family.....5.35	
Voters—Males over 21.....	380,376	Natural militia, 18–44.....332,120	

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Anderson	17,395	9,229	10,398
Andrews	.....	.....	.....
Angelina	5,239	3,985	4,291
Aransas	996	.....	.....
Archer	596	.....	.....
Armstrong	31	.....	.....
Atascosa	4,217	2,915	1,578
Austin	14,429	15,087	10,139
Bailey	.....	.....	.....
Bandera	2,158	649	399
Bastrop	17,215	12,290	7,006
Baylor	715	.....	.....
Bee	2,298	1,082	910
Bell	20,518	9,771	4,799
Bexar	30,470	16,043	14,454
Bexar District	.....	1,077	.....
Blanco	3,583	1,187	1,281
Borden	35	.....	.....
Bosque	11,217	4,981	2,005
Bowie	10,965	4,684	5,052
Brazoria	9,774	7,527	7,143
Brazos	13,576	9,205	2,776
Briscoe	12	.....	.....
Brown	8,414	544	244
Burleson	9,243	8,072	5,683
Burnet	6,855	3,688	2,487
Caldwell	11,757	6,572	4,481
Calhoun	1,739	3,443	2,642
Callahan	3,453	.....	.....
Cameron	14,959	10,999	6,028
Camp	5,931	.....	.....
Carson	.....	.....	.....
Cass	16,724	8,875	8,411
Castro	.....	.....	.....
Chambers	2,187	1,503	1,508
Cherokee	16,723	11,079	12,098
Childress	25	.....	.....
Clay	5,045	.....	109
Cockran	.....	.....	.....
Coleman	3,603	347	.....
Collin	25,983	14,013	9,264
Collingsworth	6	.....	.....
Colorado	16,673	8,326	7,885
Comal	5,546	5,283	4,030
Comanche	8,608	1,001	709
Concho	800	.....	.....
Cooke	20,391	5,315	3,760
Coryell	10,924	4,124	2,666
Cottle	24	.....	.....
Crockett	127	.....	.....
Crosby	82	.....	.....
Dallam	.....	.....	.....
Dallas	33,488	13,314	8,665
Dawson	24	.....	281
Deaf Smith	38	.....	.....
Delta	5,597	.....	.....
Denton	18,143	7,251	5,031
De Witt	10,082	6,443	5,108
Dickens	28	.....	.....
Dimmitt	665	109	.....
Donley	160	.....	.....
Duval	5,732	1,083	.....
Eastland	4,855	88	99
Edwards	266	.....	.....
Ellis	21,294	7,514	5,246
El Paso	3,845	3,671	4,051
Encinal	1,902	427	43
Erath	11,796	1,801	2,425
Falls	16,240	9,851	3,614
Fannin	25,501	13,207	9,217
Fayette	27,996	16,863	11,604
Fisher	136	.....	.....
Floyd	3	.....	.....
Fort Bend	9,380	7,114	6,143
Franklin	5,280	.....	.....
Freestone	14,921	8,139	6,881
Frio	2,130	309	42
Gaines	8	.....	.....
Galveston	24,121	15,290	8,229
Garza	36	.....	.....
Gillespie	5,228	3,566	2,736
Goliad	5,832	3,628	3,384
Gonzales	14,840	8,951	8,059
Gray	56	.....	.....
Grayson	38,108	14,387	8,184
Gregg	8,530	.....	.....
Grimes	18,603	13,218	10,307
Guadalupe	12,202	7,282	5,444
Hale	.....	.....	.....
Hall	36	.....	.....
Hamilton	6,365	733	489
Hansford	18	.....	.....
Hardeman	50	.....	.....
Hardin	1,870	1,460	1,353
Harris	27,985	17,375	9,070
Harrison	25,177	13,241	15,001
Hartley	100	.....	.....
Haskell	48	.....	.....
Hayes	7,555	4,088	2,126
Hemphill	149	.....	.....
Henderson	9,735	6,786	4,595
Hidalgo	4,347	2,387	1,192
Hill	16,554	7,453	3,653
Hockley	.....	.....	.....
Hood	6,125	2,585	.....
Hopkins	15,461	12,651	7,745
Houston	16,702	8,147	8,058
Howard	50	.....	.....
Hunt	17,230	10,291	6,630
Hutchinson	50	.....	.....
Jack	6,626	694	1,000
Jackson	2,723	2,278	2,612
Jasper	5,779	4,218	4,037
Jefferson	3,489	1,906	1,995
Johnson	17,911	4,923	4,305
Jones	546	.....	.....
Karnes	3,270	1,705	2,171
Kaufman	15,448	6,895	3,936
Kendall	2,763	1,536	.....
Kent	92	.....	.....
Kerr	2,168	1,042	634
Kimble	1,343	72	.....
King	40	.....	.....
Kinney	4,487	1,204	61
Knox	77	.....	.....
Lamar	27,193	15,790	10,136
Lamb	.....	.....	.....
Lampasas	5,421	1,344	1,028
La Salle	789	69	.....
Lavaca	13,641	9,168	5,945
Lee	8,937	.....	.....
Leon	12,817	6,523	6,781
Liberty	4,999	4,414	3,189
Limestone	16,246	8,591	4,537
Lipscomb	69	.....	.....
Live Oak	1,994	852	593
Llano	4,962	1,379	1,101
Lubbock	25	.....	.....
Lynn	9	.....	.....
McCulloch	1,533	173	.....
McLennan	26,934	13,500	6,206
McMullen	701	230	.....
Madison	5,395	4,061	2,238
Marion	10,983	8,562	3,977
Martin	12	.....	.....
Mason	2,655	678	630
Matagorda	3,940	3,377	3,454
Maverick	2,967	1,951	726

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Medina	4,492	2,078	1,838
Menard	1,239	667	.....
Milam	18,659	8,984	5,175
Mitchell	117	.....	.....
Montague	11,257	890	849
Montgomery	10,154	6,483	5,479
Moore	.....	.....	.....
Morris	5,032	.....	.....
Motley	24	.....	.....
Nacogdoches	11,590	9,614	8,292
Navarro	21,702	8,879	5,996
Newton	4,359	2,187	3,119
Nolan	640	.....	.....
Nueces	7,673	3,975	2,906
Ochiltree	.....	.....	.....
Oldham	287	.....	.....
Orange	2,938	1,255	1,916
Palo Pinto	5,885	.....	1,524
Panola	12,219	10,119	8,475
Parker	15,870	4,186	4,213
Parmer	.....	.....	.....
Pecos	1,807	.....	.....
Polk	7,189	8,707	8,300
Potter	28	.....	.....
Presidio	2,873	1,636	580
Rains	3,035	.....	.....
Randall	3	.....	.....
Red River	17,194	10,653	8,535
Refugio	1,585	2,324	1,600
Roberts	32	.....	.....
Robertson	22,383	9,990	4,997
Rockwall	2,984	.....	.....
Runnels	980	.....	.....
Rusk	18,986	16,916	15,803
Sabine	4,161	3,256	2,750
San Augustine	5,084	4,196	4,094
San Jacinto	6,186	.....	.....
San Patricio	1,010	602	620
San Saba	5,324	1,425	913
Scurry	102	.....	.....
Shackelford	2,037	455	44
Shelby	9,523	5,732	5,362
Sherman	.....	.....	.....
Smith	21,863	16,532	13,392
Somervell	2,649	.....	.....
Starr	8,3 4	4,154	2,406
Stephens	4,725	330	230
Stonewall	104	.....	.....
Swisher	4	.....	.....
Tarrant	24,671	5,788	6,020
Taylor	1,736	.....	.....
Terry	.....	.....	.....
Throckmorton	711	.....	124
Titus	5,959	11,339	9,648
Tom Green	3,615	.....	.....
Travis	27,028	13,153	8,080
Trinity	4,915	4,141	4,392
Tyler	5,825	5,010	4,525
Upshur	10,266	12,039	10,645
Uvalde	2,541	851	506
Van Zandt	12,619	6,494	3,777
Victoria	6,289	4,860	4,171
Walker	12,024	9,776	8,191
Waller	9,024	.....	.....
Washington	27,565	23,104	15,215
Webb	5,273	2,615	1,397
Wharton	4,549	3,426	3,380
Wheeler	512	.....	.....
Wichita	433	.....	.....
Wilbarger	126	.....	.....
Williamson	15,155	6,368	4,529
Wilson	7,118	2,556	.....
Wise	16,601	1,450	3,160
Wood	11,212	6,894	4,968
Yoakum	.....	.....	.....
Young	4,726	135	592
Zapata	3,636	1,488	1,248
Zavalla	410	133	26

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 10; instructors, 105; students, 2,396.

Public schools, 6,692; value of school property, $1,130,762; teachers, 6,764; teachers' salaries (1882), $714,207; receipts for school purposes, $921,595; expended for same (1882), $803,850; school age, 8–14 years; school population (1882), 295,344; pupils enrolled (1882), 142,960; average attendance (1882), 60,259; average length of school year in 1882, 92 days.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 256,223, being 24.1 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 97,498; foreign white, 26,414; colored, Chinese and Indians, 192,520; total, 316,432, being 29.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 31; others, 248; total, 279. Circulation, 355,938.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 359,317;

in professional and personal services, 97,561; in trade and transportation, 34,909; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 30,346.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 174,184; total acres in farms, 36,292,219; improved acres, 12,650,314; average size of farms, 208 acres; value of farms and buildings, $170,468,886; value of implements, $9,051,491; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $65,204,329.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	72,786 bush.	Orchard products	$876,844
Buckwheat	535 "	Potatoes, Irish	228,832 bush.
Butter	13,899,320 lbs.	" sweet	1,460,079 "
Cheese	58,466 "	Rice	62,152 lbs.
Cotton	805,284 bales.	Rye	25 399 bush.
Hay	59,699 tons.	Sug. & mol., 4,951 hhd.	810,605 galls.
Indian Corn	29,065,172 bush.	Tobacco	221,283 lbs.
Milk	1,296,806 galls.	Wheat	2,567,737 bush.
Oats	4,893,359 bush.	Wool	6,928,019 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	805,606	Other cattle	3,387,927
Mules and asses	132,447	Sheep	2,411,633
Working oxen	90,502	Swine	1,950,371
Milch cows	606,176		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880.....$60,307,987

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 2,996; capital invested, $9,245,561; hands employed, 12,159; wages paid, $3,343,087; value of materials, $12,956,269; value of products, $20,719,928.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products	$7,617,177	Saddlery	$587,871
Foundry and machine-shop	532,778	Tin and copperware	491,420
Lumber, planed and sawed	4,130,049	Sash and doors	416,500
Printing and publishing	605,000	Slaughtering and packing	486,400

Total steam and water power in use, 30,543 horse-power.

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 5,715 miles of line; miles operated, 4,363; cost, $172,323,744; total investment, $223,701,146. Steam craft, 35; tonnage, 4,352; value, $196,900. Sail craft, 230; tonnage, 7,713; value, $192,800. Barges and flats, 23; value, $25,500.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and

personal property (1882), $520,000,000; in 1880, $320,364,515. State taxation (1882), rate 30 cents on $100, $1,396,170; county taxation, $1,685,907; city, town and village taxation, $694,269. State debt (1882), funded, $4,447,700; county, city and town debts, $6,037,985.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Austin. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $4,000. The other State officers are: Lieutenant-Governor (two years), salary, $5 a day; Secretary of State, $2,000; Treasurer, $2,500; Comptroller, $2,500; Attorney-General, $2,000; Adjutant-General, $2,000; Commissioner Lands, $2,500; Commissioner Insurance, $2,000; Railroad Commissioner, $3,000.

The Legislature is composed of 31 Senators and 106 Representatives. Senators elected for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $5 a day and mileage. Legislature meets biennially on second Tuesday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, elected by the people for six years. Salary of each, $3,500.

Representatives in Congress, 11; Presidential electors, 13.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President.....	68,622	46,482	.....	22,140 D.
1873 Governor.....	99,984	52,353	.....	47,631 D.
1875 "	150,581	50,000	.....	100,581 D.
1876 President.....	104,755	44,800	.....	59,955 D.
1878 Governor... ..	158,933	23,402	55,002	134,531 D.
1880 President.....	146,863	53,298	26,244	93,565 D.
1882 Governor.	150,890	102,501	.....	48,389 D.

UTAH TERRITORY.

NAME.—Probably the Indian tribal name, Ute.

ORGANIZATION.—Erected into a Territory, Sept. 9, 1850.

AREA.—Square miles, 82,190; acres, 53,601,600; persons to a square mile, 1.75.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1850	11,380		1870	86,786	115.4
1860	40,273	253.8	1880	143,963	65.8

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	74,509	Native	99,969	White	142,423
Female	69,454	Foreign	43,994	Black	232
Dwellings	26,710			Persons to a dwelling	5.39
Families	28,373			" " family	5.07
Voters—Males over 21	32,773			Natural militia, 18-44	26,480

Chinese	501				
Indians	807				

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Beaver	3,918	2,007	785	Rio Virgin	.....	450	.....
Box Elder	6,761	4,855	1,608	Salt Lake	31,977	18,337	11,295
Cache	12,562	8,229	2,605	San Juan	204	.....	.....
Cedar	.....	.....	741	Sanpete	11,557	6,786	3,815
Davis	5,279	4,459	2,904	Sevier	4,457	19	.....
Emery	556	.....	.....	Shambip	.....	.....	162
Green River	.....	.....	141	Summit	4,921	2,512	198
Iron	4,013	2,277	1,010	Tooele	4,497	2,177	1,008
Juab	3,474	2,034	672	Uintah	799	.....	.....
Kane	3,085	1,513	.....	Utah	17,973	12,203	8,248
Millard	3,727	2,753	715	Wassatch	2,927	1,244	.....
Morgan	1,783	1,972	.....	Washington	4,235	3,064	691
Pi Ute	1,651	82	.....	Weber	12,344	7,858	3,675
Rich	1,263	1,955	.....				

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 1; instructors, 4; students, 193.

Public schools, 383; value of school property, $372,273; teachers, 434; teachers' salaries (1882), $149,637; receipts for school purposes, $176,048; expended for same (1882), $185,588; school age, 6–18 years; school population (1882), 43,393;

pupils enrolled (1882), 27,216; average attendance (1882), 17,594; average length of school year in 1882, 139 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 4,851, being 5 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 3,183; foreign white, 4,954; colored, Chinese and Indians, 689; total, 8,826, being 9.1 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 5; others, 19; total, 24. Circulation, 36,675.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 14,550; in professional and personal services, 11,144; in trade and transportation, 4,149; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 10,212.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 9,452; total acres in farms, 655,524; improved acres, 416,105; average size of farms, 69 acres; value of farms and buildings, $14,015,178; value of implements, $946,753; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $3,337,410.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	217,140 bush.	Oats	418,082 bush.
Butter	1,052,903 lbs.	Orchard products	$148,493
Cheese	126,727 "	Potatoes, Irish	573,595 bush.
Hay	92,735 tons.	Rye	9,605 "
Indian Corn	163,342 bush.	Wheat	1,169,199 "
Milk	155,263 galls.	Wool	973,246 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	38,131	Other cattle	58,680
Mules and asses	2,898	Sheep	233,121
Working oxen	3,968	Swine	17,198
Milch cows	32,768		

Total value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $3,306,638

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 640; capital invested, $2,656,657; hands employed, 2,495; wages paid, $858,863; value of material, $2,561,737; value of products, $4,324,992.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products	$1,364,619	Woollen goods	$279,424
Lumber, sawed	375,164		

Total steam and water power in use, 4,689 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

	Value.
Gold	$291,587
Silver	4,743,087
Total mineral products	$5,034,674

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 1,123 miles of line; miles operated, 864; cost, $36,894,249; total investment, $36,914,860.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal estate (1882), $25,579,234. Territorial taxation (1882), rate 60 cents on $100, $174,792; county taxation, $155,706; city and town, $130,882. No Territorial debt; county, city and village debt, $107,131.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Salt Lake City. Governor appointed by President and Senate for four years. Salary, $2,600. The other officers are a Secretary, term four years, salary, $1,800; a Treasurer, term two years, $600; Auditor, term two years, $1,500; Superintendent Public Instruction, term two years, $1,500; Secretary Board of Agriculture, and Territorial Librarian.

The Legislature is composed of 12 Senators and 24 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $4 a day and 20 cents mileage. Legislature meets on second Monday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

Territorial elections held on first Monday in August annually.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two associates, appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representative in Congress, 1 Delegate.

POLITICS—Vote for Delegate:

	Mormon.	Anti-Mormon.	Maj.
1880	18,568	1,357	17,211 M.
1882	23,239	4,908	18,331 M.

Out of a total registration of voters, in 1882, of 33,266, 14,491 were female voters. Owing to the operation of the "Edmunds' Law," the Delegate for 1880 held over.

VERMONT.

NAME.—A descriptive name. French *verd*, green, and *mont*, mountain, "green mountain." Popularly called "The Green Mountain State."

ADMISSION.—Act of admission, Feb. 18, 1791; actual admission, March 4, 1791.

AREA.—Square miles, 9,135; acres, 5,846,400; persons to a square mile, 36.38.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790	85,425		1840	291,948	4.0
1800	154,465	80.8	1850	314,120	7.5
1810	217,895	41.0	1860	315,098	0.3
1820	235,966	8.2	1870	330,551	4.9
1830	280,652	18.9	1880	332,286	0.5

1880 *by Classes.*

Males	166,887	Native	291,327	White	331,218
Females	165,399	Foreign	40,959	Black	1,057
Dwellings	66,769	Persons to a dwelling	4.98		
Families	73,092	" " family	4.55		
Voters—Males over 21	95,621	Natural militia, 18–44	64,162		

Chinese	..				
Indians	11				

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Addison	24,173	23,484	24,010	Lamoille	12,684	12,448	12,311
Bennington	21,950	21,325	19,436	Orange	23,525	23,090	25,455
Caledonia	23,607	22,235	21,698	Orleans	22,083	21,035	18,981
Chittenden	32,792	36,480	28,171	Rutland	41,829	40,651	35,946
Essex	7,931	6,811	5,786	Washington	25,404	26,520	27,622
Franklin	30,225	30,291	27,231	Windham	26,763	26,036	26,982
Grand Isle	4,124	4,082	4,276	Windsor	35,196	36,063	37,193

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 2; instructors, 22; students, 97.

Public schools, 2,597; value of school property, $1,427,547; teachers, 2,597; teachers' salaries (1882), $381,608; receipts for school purposes, $462,139; expended for same (1882), $476,-

478; school age, 5–20 years; school population (1880), 99,463; pupils enrolled (1882), 74,000; average attendance (1882), 47,772; average length of school year (1882), 126.5 days.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 12,993, being 4.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 5,354; foreign white, 10,327; colored, Chinese and Indians, 156; total, 15,837, being 6.0 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 5; others, 77; total, 82. Circulation, 130,842.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 55,251; in professional and personal services, 28,174; in trade and transportation, 8,945; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 26,214.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 35,522; total acres in farms, 4,882,588; improved acres, 3,286,461; average size of farms, 137 acres; value of farms and buildings, $109,346,010; value of implements, $4,879,285; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $22,082,656.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	267,625 bush.	Oats	3,742,282 bush.
Buckwheat	356,618 "	Orchard products	$640,942
Butter	25,240,826 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	4,438,172 bush.
Cheese	1,545,789 "	Rye	71,733 "
Hay	1,051,183 tons.	Tobacco	131,432 lbs.
Hops	109,350 lbs.	Wheat	337,257 bush.
Indian Corn	2,014,271 bush.	Wool	2,551,113 lbs.
Milk	6,526,550 galls.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	75,215	Other cattle	167,204
Mules and asses	283	Sheep	439,870
Working oxen	18,868	Swine	76,384
Milch cows	217,033		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $16,586,195

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 2,874; capital invested, $23,265,224; hands employed, 17,450; wages paid, $5,164,479; value of material, $18,330,677; value of products, $31,354,366.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$718,455	Marble-work	$1,303,700
Cotton goods	915,864	Mixed textiles	1,277,903
Flour and mill products	3,038,688	Musical instruments	680,800
Machinery	783,828	Paper	1,237,484
Hosiery	595,270	Scales	2,080,474
Leather, tanned and curried	1,614,840	Woollen goods	3,217,807
Lumber, planed and sawed	5,968,338		

Total steam and water power in use, 63,314 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Iron ore	560 tons	$2,750
Copper ingots	2,647,894 lbs.	469,495
Minor minerals		48,788
Total value of mineral products		$521,033

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 836 miles of line; miles operated, 884; cost, $38,639,234; total investment, $40,877,661. Steam craft, 12; tonnage, 2,259; value, $221,300. Sail craft, 17; tonnage, 938; value, $23,425. Canal boats, 12; tonnage, 1,000; value, $20,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $106,372,797; of personal property, $46,218,508. State taxation (1883), rate 10 cents on $100, $278,397; county taxation, $15,344; city, town and village, $1,326,481. State debt (1883), none; county, city and town debt, $4,348,168.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Montpelier. Governor elected for two years. Salary, $1,000. The other State officers—all elected for two years—are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $6 a day; Secretary of State, $1,700; Treasurer, $1,700; Auditor, $2,000; Finance Inspector, $500; Railroad Commissioner, $500; Adjutant-General, $750; two Insurance Commissioners, fees; Superintendent Public Instruction, $1,400; Secretary Board of Agriculture; State Librarian, $350.

The Legislature is composed of 30 Senators and 240 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $3 a day. Legislature meets biennially on first Wednesday in October. No limit to length of session.

State elections held on first Tuesday in September. Presidential election held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and six Associate Justices, elected by the Legislature for a term of two years. Salary of each, $2,500.

Representatives in Congress, 2; Presidential electors, 4.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President.....	41,487	10,947	.....	30,540 R.
1874 Governor.....	33,582	13,258	.....	20,324 R.
1876 President.....	44,091	20,254	.....	23,837 R.
1878 Governor.....	37,312	17,247	2,635	20,065 R.
1880 President.....	45,567	18,316	1,215	27,251 R.
1880 Governor.....	47,848	21,245	1,578	26,603 R.
1882 "	35,839	14,466	1,535	21,373 R.

VIRGINIA.

NAME.—In honor of Queen Elizabeth, "the Virgin Queen," in whose reign Sir Walter Raleigh made the first attempt to colonize the region. Popular names, "Old Dominion," "Mother of Presidents," and "Mother of States."

ADMISSION.—Ratified the Constitution, June 25, 1788.

AREA.—Square miles, 40,125; acres, 25,680,000; persons to a square mile, 37.70.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1790.....	747,610		1850.....	1,421,661	14.6
1800.....	880,200	17.7	1860.....	1,596,318	12.2
1810.....	974,600	10.7	1870.....	1,225,163	4.4 { Va. & W. Va.
1820.....	1,065,116	9.2			
1830.....	1,211,405	13.7	1880.....	1,512,565	23.4
1840.....	1,239,797	2.3			

1880 *by Classes.*

Male....745,589	Native....1,497,869	White....880,858	Chinese.... 6
Female..766,976	Foreign... 14,696	Black....631,616	Indians.... 85
Dwellings.....	265,611	Persons to a dwelling.....	5.69
Families.....	282,355	" " family.....	5.36
Voters—Males over 21.....	334,505	Natural militia, 18–44.....	264,033

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Accomac	24,408	20,409	18,586
Albemarle	32,618	27,544	26,625
Alexandria	17,546	16,755	12,652
Alleghany	5,586	3,674	6,765
Amelia	10,377	9,878	10,741
Amherst	18,7 9	14,900	13 742
Appomattox	10,080	8,950	8,889
Augusta	35,710	28,763	27,749
Bath	4,482	3,795	3,676
Bedford	31,205	25,327	25,068
Bland	5,004	4,000	.....
Botetourt	14,809	11,329	11,516
Brunswick	16,707	13.427	14,809
Buchanan	5,694	3,777	2,793
Buckingham	15,540	13,371	15,212
Campbell	36,253	28,384	26,197
Caroline	17,243	15,128	18,464
Carroll	13,323	9,147	8,012
Charles City	5,512	4,975	5,609
Charlotte	16,653	14,513	14,471
Chesterfield	25,085	18,470	19,016
Clarke	7,682	6,670	7,146
Craig	3,704	2,942	3,553
Culpeper	13,408	12,227	12,063
Cumberland	10,540	8,142	9,961
Dinwiddie	32,870	30,702	30,198
Elizabeth City	10,689	8,303	5,798
Essex	11,032	9,927	10,469
Fairfax	16,025	12,952	11,834
Fauquier	22,993	19 690	21,706
Floyd	13,255	9,824	8,236
Fluvanna	10,802	9,875	10,353
Franklin	25,084	18,264	20,098
Frederick	17,553	16,596	16,546
Giles	8,794	5,875	6,883
Gloucester	11,876	10,211	10,956
Goochland	10,292	10,313	10,656
Grayson	13,068	9,587	8,252
Greene	5,830	4,634	5,042
Greensville	8,407	6,362	6,374
Halifax	33,588	27,828	26,520
Hanover	18,588	16,455	17,222
Henrico	82,703	66,179	61,616
Henry	16,069	12,303	12,105
Highland	5,164	4,151	4,319
Isle of Wight	10,572	8,320	9,977
James City	5,422	4,425	5,798
King and Queen	10,502	9,709	10,328
King George	6,397	5,742	6,571
King William	8,751	7,515	8,530
Lancaster	6,163	5,355	5,151
Lee	15,116	13 268	11,032
Loudoun	23,634	20,929	21,774
Louisa	18,942	16,332	16,701
Lunenburg	11,535	10,403	11,983
Madison	10,562	8,670	8,854
Mathews	7,501	6,200	7,091
Mecklenburg	24,610	21,318	20,096
Middlesex	6,252	4,981	4,364
Montgomery	16,693	12,556	10,617
Nansemond	15,903	11,576	13,693
Nelson	16,536	13,898	13,015
New Kent	5,515	4,381	5,884
Norfolk	58,657	46,702	36,227
Northampton	9,152	8,046	7,832
Northumberland	7 929	6,863	7,531
Nottoway	11,156	9,291	8,836
Orange	13,052	10,396	10,851
Page	9.965	8,462	8,109
Patrick	12,833	10,161	9,359
Pittsylvania	52,589	31,343	32,104
Powhatan	7,817	7,667	8,392
Prince Edward	14,668	12,004	11,844
Prince George	10,054	7,820	8,411
Princess Anne	9,394	8,273	7,714
Prince William	9,180	7,504	8,565
Pulaski	8,755	6,538	5,416
Rappahannock	9,291	8,261	8,850
Richmond	7,195	6,503	6,856
Roanoke	13,105	9,350	8,048
Rockbridge	20,003	16,058	17,248
Rockingham	29,567	23,668	23,408
Russell	13,906	11,103	10,280
Scott	17,233	13,036	12,072
Shenandoah	18,204	14,936	13,896
Smyth	12,160	8,898	8,952
Southampton	18,012	12,285	12,915
Spotsylvania	14,828	11,728	16,676
Stafford	7,211	6,420	8,555
Surry	7,391	5,585	6,133
Sussex	10,662	7,885	10,175
Tazewell	12,861	10,791	9,920
Warren	7,299	5,716	6,442
Warwick	2,258	1,672	1,740
Washington	21,203	16,816	16,892
Westmoreland	8,846	7,682	8,282
Wise	7,772	4,785	4,508
Wythe	14,318	11,611	12,305
York	7,349	7,198	4,949

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 7; instructors, 71; students, 956. Public schools, 4,876; value of school property, $1,246,283; teachers, 4,933; teachers' salaries (1882), $896,274; receipts for school purposes, $1,287,526; expended for same (1882), $1,157,142; school age, 5–21 years; school population (1882), 555,-

897; pupils enrolled (1882), 257,362; average attendance (1882,, 144,904; average length of school year in 1882, 118.2 days.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 360,495, being 34 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 113,915; foreign white, 777; colored, Chinese and Indians, 315,660; total, 430,-352, being 40.6 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 20; others, 175; total, 195. Circulation, 258,228.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 254,099; in professional and personal services, 146,664; in trade and transportation, 30,418; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 63,059.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 118,517; total acres in farms, 19,835,785; improved acres, 8,510,113; average size of farms, 167 acres; value of farms and buildings, $216,028,-107; value of implements, $5,495,114; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $45,726,221.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	14,223 bush.	Oats	5,333,181 bush.
Buckwheat	136,004 "	Orchard products	$1,609,663
Butter	11,470,923 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	2,016,766 bush.
Cheese	85,535 "	" sweet	1,901,521 "
Cotton	19,595 bales.	Rye	324,431 "
Hay	287,255 tons.	Tobacco	79,988,868 lbs.
Hops	1,599 lbs.	Wheat	7,826,174 bush.
Indian Corn	29,119,761 bush.	Wool	1,836,673 lbs.
Milk	1,224,469 galls.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	218,838	Other cattle	388,414
Mules and asses	33,598	Sheep	497,289
Working oxen	54,709	Swine	956,451
Milch cows	243,061		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $25,953,315

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 5,710; capital invested, $26,968,990; hands employed, 40,184; wages paid, $7,425,261; value of material, $32,883,933; value of products, $51,780,992.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$602,959	Carriages and wagons	$508,400
Bakery products	644,560	Clothing, men's	584,077

Cotton goods	$1,040,962	Printing and publishing	$624,975
Fertilizers	624,300	Slaughtering and packing	1,054,500
Flour and mill products	12,210,272	Tin and copperware	608,150
Machinery	1,361,231	Tobacco and cigars	13,714,991
Iron and steel	2,585,999	Tobacco stemming	1,074,005
Leather, tanned	1,011,830	Woollen goods	577,968
Lumber, planed and sawed	3,718,163		

Total steam and water power in use, 57,174 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$9,321
Coal, anthracite	2,600 tons	7,800
Coal, bituminous	40,520 "	92,837
Iron ore	169,683 "	384,331
Lead ore	11,200 "	33,000
Zinc ore	10,448 "	24,126
Copper ingots	678 lbs.	
Minor minerals		179,125
Total value of mineral products		$730,540

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 2,737 miles of line; miles operated, 2,611; cost, $154,640,870; total investment, $174,975,172. Total length of canal and slack-water lines, 74.56 miles; cost, $4,042,363. Steam craft, 89; tonnage, 6,251; value, $494,400. Sail craft, 1,061; tonnage, 26,638; value, $665,950. Canal boats, barges and flats, 131; tonnage, 8,731; value, $52,950.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1881), $234,272,951; of personal property, $70,391,078. State taxation (1881), rate 50 cents on $100, $1,523,320; county taxation, $1,170,413; city, town and village, $1,553,297. State debt (1881), all funded, $29,614,793; county, city and town debt, $12,754,576.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Richmond. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $5,000. The other State officers, all chosen for four years, or at the pleasure of the Governor, are: Lieutenant-Governor, salary, $900; Secretary of State, $2,500; Treasurer, $2,000; Auditor, $3,000; Second Auditor, $2,000; Attorney-General, $3,500; Superintendent Board Public Instruction, $2,000; Adjutant-General, $1,100; Commissioner of Agriculture, $1,500; Superintendent of Lands, $1,300; Railroad Commissioner; State Librarian.

The Legislature is composed of 40 Senators and 100 Repre-

sentatives. Senators are chosen for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $540 a year. Legislature meets biennially on first Wednesday in December. Session limited to 90 days.

State, Congressional and Presidential elections held on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a President Judge and four associates, elected by the Legislature for twelve years. Salary of President Judge, $3,250. Salary of associates, $3,000 each.

Representatives in Congress, 10; Presidential electors, 12.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Readj.	Maj.
1872 President	91,440	93,415	.....	1,975 R.
1873 Governor	127,738	93,499	.....	34,239 D.
1876 President	139,670	95,558	.....	44,112 D.
1877 Governor	101,940	4,329	.....	97,611 D.
1880 President	96,599	83,642	31,484	12,957 D.
1881 Governor	99,757	.....	111,473	11,716 Read.
1882 Cong. at Large	94,184	.....	99,992	5,808 Read.

WASHINGTON TERRITORY.

NAME.—In honor of Washington.

ORGANIZATION.—Erected into a Territory, March 2, 1853.

AREA.—Square miles, 66,880; acres, 42,803,200; persons to a square mile, 1.12.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.	Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1860	11,594		1880	75,116	213.5
1870	23,955	106.6			

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	45,973	Native	59,313	White	67,199
Female	29,143	Foreign	15,803	Black	325
Dwellings	15,512			Persons to a dwelling	4.84
Families	16,380			" " family	4.59
Voters—Males over 21	27,670			Natural militia, 18–44	22,542

Chinese	3,187				
Indians	4,405				

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Chehalis	921	401	285	Cowlitz	2,062	730	406
Clallam	638	408	149	Island	1,087	626	294
Clarke	5,490	3,081	2,384	Jefferson	1,712	1,268	531
Columbia	7,103	.....	.....	King	6,910	2,120	302

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Kitsap	1,738	866	544
Klikitat	4,055	329	230
Lewis	2,600	888	384
Mason	639	289	162
Pacific	1,645	738	420
Pierce	3,319	1,409	1,115
San Juan	948	554	.....
Skamania	809	133	173
Snohomish	1,387	599	.....
Spokane	4,262	.....	996
Stevens	1,245	734	.....
Thurston	3,270	2,246	1,507
Wahkiakum	1,593	270	42
Walla Walla	8,716	5,300	1,318
Whatcom	3,137	534	352
Whitman	7,014	.....	.....
Yakima	2,811	432	.....

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 2; instructors, 12; students, 244. Public schools, 531; value of school property, $161,309; teachers, 532; teachers' salaries, $95,582; receipts for school purposes, $120,549; expended for same, $112,615; school age, 4–21 years; school population (1881), 23,899; pupils enrolled (1881), 14,754; average attendance, 10,456.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 3,191, being 5.7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 895; foreign white, 534; colored, Chinese and Indians, 2,460; total, 3,889, being 7 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 4; others, 25; total, 29. Circulation, 17,141.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 12,781; in professional and personal services, 6,640; in trade and transportation, 3,405; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 7,296.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 6,529; total acres in farms, 1,409,421; improved acres, 484,346; average size of farms, 216 acres; value of farms and buildings, $13,844,224; value of implements, $958,573; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $4,212,750.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.
Barley	566,537 bush.
Buckwheat	2,498 "
Butter	1,356,103 lbs.
Cheese	109,200 "
Hay	106,819 tons.
Hops	703,277 lbs.
Indian Corn	39,183 bush.
Milk	226,703 galls.
Oats	1,571,706 bush.
Orchard products	$127,668
Potatoes, Irish	1,035,177 bush.
Rye	7,124 "
Tobacco	6,930 lbs.
Wheat	1,921,322 bush.
Wool	1,389,123 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	45,848	Other cattle	103,111
Mules and asses	626	Sheep	292,883
Working oxen	3,821	Swine	46,828
Milch cows	27,622		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $4,852,307

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 261; capital invested, $3,202,497; hands employed, 1,147; wages paid, $532,226; value of material, $1,967,469; value of products, $3,250,134.

The principal manufactures are:

Lumber, sawed	$1,734,742	All other industries	$1,515,392

Total steam and water power in use, 4,395 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$135,800
Silver		1,019
Coal, bituminous	145,015 tons	389,046
Total value of mineral products		$525,865

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 37 miles of line; miles operated, 22; cost, $885,000; total investment, $885,000. Steam craft, 52; tonnage, 6,805; value, $537,300. Sail craft, 62; tonnage, 23,389; value, $584,700. Barges, 18; value, $2,600.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal estate (1883), $44,107,567. Territorial taxation (1883), $110,267; county taxation, $393,150; city, town and district, $40,471. Territorial debt, none; county, city and town debt, $239,311.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Olympia. Governor appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary, $2,600. The other territorial officers are, a Secretary, term four years, salary, $1,800; Treasurer, two years, $1,200; Auditor, two years, $1,200; Superintendent of Public Instruction, two years, $1,000; State Librarian, $400.

The Legislature is composed of 12 Senators and 24 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator,

$4 a day and 20 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on first Monday in October. Session limited to 60 days.

Territorial elections held biennially on Tuesday after the first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representatives in Congress, 1 Delegate.

POLITICS.—Vote for Delegate:

	Rep.	Dem.	Maj.
1880	8,810	7,013	1,797 R.
1882	11,252	8,244	3,008 R.

WEST VIRGINIA.

NAME.—So named as lying West of Virginia.

ADMISSION.—Act of admission, Dec. 31, 1862; actual admission, June 19, 1863. Before that a part of Virginia.

AREA.—Square miles, 24,645; acres, 15,772,800; persons to a square mile, 25.09.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1870	442,014	
1880	618,457	39.9

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	314,495	Native	600,192	White	592,537
Female	303,962	Foreign	18,265	Black	25,886
Dwellings	108,349			Persons to a dwelling	5.71
Families	111,732			Persons to a family	5.54
Voters—Males over 21	139,161			Natural militia, 18–44	114,664
				Chinese	5
				Indians	29

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870..	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Barbour	11,870	10,312	8,958	Mercer	7,467	7,064	6,819
Berkeley	17,380	14,900	12,525	Mineral	8,630	6,332	.....
Boone	5,824	4,553	4,840	Monongalia	14,985	13,547	13,048
Braxton	9,787	6,480	4,992	Monroe	11,501	11,124	10,757
Brooke	6,013	5,464	5,494	Morgan	5,777	4,315	3,732
Cabell	13,744	6,429	8,020	Nicholas	7,223	4,458	4,627
Calhoun	6,072	2,939	2,502	Ohio	37,457	28,831	22,422
Clay	3,460	2,196	1,787	Pendleton	8,022	6,455	6,164
Doddridge	10,552	7,076	5,203	Pleasants	6,256	3,012	2,945
Fayette	11,560	6,647	5,997	Pocahontas	5,591	4,069	3,958
Gilmer	7,108	4,338	3,759	Preston	19,091	14,555	13,312
Grant	5,542	4,467	.....	Putnam	11,375	7,794	6,301
Greenbrier	15,060	11,417	12,211	Raleigh	7,367	3,673	3,367
Hampshire	10,366	7,643	13,913	Randolph	8,102	5,563	4,990
Hancock	4,882	4,363	4,445	Ritchie	13,474	9,055	6,847
Hardy	6,794	5,518	9,864	Roane	12,184	7,232	5,381
Harrison	20,181	16,714	13,790	Summers	9,033	.....	.....
Jackson	16,312	10,300	8,306	Taylor	11,455	9,367	7,463
Jefferson	15,005	13,219	14,535	Tucker	3,151	1,907	1,428
Kanawha	32,466	22,349	16,150	Tyler	11,073	7,832	6,517
Lewis	13,269	10,175	7,999	Upshur	10,249	8,023	7,292
Lincoln	8,739	5,053	.....	Wayne	14,739	7,852	6,747
Logan	7,329	5,124	4,938	Webster	3,207	1,730	1,555
McDowell	3,074	1,952	1,535	Wetzel	13,896	8,595	6,783
Marion	17,198	12,107	12,722	Wirt	7,104	4,804	3,751
Marshall	18,840	14,941	12,997	Wood	25,006	19,000	11,046
Mason	22,293	15,978	9,173	Wyoming	4,322	3,171	2,861

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 3; instructors, 33; students, 278. Public schools, 3,874; value of school property, $1,686,999; teachers, 4,156; teachers' salaries (1882), $553,509; receipts for school purposes, $875,913; expended for same (1882), $879,820; school age, 6–21 years; school population (1882), 216,605; pupils enrolled (1882), 155,544; average attendance (1882), 96,652; average length of school year in 1882, 99 days.

Persons over ten years who cannot read, 52,041, being 12.1 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 72,826; foreign white, 2,411; colored, Chinese and Indians, 10,139; total, 85,376, being 19.9 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 2; others, 107; total, 109. Circulation, 89,283.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 107,578; in professional and personal services, 31,680; in trade and transportation, 10,653; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 26,288.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 62,674; total acres in farms, 10,193,779; improved acres, 3,792,327; average size of farms, 163 acres; value of farms and buildings, $133,147,175; value of implements, $2,699,163; total value of farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $19,360,049.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	9,740 bush.	Orchard products	$934,400
Buckwheat	285,298 "	Potatoes, Irish	1,398,539 bush.
Butter	9,309,517 lbs.	" sweet	87,214 "
Cheese	100,300 "	Rye	113,181 bush.
Hay	232,338 tons.	Tobacco	2,296,146 lbs.
Indian Corn	14,090,609 bush.	Wheat	4,001,711 bush.
Milk	750,279 gal.	Wool	2,681,444 lbs.
Oats	1,908,505 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	126,143	Other cattle	288,845
Mules and asses	6,226	Sheep	674,769
Working oxen	12,643	Swine	510,613
Milch cows	156,956		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $17,742,387

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 2,375; capital invested, $13,883,390; hands employed, 14,311; wages paid, $4,313,965; value of materials, $14,027,388; value of products, $22,867,126.

The principal manufactures are:

Flour and mill products	$3,942,818	Leather, tanned and curried	$2,176,538
Foundry and machine-shop products	466,862	Lumber, planed and sawed	2,784,407
Glass	748,500	Salt	380,369
Iron and steel	6,054,032	Tobacco and cigars	452,993
		Woollen goods	356,986

Total steam and water power in use, 37,910 horse-power

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Coal, bituminous	1,792,570 tons	1,971,847
Iron ore	60,371 "	88,595
Minor minerals	.....	4,500
Total value of all mineral products		$2,064,942
Add 200,000 barrels Petroleum, @ $1.00 for crude		200,000
Grand total of all mineral products		$2,264,942

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 258 miles of line; miles operated, 168; cost, $12,923,502; total investment, $18,182,116. Steam craft, 61; tonnage, 7,497; value, $312,600. Barges and flats, 450; tonnage, 56,707 tons; value, $206,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1882), $106,910,444; of personal property, $39,637,735. State

taxation (1882), rate 30 cents on $100, $600,992; county taxation, $769,138; city, town and village, $706,639. State debt, none; debt prohibited in Constitution; county, city and town debts, $1,513,424.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Wheeling. Governor elected for four years. Salary, $2,700. The other State officers, all chosen for four years, or at the pleasure of the Governor, are: Secretary of State, salary, $1,000; Treasurer, $1,400; Auditor, $2,000; Superintendent of Schools, $1,500; Attorney-General, $1,000; Adjutant-General, $250; State Librarian, $700.

The Legislature is composed of 26 Senators and 65 Representatives. Senators chosen for four years; Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $4 a day and 10 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on second Wednesday in January. Session limited to 45 days.

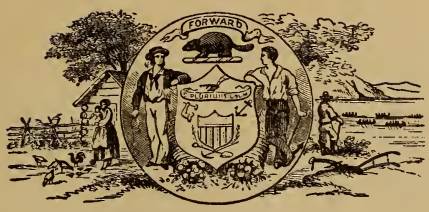
State elections held biennially on second Tuesday in October. Presidential elections on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Presiding Judge and three Associate Judges, elected by the people for a term of twelve years. Salary of each, $2,250.

Representatives in Congress, 4; Presidential electors, 6.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Dem.	Rep.	Ind. and Grbk.	Maj.
1872 Governor.	40,305	.....	42,883	2,578 Ind.
1872 President.....	29,537	32,283	600	2,746 R.
1876 "	56,565	42,001	.....	14,564 D.
1876 Governor.....	56,206	43,477	.....	12,729 D.
1880 President.....	57,391	46,243	9,079	11,148 D.
1880 Governor.....	58,407	43,072	12,326	15,335 D.
1882 Supreme Judge..	46,661	43,440	.....	3,221 D.



WISCONSIN.

NAME.—From the river Wisconsin. It is Indian, according to some, and means "wild rushing channel." According to others it is a French corruption of an Indian word meaning "westward flowing." Popular name, "Badger State."

ADMISSION.—Erected into a Territory, April 20, 1836. Act of admission dated March 3, 1847. Actual admission, May 29, 1848.

AREA.—Square miles, 54,450; acres, 34,848,000; persons to a square mile, 24.16.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent. of increase.
1840	30,945	
1850	305,391	886.8
1860	775,881	154.0
1870	1,054,670	35.9
1880	1,315,497	24.7

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	680,069	Native	910,072
Female	635,428	Foreign	405,425
Dwellings	239,361		
Families	251,530		
Voters—Males over 21	340,482		
White	1,309,618	Chinese	16
Black	2,702	Indians	3,161
Persons to a dwelling			5.50
" " family			5.23
Natural militia, 18–44			256,434

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Adams	6,741	6,601	6,492
Ashland	1,559	221	515
Barron	7,024	538	13
Bayfield	564	344	353
Brown	34,078	25,168	11,795
Buffalo	15,528	11,123	3,864
Burnet	3,140	706	12
Calumet	16,632	12,335	7,895
Chippewa	15,491	8,311	1,895
Clark	10,715	3,450	789
Columbia	28,065	28,802	24,441
Crawford	15,644	13,075	8,068
Dane	53,233	53,096	43,922
Dodge	45,931	47,035	42,818
Door	11,645	4,919	2,948
Douglas	655	1,122	812
Dunn	16,817	9,488	2,704
Eau Claire	19,993	10,769	3,162
Fond du Lac	46,859	46,273	34,154
Grant	37,852	37,979	31,189
Green	21,729	23,611	19,808
Green Lake	14,483	13,195	12,663
Iowa	23,628	24,544	18,967
Jackson	13,285	7,687	4,170
Jefferson	32,156	34,040	30,438
Juneau	15,582	12,3.2	8,770

By Counties for three Censuses—Continued.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.
Kenosha	13,550	13,147	13,900
Kewaunee	15,807	10,128	5,530
La Crosse	27,073	20,297	12,186
La Fayette	21,279	22,659	18,134
Langlade	685	.....	.....
Lincoln	2,011	.....	.....
Manitowoc	37,505	33,364	22,416
Marathon	17,121	5,885	2,892
Marinette	8,929	.....	.....
Marquette	8,908	8,056	8,233
Milwaukee	138,537	89,930	62,518
Monroe	21,607	16,550	8,410
Oconto	9,848	8,321	3,592
Outagamie	28,716	18,430	9,587
Ozaukee	15,461	15,564	15,682
Pepin	6,226	4,659	2,392
Pierce	17,744	9,958	4,672
Polk	10,018	3,422	1,400
Portage	17,731	10,634	7,507
Price	785	.....	.....
Racine	30,922	26,740	21,360
Richland	18,174	15,731	9,732
Rock	38,823	39,030	36,690
Saint Croix	18,956	11,035	5,392
Sauk	28,729	23,860	18,963
Shawano	10,371	3,166	829
Sheboygan	34,206	31,749	26,875
Taylor	2,311	.....	.....
Trempealeau	17,189	10,732	2,560
Vernon	23,235	18,645	11,007
Walworth	26,249	25,972	26,496
Washington	23,442	23,919	23,622
Waukesha	28,957	28,274	26,831
Waupaca	20,955	15,539	8,851
Waushara	12,687	11,279	8,770
Winnebago	42,740	37,279	23,770
Wood	8,981	3,912	2,425

EDUCATION.—Colleges, 7; instructors, 109; students, 1,435.

Public schools, 6,588; value of school property, $5,287,570; teachers, 7,000; teachers' salaries (1882), $1,437,349; receipts for school purposes, $2,701,413; expended for same (1882), $2,132,807; school age, 4–20 years; school population (1882), 495,233; pupils enrolled (1882), 303,452; average attendance (1881), 190,878; average length of school year in 1881, 175.6 days.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 38,693, being 4 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 11,494; foreign white, 42,739; colored, Chinese and Indians, 1,325; total, 55,558, being 5.8 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 21; others, 319; total, 340. Circulation, 446,392.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 195,901; in professional and personal service, 97,494; in trade and transportation, 37,550; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 86,510.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 134,322; total acres in farms, 15,353,118; improved acres, 9,162,528; average size of farms, 114 acres; value of farms and buildings, $357,709,507; value of implements, $15,647,196; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $72,779,496.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Barley	5,043,118 bush.	Oats	32,905,320 bush.
Buckwheat	299,107 "	Orchard products	$639,435
Butter	33,353,045 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	8,509,161 bush.
Cheese	2,281,411 "	" sweet	7,124 "
Hay	1,896,969 tons.	Rye	2,298,573 "
Hops	1,966,827 lbs.	Tobacco	10,608,423 lbs.
Indian Corn	34,230,579 bush.	Wheat	24,884,689 bush.
Milk	25,156,977 galls.	Wool	7,016,491 lbs.

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	352,428	Other cattle	622,005
Mules and asses	7,136	Sheep	1,336,807
Working oxen	28,762	Swine	1,128,825
Milch cows	478,374		

Value of all live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $46,508,643

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 7,674; capital invested, $73,821,802; hands employed, 57,109; wages paid, $18,814,917; value of material, $85,796,178; value of products, $128,255,480.

The principal manufactures are:

Agricultural implements	$3,742,069	Iron and steel	$6,580,391
Boots and shoes	1,736,773	Leather, tanned and curried	8,821,162
Bakery products	697,289	Liquors, malt and distilled	6,614,386
Brick and tile	607,609	Lumber, planed and sawed	18,471,725
Carriages and wagons	4,350,454	Paper	1,277,736
Cheese and butter	1,501,087	Printing and publishing	1,093,510
Clothing, men's	4,883,797	Saddlery and harness	1,064,235
Cooperage	1,563,208	Sashes and doors	2,975,687
Flour and mill products	27,639,430	Slaughtering and packing	6,533,926
Machinery	3,965,652	Tobacco and cigars	2,325,206
Furniture	1,225,933	Woollen goods	1,480,069
Chairs	951,240		

Total steam and water power in use, 106,085 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Iron ore	41,440 tons.	$73,000
Lead ore	1,728 "	78,525
Zinc ore	4,617 "	64,562
Copper ingots	18,087 lbs.	1,549
Minor minerals	.....	100,000
Total of all mineral products		$317,636

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 5,744 miles of line; miles operated, 5,538; cost, $196,838,962; total value, $192,822,796. Steam craft, 177; tonnage, 19,249;

value, $1,020,400. Sail craft, 258; tonnage, 50,800; value, $1,270,000. Barges and flats, 45; value, $32,600.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real estate (1883), $353,068,413; of personal property, $103,256,758. State taxation (1883), rate 15.5 cents on $100, $975,931; county taxation, $1,995,990; city, town and district, $3,384,882. State debt (1883), all funded, $2,252,057; county, city and town debts, $9,624,935.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Madison. Governor elected (after 1885) for two years. Salary, $5,000. The other State officers, their terms being for three years until 1885, when they will be in general for two years, are: Lieutenant-Governor, $1,000; Secretary of State, $5,000; Treasurer, $5,000; Attorney-General, $3,000; Adjutant-General, $500; Superintendent Public Schools, $3,700; Secretary Agricultural Society, one year, $2,000; Insurance Commissioners, $3,000; Railroad Commissioner, $3,000; State Librarian, $1,500.

The Legislature is composed of 33 Senators and 100 Representatives. Senators elected for four years, Representatives for two years. Salary of a Legislator, $500 and 10 cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on second Wednesday in January. No limit to length of session.

State elections held biennially after 1885, and with Congressional and Presidential elections on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and four Associate Justices, chosen by the people for ten years. Salary of each, $5,000.

Representatives in Congress, 9; Presidential electors, 11.

POLITICS for twelve years:

	Rep.	Dem.	Grbk.	Maj.
1872 President	104,992	86,487	.....	18,505 R.
1873 Governor	66,224	81,653	.....	15,429 D.
1876 President	130,067	123,926	.....	6,141 R.
1877 Governor	78,753	70,482	.....	8,271 R.
1880 President	144,398	114,644	7,896	29,754 R.
1881 Governor	81,754	69,797	13,225	11,957 R.

WYOMING TERRITORY.

NAME.—Suggested by valley of same name in Pennsylvania.

ORGANIZATION.—Erected into a Territory, July 25, 1868.

AREA.—Square miles, 97,575; acres, 62,448,000; persons to a square mile, 0.21.

POPULATION and rate of increase:

Census.	Pop.	Per cent of increase.
1870	9,118	
1880	20,789	127.9

1880 *by Classes.*

Male	14,152	Native	14,939	White	19,437	Chinese	914
Female	6,637	Foreign	5,850	Black	298	Indians	140
Dwellings			4,282	Persons to a dwelling			4.85
Families			4,604	" " family			4.52
Voters—Males over 21			10,180	Natural militia, 18–44			9,751

By Counties for three Censuses.

Counties.	1880.	1870.	1860.	*Counties.*	1880.	1870.	1860.
Albany	4,626	2,021	.....	Laramie	6,409	2,957	.....
Carbon	3,438	1,368	.....	Sweetwater	2,561	1,916	.....
Crook	239	.....	.....	Uinta	2,879	856	.....
Johnson	637	.....	.....				

EDUCATION.—Public schools, 55; value of school property, $40,500; teachers, 70; teachers' salaries, $25,894; receipts for school purposes, $36,161; expended for same, $28,504; school age, 7–21 years; school population, 4,112; pupils enrolled, 2,907; average attendance, 1,980.

Persons over ten years of age who cannot read, 427, being 2.6 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age. Persons over ten years who cannot write: native white, 177; foreign white, 197; colored, Chinese and Indians, 182; total, 556, being 3.4 per cent. of all persons over ten years of age.

Daily papers, 3; others, 7; total, 10. Circulation, 5,686.

OCCUPATIONS.—Persons engaged in agriculture, 1,639; in professional and personal services, 4,011; in trade and transportation, 1,545; in manufacturing, mechanics and mining, 1,689.

AGRICULTURE.—Number of farms, 457; total acres in farms, 124,433; improved acres, 83,122; average size of farms, 272 acres; value of farms and buildings, $835,895; value of implements, $95,482; total value of all farm products, sold, consumed or on hand, $372,391.

Principal Products.

	Quantity.		Quantity.
Butter	105,643 lbs.	Potatoes, Irish	30,986 bush.
Cheese	2,930 "	Rye	78 "
Hay	23,413 tons.	Wheat	4,674 "
Milk	75,343 galls.	Wool	691,650 lbs.
Oats	22,512 bush.		

Live-Stock.

	Number.		Number.
Horses	11,975	Other cattle	273,625
Mules and asses	671	Sheep	140,225
Working oxen	718	Swine	567
Milch cows	3,730		

Total value of live-stock on farms, June 1, 1880 ..... $5,007,107

MANUFACTURES.—Number of establishments, 57; capital invested, $346,673; hands employed, 391; wages paid, $187,798; value of material, $601,214; value of products, $898,494.

The principal manufactures are:

Iron and steel	$491,345	All other industries	$407,149

Total steam and water power in use, 755 horse-power.

MINING.—Quantity:

		Value.
Gold		$17,321
Coal, bituminous	589,595 tons	1,080,451
Total of all mineral products		$1,097,772

COMMERCIAL FACILITIES.—Railroads in 1883, 315 miles of line; miles operated, 293; cost, $8,700,000; total investment, $8,730,000.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.—Assessed value of real and personal property (1881), $13,866,118. Territorial taxation (1882), rate 40 cents on $100, $55,465; county taxation, $136,000; city, town and village, $12,499. Territorial debt, none; county, city and town debt, $188,462.

GOVERNMENT.—Capital, Cheyenne. Governor appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary, $2,600. The other Territorial officers are, a Secretary, term four years, salary, $1,800; Treasurer, two years, $1,000; Auditor, two years, $1,000; Superintendent of Public Instruction, two years, $400: Librarian, $400.

The Legislature is composed of 12 Senators and 24 Representatives, all elected for two years. Salary of a Legislator $4 a day and twenty cents mileage. Legislature meets biennially on second Tuesday in January. Session limited to 60 days.

Territorial elections held biennially on Tuesday after first Monday in November.

The Supreme Court consists of a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices, appointed by the President and Senate for four years. Salary of each, $3,000.

Representative in Congress, 1 Delegate.

POLITICS.—Vote for Delegate:

	Dem.	Rep.	Maj.
1880	3,907	3,760	147 D.
1882	5,813	4,702	1,111 D.

RULING THROUGH PARTIES;

OR,

ADMINISTRATIONS AND CONGRESSES.

PARTIES IN GENERAL.—Party names do not always afford an index to party principles or professions. In this respect they are unfortunate. "Whig" was originally a term of reproach, and "Democrat" and "Jacobin" were mere epithets previous to 1825. So far as the names give a cue to principles there ought to be no difference between the existing "Republican" and "Democratic" parties. In such names as "Federal," "Anti-Federal," "Native-American," etc., one is provided with a key to the principles professed.

Under our institutions issues are so transitory that parties are short-lived. Or if they retain their names a great while, they frequently cross their principles and change their professions. They are also often the victims of a seemingly inevitable drift, by which they get very far away from the intent of their founders, and so lose sight of original principles as to leave nothing but the party name as a rallying cry. Some of our best and purest parties, in the beginning, have moved illogically along in wider and wider departure from their first intent, until they either ruined themselves or brought trouble to the country. In such instances party is lost in partyism, and blind adherence to a banner is mistaken for intelligent devotion to principle.

USES OF PARTIES.—As embodiments of ignorance, prejudice, passion, as a means of holding unthinking crowds, and wielding arbitrary, brutal power, parties are dangerous, even in a Republic. But as schools of thought, as orders representing

some vital principle, as a means of giving emphatic expression to some popular and useful wish, they are proper and necessary. Candid study of our institutions must impress one with the fact that in general the existence of political parties has been timely, and their effect wholesome. Each has answered a purpose, which, even if not presently needful or apparently good, has nevertheless served as a check on its opponents or as a stimulus to higher notions of activity. However much party principles may have ebbed and flowed, however far toward fanaticism, sectionalism and intrigue, certain minds, and orders of mind, may have drifted, it cannot be said that the spirit of liberty has suffered, or that respect for our institutions has been undermined, but that, on the contrary, the former is keener and the latter broader and deeper. Yet it is always well to remember Washington's words, "that from the natural tendency of governments of a popular character, it is certain there will always be enough of party spirit for salutary purposes. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume."

PRIMITIVE PARTIES.—The Colonial period developed no parties as we now know them. The Colonies were disjointed governments, therefore there could be no national party. But there was always a sentiment against the right claimed by Parliament to legislate for them. This sentiment grew warmer after the English revolution of 1688, which greatly strengthened the hands of Parliament and emboldened its assumptions. But it did not really crystalize in the Colonies till after the treaty of 1763, by which Great Britain secured Canada and the Mississippi valley from France. Then it became a British policy to make the Colonies pay a part of the expenses of the war.* This policy brought that long list of burdens, such as customs dues, export taxes, excises, Tea Acts, Stamp Acts, etc., against which the

* An excessive part of the expenses, for the English idea was that they should pay all they could be compelled to, inasmuch as the territory secured enured to their benefit.

Colonies unitedly remonstrated, not more because they were burdens, than because submission to them involved a surrender of the point that Parliament had no right to tax America without her consent. The respective Tory ministries in England favored Parliament. The Whigs (when out) favored the Colonists, or, at least, non-interference. Colonial thought, shaped on these lines, took these party expressions. As the Colonial Whigs grew warm in their opposition to Parliament, and the idea of union and independence advanced, "Whig" and "Tory" became as familiar in America as in England, and the sentiment represented by each as bitter. The Whig, who was at first only an opponent of Parliamentary claims, got to be a Colonial unionist, without separation from the mother country, then a unionist, with separation. The Tory remained the fast friend of English sovereignty on our soil, in whatever shape the powers at home chose to present it.

PARTIES OF THE REVOLUTION.—From the above attitude of parties one can readily see that after the fact of Independence (1776) the Tory party was without a mission. If a party at all, its sentiment was silenced amid arms. The Whig idea was uppermost and overwhelming. It meant vastly more than in the beginning. The Whigs were the revolutionary, armed party. They were the government, such as it was—the Congress first, and then the Confederation. The Tories were enemies, traitors if you please. Indeed, the term Whig began to mean so much that other words, comprehending more, came into use, as "Popular Party," "Party of Independence," "American Party," "Liberty Party," "Patriots," and so on. This was the party situation from 1774 to 1778, in the Continental Congress and in the Colonial Legislatures.

PARTIES OF THE CONFEDERATION.—The event of the Confederation was forced by the Whigs. Their party name followed. The Articles of Confederation were a decisive advance of the federal idea, but as a government they were infinitely weaker than the arbitrary, revolutionary Congress. We have already seen their sources of weakness, how they fell into disrespect at home and abroad, why it became necessary to sub-

stitute for them "a more perfect union." The Whig party dominated the Confederation. Less than ever was there a Tory party. Toryism invited confiscation, proscription, banishment.

PARTIES OF THE CONSTITUTION.—With the peace of 1783, the Tory cause perished outright. Therefore there was no longer any need for the term Whig. The prevalent thought was the national one—how to unite more firmly, and for peace as well as war? This was Federalism—the permanent one out of the disjointed many idea. The weaknesses of the Confederation forced this thought along like a torrent, ripened it until it became the Constitution of the United States. Strictly speaking, there were no more two parties from 1783 to 1787, than from 1774 to 1783. Whigism became Federalism, and Whigs Federalists, and the thought of "a more perfect union" was as paramount as the thought of Independence, Union under a Congress or the Articles, and the victory of the Revolution. But it was a time of peace, and Federalism was a widely varying theme. It took all sorts of shapes in conventions, village groups and around the hearthstone. When it brought the convention which framed the Constitution, it was variant there. Debate took very wide range. Antagonisms were pointed and bitter. And debates in the State Conventions over the question of ratification took still wider range. But in all these contentions the central thought was not lost sight of. Federalism, however colored or twisted, was still the aim. Starting away up among the few monarchy men of the convention, or of the States, and travelling down through the various orders of thought clear to the very few who repudiated union on any conditions, we find Federalism the regnant idea and crowning hope. All differences were as to form, time, construction, etc., not as to fact or necessity. The party of Federalism, that is, the Federal party, became the party of a new and stronger government, of the Constitution, just as the Whig party had been the party of Independence and the Continental Congress.

"The Republicans are the nation," said Jefferson in the flush of political triumph. The Federals were the nation. Their conciliations and compromises in convention secured a Constitution.

Their concessions, surrenders and appeals secured its ratification, speedily here, tardily there, reservedly in many instances, fully in others. We therefore regard the common division of the parties of this time into Federal and Anti-Federal as not exact and somewhat misleading. There was no national Anti-Federal party,* certainly no national sentiment worthy the name of Anti-Federalism. The opposition to the Constitution which sprang up in the State ratifying conventions was not even unreservedly Anti-Federal. It was a strange, incalculable sentiment, born of fears, and visions, and hypotheses, and constructions, and was as much indulged by men like Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams who had all along been Federalists of the most pronounced type, as by those who thought the "secretly deliberating convention" could only hatch a scheme of monarchy. Nor was it a final sentiment, for many Anti-Federalists voted to ratify. It was not a coherent sentiment, for some opposed because the promised union would not be strong enough, some because it would be too strong, some because the States would suffer, some because a State government was at all times sufficient, and so on. Anti-Federalists were united in nothing save their opposition. When the work of ratification was completed and the government came to be started, Anti-Federalism was not heard of. In the presence of the fact of a Constitution it either agreed to suspend judgment while the new experiment was being tried or engaged to help the trial on.

* All the members of the Convention signed the Constitution except Edmund Randolph and George Mason, of Virginia, and Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, and they were believers in Federalism, *i. e.*, the necessity for a stronger union, but they did not think the Constitution was the best means to secure it. On signing, Franklin said: "I confess there are several parts of this Constitution I do not at present approve, but I am not sure I shall never approve them." And Hamilton, on moving that all the members sign the instrument, said: "No man's ideas were more remote from the plan than his own were known to be, but is it possible to deliberate between anarchy and convulsion on one side and the chance of good to be expected from the plan on the other?" In the letter which Washington sent out with the Constitution he says: "In all our deliberations we have kept steadily in view that which appears the greatest interest of every American—the consolidation of our Union, in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps national existence."

NEW GOVERNMENT PARTIES.—So general was the refusal of the Anti-Federals to adopt a definite line of action after the Constitution had been ratified by the necessary number of States (nine), and such was their acquiescence in the popular wish to see the new government fairly tried, that all animosities ceased, and all open opposition was hushed, while the nation bowed before the popularity of Washington, and unanimously chose him for its first President. This signal mark of confidence, and this supreme triumph of Federalism was to end most happily for the country. The passions of the hour would have time to cool. Though Washington was a recognized Federalist, he was not extreme, and all could depend on his judgment to start the machinery on the broadest and safest basis. Extremists and radicals of every type could afford to bide their time. And they did, harmlessly but not inactively. It was a period for new schools of thought, or rather for bringing to bear on the new order of things old thoughts in stronger and better formulated shape. Federalism, which was affirmative, and Federals who were responsible for the new government, naturally inclined to such a construction of the Constitution, where points were doubtful, as would throw the doubts in favor of the central authority. Anti-Federalism, which was negative, and Anti-Federals, even though they were supporters of the administration, naturally inclined to such a construction, as would throw the doubts in favor of the States. Thus the operative, dominant Federalism of the day took the form of liberal or open construction of the Constitution, would interpret it as though it had a spirit as well as a letter, saw in a government under it an entity with powers and functions to be questioned only by the people at large. So the Anti-Federalism of the day took the form of a strict or close construction of the Constitution, would interpret it as though it were a simple, inelastic code, saw in a government under it nothing more than that aggregate of power and function which the sovereign States had parted with, and which they were at liberty to question, or if need be recall. While these two schools of thought did not immediately branch into organized and opposing parties, they furnished the ground-

work for nearly all subsequent and legitimate national party differences.* A few years of experiment with the new government brought up many questions which deeply engaged the respective schools and gradually led to the first organized antagonism to the Federal party, which became known as the Democratic-Republican party, or better as the Republican party. But of this in its place.

I.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

April 29, 1789—March 3, 1793.

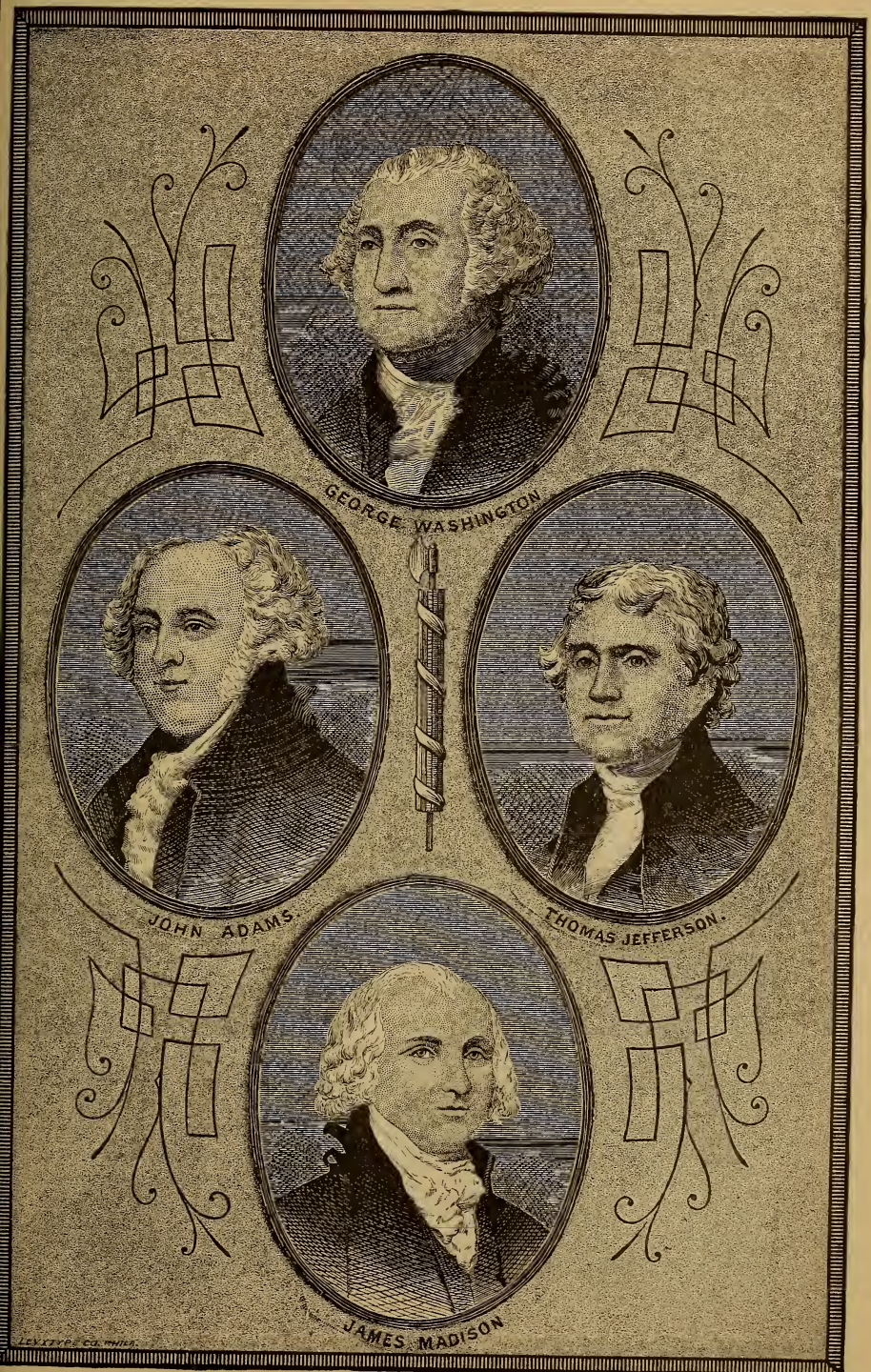
GEORGE WASHINGTON, VA., *President.* JOHN ADAMS, MASS., *Vice-President.* SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA.

Congresses.	*Sesssions.*
FIRST CONGRESS.	1, April 6, 1789–September 29, 1789, appointed session. 2, January 4, 1790–August 12, 1790. 3, December 6, 1790–March 3, 1791.
SECOND CONGRESS.	1, October 24, 1791–May 8, 1792. 2, November 5, 1792–March 2, 1793.

Washington was nominated by a Caucus of the Continental Congress. The State Legislatures chose electors for President and Vice-President on the first Wednesday of January, 1789.† These electors voted on the first Wednesday in February.

* To the former or liberal school of construction belonged the Federal party, which may be called its founder. To the same school belonged the Whig party, which asserted that internal improvement at the national expense was within the purview of the Constitution, as well as protective duties and a general banking system. And so of the modern Republican party which claims for the central government all power necessary for its preservation and advancement. To the latter, or strict school of construction, belonged the old Republican party and its successor, the Democratic party. But all this is in general, for many times the respective parties have occupied common ground or crossed each other's tracks, only to back away again to their old places when motives of expediency ceased to operate, and there was no rallying point short of the old differences.

† The electors were chosen by the State Legislatures up till 1824. Under the Constitution as it stood up till 1804, they voted for two persons, the one having the highest number of votes to be President, the next highest to be Vice-President. But they could not both be from the same State.



PRESIDENTS FROM 1789 TO 1817.

ELECTORAL VOTE.

States.	Basis of 30,000.	Votes.	Party.	George Washington.	John Adams.	
New Hampshire	3	5	No opposition to the Federal party.	5	5	
Massachusetts	8	10		10	10	
Rhode Island	1	3		..	..	Had not yet ratified the Constitution.
Connecticut	5	7		7	5	
New York	6	8		..	..	Had not yet passed an electoral law.
New Jersey	4	6		6	1	
Pennsylvania	8	10		10	8	
Delaware	1	3		3	..	
Maryland	6	8		6	..	Two vacancies.
Virginia	10	12		10	5	" "
North Carolina	5	7		..	..	Had not yet ratified the Constitution.
South Carolina	5	7		7	..	
Georgia	3	5		5	..	
Totals	65	91	..	69	34*	

Though March 4, 1789, had been fixed as the time for starting the new government, it was not until April 6 that a quorum of Congress was present. Their first business was to count and publish the Electoral votes as above. The candidates, being duly notified of their election, went to the seat of government. Adams arrived first and took his place as presiding officer of the Senate. Washington was sworn into office by Chancellor Livingstone on April 29, 1789.

THE CABINET.†—Washington chose a Cabinet with due regard to the sentiment of the day. As to ability it was unquestioned.

* Of the votes cast for other candidates, and usually recorded as scattering, John Jay received 9; R. H. Harrison, 6; John Rutledge, 6; John Hancock, 4; George Clinton, 3; Samuel Huntington, 2; John Milton, 2; Benjamin Lincoln, 1; James Armstrong, 1; Edward Telfair, 1.

† The choice of a Cabinet was not an immediate step, for Congress had not yet passed laws organizing the respective Departments. The State Department was organized by act of Sept. 15, 1789, and Jefferson's appointment dates from Sept. 26. The Treasury Department by act of Sept. 2, 1789, and Hamilton's appointment dates from Sept. 11. The War Department by act of Aug. 7, 1789, and Knox's appointment dates from Sept. 12. The Attorney-General by act of Sept. 24, 1789, and Randolph's appointment dates from Sept. 26. The Navy Department was not separately organized till April 30, 1798, nor the Post-Office Department till 1829. The latter was conducted till that time by the Treasury Department.

Secretary of State.....Thomas Jefferson, Va.....Moderate Anti-Federal.
Secretary of Treasury.....Alexander Hamilton, N. Y....Federal.
Secretary of War.....Henry Knox, Mass..... "
Attorney-General.....Edmund Randolph, Va.....Anti-Federal.
Chief Justice Supreme Court. John Jay, N. Y.....Federal.

CONGRESS IN EXTRA SESSION.—The House organized by electing Frederick A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, Speaker. This election had no political significance. All were content to allow the work of organization to move on the plane of Federalism; or rather there had been no comparison of ideas, and consequently no effort to organize opposition to Federal supremacy. The session lasted for nearly six months, or till Sept. 29, 1789. The work related to the preparation of machinery and starting the wheels of the new government. The number of measures necessary, and their novelty, invited able and protracted discussions. In range and character they were not unlike those of the period preceding the adoption of the Constitution, and they foreshadowed those permanent differences of interpretation which might readily, and properly too, afford a basis for party existence.

AMENDMENTS.—So many States had ratified the Constitution with the hope of early amendment, and two, Rhode Island and North Carolina, held so stubbornly off, that the Congress took early steps toward remedying the defects of the instrument. Twelve amendments were agreed upon (Sept. 25, 1789) and submitted for ratification. Ten of these became a part of the Constitution, Dec. 15, 1791. They referred to freedom of religion, speech, person and property. Though intended to overcome the objections of the States and to make more secure the rights of the citizens, strange to say they invited bitter opposition from the extreme anti-Federal element, which regarded them as deceptive, and calculated to lure the States and people into false expectations of national unity and strength.

COMMERCE AND TARIFF.—Bills for the regulation of Commerce and the adjustment of a Tariff were fully considered and passed. The Tariff act was generally acquiesced in, so far as it provided a means of raising revenue by indirect taxation. But when it was suggested that such an act could also, and

should, be made a means of protection, the strict constructionists decried it as unconstitutional. However, some of the extreme anti-Federals sought to make the measure discriminate against England, by favoring the products of other nations. A Tariff bill was finally passed July 4, 1789, against strong opposition. Though it imposed a very low rate of duty, it was nevertheless dignified in the preamble as an "act for the encouragement and protection of manufactures." Thus as to one of the objects of a Tariff, and in the character of opposition it met with, there were foreshadowed, at the very beginning of our government, the spirited and strictly party controversies over the same subject a generation afterwards, and for that matter, at the present day. The matter of adjusting the public debt was left in the hands of the Secretary of the Treasury for future action. This extra session adjourned Sept. 29, 1789. During the vacation, Nov. 21, 1789, North Carolina ratified the Constitution and entered the Union.

FIRST CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Seat of government at Philadelphia. Met Jan. 4, 1790. Hamilton's Report on the adjustment of the public debt furnished the leading subject for deliberation. This great State paper, which involved the national credit at home and abroad, was presented January 9. The plan proposed was (1) for the national government to fund and pay the foreign debt of the Confederacy in full. (2) To likewise fund and pay the domestic debt of the Confederacy, at par. This debt was then floating about in the shape of nearly worthless promises. (3) That the government should assume and pay the unpaid debts of the respective States. To the first proposition there was no opposition. Against the second the extreme anti-Federals rallied, and they were reinforced by such as Madison, and many others, of Federal leaning. Their logic was that this debt was largely held by speculators, who had bought it for a song, and who would realize enormously if it were paid at par. Against this Hamilton urged that the only way to permanently raise the broken national credit was to pay all honest promises in full, and thus teach the first holders of them the folly of parting with a valuable security at a ruinous dis-

count. This second proposition finally carried. The third proposition was looked upon as a stretch of power on the part of the government. It was an assumption to do what the States only could and should do. The entire anti-Federal sentiment was united against it. Still it was carried by a close vote in the House (31 to 26). It was however reconsidered a short time afterwards, on the arrival of the seven anti-Federal representatives from North Carolina, and defeated. But it was finally carried by the vote of two anti-Federals, who agreed to favor it, in turn for Federal support of the measure to locate the National Capitol, after it had remained ten years in Philadelphia, on the Potomac. Though this bargain clouded somewhat the brilliancy of Hamilton's success in getting his propositions through, they resulted in an instant rebound of the national credit, and the establishment of government finance on a substantial working basis. The Tariff act of the previous session was amended on Aug. 10, 1790, by increasing the previous rates of duty. The other measures of this Congress had no party significance. The body adjourned Aug. 12, 1790, after a session of over seven months. It had witnessed the coming of Rhode Island into the Union, by the ratification of the Constitution, May 29, 1790.

FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1790, at Philadelphia. The leading subject was a financial agent for the government in the shape of a National Bank. Over this subject controversy was heated, and party lines came to be more clearly defined. The Federals in general, and all who inclined to a liberal or open construction of the Constitution, claimed that if Congress could pass laws for revenue and taxes, it could make those laws effective through such an agency as a bank. The anti-Federals, and all strict constructionists, denied the necessity, and therefore the constitutionality, of such an agent. The controversy thus begun has continued under one form and another, almost to the present day. The personal bitternesses and jealousies it then engendered were never healed, but were carried down to the people and soon became the basis of permanent party separation. Even the Cabinet was divided, and it was known that Jefferson stood ready, in that august body, to oppose Hamilton in all his financial plans.

The bill to charter a National Bank passed, but so conservative was Washington that he would not sign it till he had secured the written opinions of his Cabinet officers. That of Hamilton, in favor of the constitutionality of the act, had greater weight than those of Jefferson and Randolph, against it, and the bill secured the President's signature. It chartered a National Bank for twenty years, *i. e.*, until 1811, when the Republican party refused to recharter it, only, however, to retrace their steps in 1816, when, under the influence of liberal construction notions, and the seemingly imperative needs of the hour, they instituted another National Bank which met its downfall in 1836.* The financial legislation of the session was supplemented by an Excise law, which excited much opposition and became very unpopular. The first Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1791. Altogether it had been an able body, and had done its work with as little jar and as effectively as was possible for men who had no exact instructions from constituents and no elaborate political chart to steer by. The event of March 4 was the admission of Vermont as a State.

SECOND CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Oct. 24, 1791, at Philadelphia. The country had passed successfully through the excitement of Congressional elections, and the position of the Federals had been maintained, though their membership in the new body was slightly reduced. This, however, did not matter, for there were still many of the Anti-Federal, or strict construction, turn who supported the administration. The House organized by the election of Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut, as Speaker.

THE FIRST REBELLION.—Opposition to the excise law of the previous Congress, which was fanned by the Anti-Federal element, culminated in the "Whiskey Rebellion," among the distillers of Western Pennsylvania. The same element also was now opposing a National Militia Law. But the latter passed, and in

* From that time on, all attempts to establish a National Bank failed, till in 1862 the exigencies of civil war resulted in a strictly national currency under the auspices of the Treasury Department, and a system of National Banks whose credit is based on that of the government.

time for the President to use it, so as to bring the armed disputants of the national authorities to terms. The victory was a moral and bloodless one, achieved through the show of an unsuspected vigor and resource on the part of the government.

THIRD TARIFF ACT.—On May 2, 1792, an amended tariff act was passed which raised the ad valorem rates of duty some 2½ to 5 per cent. It incurred the opposition of the Anti-Federals, and called for a repetition of their former arguments. An apportionment bill, the first under the new Constitution, was also passed. It fixed the ratio of representation at 33,000, under the census of 1790, increased the membership of the House to 105, and the electoral vote to 135, there being fifteen States, counting Kentucky, which was admitted June 1, 1792. Congress adjourned its first session, May 8, 1792.

POLITICAL CONDITION.—The country was about to pass through the crisis of a Presidential election, the first under the new Constitution. The government had been started, and maintained thus far under a wholesome division of sentiment which has been popularly, but not exactly, described as Federal and Anti-Federal. It was more exactly that division which is better described as *Liberal Interpreters* and *Strict Interpreters* of the Constitution; the former as they were antagonized, or as their principles demanded, drifting, perhaps unconsciously, toward larger powers and a fuller exercise thereof on the part of the national government; the latter as they antagonized, or as their principles demanded, drifting, perhaps unconsciously, toward the doctrine which afterwards became known as State Sovereignty or State Rights. For the former, and because they were acting affirmatively, the term Federal must still apply. For the latter there is now no need, except conventionally, of retaining the term Anti-Federal. Indeed the first ten amendments to the Constitution, which were regarded as in the nature of a declarative Bill of Rights, so disarmed all opposition to the instrument itself as to render the term Anti-Federal a misnomer. Jefferson felt that it was an empty term, and that if the varying, and often discordant, sentiments represented by it were ever to

be crystalized, some new and more comprehensive name must be adopted. The old name was a perpetual reminder of opposition to the *fact* of government. As there was no longer any such opposition, but only questions as to how it should be managed and with what powers it should be endowed by the creative instrument, the new name must, in no degree, be a reminder of the old political status, but must, on the contrary, be both an appeal to popular affection and comprehensive enough to embrace every form of antagonism to the party which was still to be called Federal.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.—The situation gave birth to the new party name. Feeling was intense on all sides in favor of the French Revolutionists. Jefferson, who was fresh from the scenes, taught that it was the direct outcrop of our own Revolution, and none chose to gainsay it. But as the Republicans of France drifted toward wild, ungovernable liberty, and evinced more and more a fierce leveling and communistic spirit, the Federals checked their ardor and grew cold. In that proportion the Anti-Federals grew warm. Their admiration took even the fantastic shape of dress and manner imitation. Here were differences mental and visual. To crown them with the term Republican was something, but not quite original. To group all feeling of opposition to the Federals under the term Democratic-Republican would prove original and striking. That, therefore, became the new party name. But the Federals heaped contempt on the Democrats, classed them as Jacobins, and altogether daunted them in the use of their compound title. So the first part was gradually dropped, and the new party passed into active politics as the Republican party; which was all curious enough, seeing that at this very juncture its tendency was rather toward a Democracy than toward a strong central Republic. Nor were the Republicans less abusive of the Federals. These latter were roundly denounced as fellows with a leaning toward monarchy, and full of all aristocratic notions. It is very likely that the sentiment among the masses was an exaggeration of that existing in the councils of the nation, though even there the President spoke grievously of the antagonisms,

and complained that the old spirit of compromise had turned into one of unjust suspicion and personal antipathy.

ELECTION OF 1792.—Fortunately for the country party spirit was not yet deep enough, or bold enough, to affect the Presidency. The one Republican who could have made a respectable showing in the Presidential race was Jefferson, and both he and Washington were from the same State. Therefore, both could not be voted for, without the loss of the vote of that State. Besides many staunch Republicans had joined with the Federals to request Washington to serve a second term, a course he had not intended to pursue, till persuaded that the country demanded it. This left only the Vice-Presidency open to party contention, and for this office the Federals supported John Adams, Mass., and the Republicans George Clinton of New York. The election took place Nov. 6, 1792, and resulted in the success of the Federal ticket.

SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 5, 1792, at Philadelphia. Revenue questions occupied most of the time of the session, and the Federals had comparatively easy successes, the Republicans not being a unit in their opposition. But they figured conspicuously for political position, and made a direct but unsuccessful attempt to censure Hamilton's management of the Treasury Department. The count of the electoral vote * was made in February, 1793, and Washington was declared elected President, and John Adams Vice-President. They were sworn into office on March 4, 1793, Congress having adjourned March 2.

II.

WASHINGTON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1793—March 3d, 1797.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, VA., *President.* JOHN ADAMS, MASS., *Vice-President.* SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT PHILADELPHIA.

* For full electoral returns see always the succeeding administration.

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
THIRD CONGRESS.	1, December 2, 1793–June 9, 1794. 2, November 3, 1794–March 3, 1795.
FOURTH CONGRESS.	1, December 7, 1795–June 1, 1796. 2, December 6, 1796–March 3, 1797.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Federal. Geo. Washington, Va.	Federal. J. Adams, Mass.	Republican. Geo. Clinton, N. Y.	
New Hampshire	4	6	6	6	..	
Massachusetts	14	16	16	16	..	
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	
Connecticut	7	9	9	9	..	
New York	10	12	12	..	12	
New Jersey	5	7	7	7	..	
Pennsylvania	13	15	15	14	1	
Delaware	1	3	3	3	..	
Maryland	8	10	8	8	..	Two vacancies.
Virginia	19	21	21	..	21	
North Carolina	10	12	12	..	12	
South Carolina	6	8	7	6 Scattered.		One vacancy.
Georgia	2	4	4	..	4	
Vermont	2	4	4	4	..	
Kentucky	2	4	4	.. Scattered.		
Totals	105	135	132	77	50	

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.—Washington, in pursuance of his conciliatory policy, made no immediate changes in his cabinet. He had, however, active and delicate work on hand. France had (April, 1793) declared war against Great Britain and Holland. The Republicans gave reins to their sympathy for their French namesakes, and claimed that the treaty of 1778, which bound France and the United States to an alliance offensive and defensive, was still in existence and ought to be respected. It looked as if war with Great Britain were certain, with the United States as an ally of France. Notwithstanding the unpopularity of the act, Washington decided that the treaty was null, and issued a decree of neutrality† between the contending parties. This step brought upon his administration, and on himself personally, the bitterest assaults of the Republicans. He was denounced as an enemy of Republican France, as a vio-

* Of the votes indicated as "scattered," four were cast for Thomas Jefferson and one for Aaron Burr.

† This was the beginning of a foreign policy from which there have been few departures since.

later of sacred faith, as a usurper of the powers of Congress. To further complicate and intensify matters, citizen Genet arrived as Minister to the United States, April 8, 1793. Deceived by the warmth of his reception at Charleston, S. C., he foolishly went about the business of raising money, recruiting men and commissioning cruisers for the French cause. Jefferson ordered him to desist, but removing to Philadelphia and encouraged by the Republican clubs of that city, which organizations carried their sympathy into wild excess, he continued to act as if on French soil. The French Consul at Boston rescued a libeled vessel from the United States Marshal. An American privateer sailed from Philadelphia under French colors, against the orders of the government. Military organizations were being formed in Georgia against the Spanish American possessions. Genet was so inflated with his Republican support that he privately announced his intention of appealing to the people for a general uprising in behalf of France.* Timely exposure of this intention speedily alienated even his warmest friends, and his meteoric career was ended by his recall.

THIRD CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1793, at Philadelphia, and organized by electing F. A. Muhlenberg, of Pennsylvania, Speaker. He was a Republican, but it was only when party lines were closely drawn, which was possible on but a very few questions, that a small Republican majority could be counted on. The President's action respecting American neutrality and the Genet affair was coldly approved, but Republican sentiment took another turn. If it could not directly favor France, it could at least antagonize England. It therefore very justly called England to account for not carrying out the treaty of 1783, by which she was to give up her Lake military posts on American soil. The Indian wars of the Northwest were attributed to British intrigue. So were the Algerine piracies. All in all, it looked as if the country were about to be plunged into war with England, for the Republican course proved to be very

* This announcement was made public by Chief Justice Jay and Senator King, who published it over their signatures in a New York newspaper. Its truth was vehemently denied by the Republicans.

popular. England began to judge the country by it, and to act as though the United States were already a secret, and soon to become an open, ally of France. She ordered her ships of war to stop all vessels laden with French supplies and to turn them into British ports (June 8, 1793). She began her system of impressing American seamen suspected of being Englishmen. She aimed a further blow at American commerce by actually seizing ships carrying French supplies and instituting trials against them in English courts. She justified her holding the Lake forts on the ground that our government had refused to pay certain debts due British subjects. Thus the Republican sympathy for France had brought ruinous commercial retaliation. Jefferson, in an official report of December 16, 1793, wisely called a halt by proposing an effort at amicable adjustment of the difficulties before proceeding to counter retaliation. The Federals, especially those of the cabinet, were anxious for the first part of this proposition, but the Republicans, especially the extreme ones, were implacable, and Madison (January 4, 1794) introduced resolutions imposing prohibitory duties on English goods. This measure invited long debate and served to straighten Republican lines, but it failed of passage. Jefferson retired from the cabinet in December, 1793, and was succeeded by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, as Secretary of State, January 2, 1794. The former premier retired to his Virginia plantation, and amid his political writings and plans for the further development of the new Republican party, of which he was the acknowledged founder, he escaped responsibility for the mistakes due to the enthusiasm of his political friends in the Congress.

WASHINGTON ACTS.—In accordance with the peaceful policy outlined in Jefferson's report, Washington nominated (April 16, 1794) Chief Justice Jay as Envoy Extraordinary to England, with a view to a treaty. The Federal Senate confirmed the nomination. In order to balk the mission the House Republicans moved to prohibit trade with England. This the Senate rejected, and Jay started on his mission, arriving in England in June, 1794.

FURTHER PARTY CONTESTS.—The Federals fought all

through the session for their policy of neutrality between France and England, the Republicans for intervention of some kind or in some way, and the ardor of the latter often drew them into inconsistencies. Thus while they invited war with England by measures to prohibit commercial intercourse with her, they at the same time opposed the Federals in their attempts to found a navy, the most effective weapon with which to carry on such war. And so when the Federals sought to escape the odium of Excise taxation by a system of indirect taxes, and a thereby increased revenue, the Republicans voted for direct taxes. Another unsuccessful attempt was made by the Republicans to censure, by resolution, Hamilton's management of the Treasury. They likewise bitterly but ineffectually opposed the Federal bill designed to approve of Washington's admonitions against "self-created political societies,"* and to prevent a recurrence of Genet's attempts to engage a people in warlike enterprises without the consent of their government. This attitude was the more remarkable because the French government had already disavowed Genet's conduct, and sent Fanchet as minister in his stead. But it was a formative period for the Republicans. Much must be excused to their enthusiasm, to their lack of definite policy, to the newness, oddness and swiftness of the situations they were called upon to confront. Neither party had yet had very proficient schooling in diplomacy. The Federals had all the advantage of a purpose. They could hew to a line, however roughly. The Republicans had to agitate and deny, work a negative situation for all it was worth, and at the disadvantage of youth and inexperience. As yet they had invented no distinctive affirmative American measure on which they could consistently unite, or risk their future success.

XITH AMENDMENT.—Could a citizen of the United States sue a State? The Supreme Court had decided that a State was suable like any other corporation, and that too by a citizen of another State. This was a terrible blow to the members of the

* The allusion was to the various secret associations formed for working up an American-French sentiment, and popularizing, if not justifying, such conduct as Genet had been guilty of.

strict construction school. The Republicans therefore proposed the XI. Amendment, which limited the judicial power of the United States, and exempted a State from suit in the Federal courts, instituted by a citizen of another State, or by a foreign citizen. The wisdom of this amendment was not much mooted at the time, but the advantage taken of it by States which have felt inclined to repudiate their debts has shaken public faith in its justice. It was proposed March 5, 1794, and declared in force Jan. 8, 1798, having been ratified by the necessary number of States.

TARIFF ACT—The Fourth.—The Federals succeeded in amending the Tariff Act of 1792, by increasing the *ad valorem* rates of duty, June 7, 1794. The imperative need of revenue, the quiet and general distribution of taxation in this form, and the sure and easy manner of collection, reconciled many of the Republicans to it, so long as it was unmixed with the affirmative doctrine of protection. Congress adjourned June 9, 1794.

THIRD CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 3, 1794, at Philadelphia. The session opened by warm debate on Hamilton's plan of Internal Taxation. These debates continued at intervals throughout the session, and resulted in the passage of the measure, the Republicans not being able to keep their opposition solid. Hamilton resigned from the Cabinet in January, 1795, and was succeeded (Feb. 2) by Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut. Congress adjourned *sine die* March 3, 1795.

EXCITING INTERVAL.—Minister Jay had succeeded in a treaty with England by November, 1794. It reached America March 7, 1795. The Senate was called to consider it, June 8, 1795. It was ratified by a two-third majority, and while awaiting the President's signature its contents (June 29) were prematurely divulged by one of the Senators. Its appearance was the signal for a Republican attack on the administration, and on all concerned in its negotiation and ratification, which for the directness and bitterness of its personalism has probably never been surpassed. Meetings were called in the cities to denounce it, and to present appeals to the President not to sign it. It was

denounced as not covering any of the causes of grievance. It left England at liberty to impress American seamen, to interfere with our commerce, to shut off our West India trade, and so on. The President signed it. This turned denunciation of the treaty into abuse of his administration and himself. He was charged with usurpation, with indifference to American prisoners in Algiers, with embezzlement of public funds, with official incapacity then and during the Revolution, with hostility to his country's interests, and even with treason. Malignity took the form of threats to impeach, and even to assassinate him. On Republican lips he was no longer "the Father," but "the Stepfather of his Country." "He would rather be in his grave than in the Presidency," was his sad comment on these thoughtless and vulgar drives at his private character. The treaty itself came to his vindication. England speedily removed her Lake forts from American soil. In less than a year American commerce took a rebound. Jay's much denounced treaty passed into political history with the approval of its bitterest opponents.

FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met December 7, 1795, at Philadelphia. Senate contained a Federal majority: House a Republican, though not united, majority. Jonathan Dayton, Federal, of New Jersey, was elected Speaker. The President's message was approved by the Senate, by a vote of 14 to 8. The Republicans of the House refused to agree to a resolution which contained an expression of "confidence in the President and approval of his course."

A CONFLICT.—The President sent to Congress, March 1, 1796, his proclamation that the Jay treaty had been duly ratified and was law. Mr. Livingstone, of New York, against the advice of the more liberal members of his party, moved that the President be requested to send to the House a copy of the treaty and all the papers connected with it. After an acrimonious debate the resolution passed by a vote of 57 Republicans to 35 Federals. Washington refused to comply, saying that the House was not a part of the treaty-making power.* This

* This answer of Washington involved the principle which has ever since been accepted as the correct one regarding treaties.

stirred the animosity of the Republicans still deeper. Word was passed to the country that a "British party" existed, and that the administration had been corrupted with British gold. Indignation meetings were again called. The House resolved that it had a right to the papers because it was a judge of the necessity of a treaty wherever an expenditure of public money was involved. The Federals, under the lead of Fisher Ames, of Massachusetts, rallied to the support of a counter resolution, declaring that provision should be made for carrying out the treaty. This was distracting to the Republicans, and they fought it, at first very desperately, through the month of April (to April 29th). In the meantime the country was responding, but not in a way the Republicans had hoped for. The people were tired of the agitation and did not want the treaty set aside. A Presidential election was coming on. It might not be prudent to push a doubtful question further at such a time. The Republican majority weakened, fell into a deliberative mood, and finally helped to pass the Ames resolution by a vote of 51 to 48.

Questions of revenue occupied the rest of the session. One of them related to a further increase of Tariff rates, on which political lines were closely drawn, and the Federals, who favored the increase, were beaten. Tennessee became a State of the Union June 1, 1796, and on that day the Congress adjourned.

FAREWELL ADDRESS.—On September 17, 1796, Washington gave to the American people his farewell address. He had been solicited by men of both political parties to become for the third time a candidate for the Presidency, and had been assured of the support of the people. But his determination to retire to private life could not be altered. His address, carefully drawn and solemnly worded, was his vindication against attack, which was to stand for all time, and his appeal to his countrymen to be true to the government, to beware of foreign influences, to avoid party strife, and to cultivate religion, education, and patriotic devotion to their institutions. It was a full reflex of the man, conservative, yet firm; solemn, yet hopeful;

plain, yet elegant; great, yet unselfish.* It was received everywhere with approbation, and ranks to-day as a political classic, well worth study by every young man.

ELECTION OF 1796.—The mission of Washington had been to hold sentiment together, or see that every conspicuous shade was represented, till the experimental period of the new government had passed. It had now passed, and his retirement left the field open to the square contention of parties. By mutual understanding, rather than by Congressional caucus nomination, the candidates of the Federals became John Adams, of Massachusetts, and Thomas Pinckney, of Maryland, and those of the Republicans Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, and Aaron Burr, of New York.

There was no platform announcement of party principles, but the Federals claimed to represent Washington's policy of peace, neutrality, finance, progress, safety, and the right as founders of the government to place its existence beyond hazard before being called upon to part with their high trust. The Republicans claimed to be the advocates of economy, enlarged liberty, the rights of man, the rights of the States, and they did not hesitate to charge the Federals with every real and conceivable sin of commission and omission, among them an inclination toward an English policy and form of government. Though this latter was in manifest forgetfulness of their own well-known favoritism for France, the country was reminded of it by a presumptuous paper issued by the French Minister, called an "Address to the American People," and designed to influence the Presidential contest, in which the hint was thrown out that France would have to withhold intercourse with the United States if the Republicans were unsuccessful.

* One characteristic of the address is its delicate undertone of vindication and complaint. The former was designed and exquisitely incorporated. The latter seems foreign to a man of Washington's iron will. But he was withal very sensitive, and it must have been well-nigh impossible for even one of his high, unbending character, and though the paper were studied and stately to the last degree, to avoid all shadow of complaint. He had previously spoken of the attacks on him as aggravatingly malicious and personal, and made "in terms so exaggerated and indecent as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or even a common pickpocket."

The Presidential election was held in November, 1796, the electors being chosen by the Legislatures of the several States, a practice which continued till 1824, and in some States till a later period.

FOURTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—The Congress met December 5, 1796. It was a comparatively quiet session, and void of party interest. In February the count of the electoral votes was made, and the result showed a glaring defect in the method of choosing the President. Adams received 71 votes, Jefferson 68, Pinckney 59, and Burr 30. Thus there was a Federal President and a Republican Vice-President, with all the confusion incident to a change of administration in mid-term, in case of the death or disability of the former, and all the danger to be apprehended from a like change if partisanship or corruption should accomplish his impeachment or removal. The experience furnished by the next Presidential election brought a much needed amendment of the method of voting. An amended Tariff act was passed March 3, which made a slight increase in the duty on manufactures of cotton. Congress adjourned *sine die* March 3, 1797, and on March 4 Adams and Jefferson were sworn into office.

III.

ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1797—March 3, 1801.

JOHN ADAMS, MASS., *President.* THOMAS JEFFERSON, VA., *Vice-President.* SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT PHILADELPHIA.

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
FIFTH CONGRESS.	1, May 15, 1797–July 10, 1797, extra session. 2, November 13, 1797–July 16, 1798. 3, December 3, 1798–March 3, 1799.
SIXTH CONGRESS.	1, December 2, 1799–May 14, 1800. 2, November 17, 1800–March 3, 1801.

ELECTORAL VOTE.

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Federals. J. Adams, Mass.	Federals. Thos. Pinckney, Md.	Republicans. Thos. Jefferson, Va.	Republicans. A. Burr, N. Y.	Scattering.
New Hampshire....	4	6	6	..	..	..	6
Massachusetts.....	14	16	16	13	..	..	3
Rhode Island.....	2	4	4	..	..	..	4

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Federals. J. Adams. Mass.	Federals. Thos. Pinckney, Md.	Republicans. Thos. Jefferson, Va.	Republicans. A. Burr, N. Y.	Scattering.
Connecticut	7	9	9	4	..	..	5
New York	10	12	12	12	..	..	..
New Jersey	5	7	7	7	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	13	15	1	2	14	13	..
Delaware	1	3	3	3	..	..	..
Maryland	8	10	7	4	4	3	2
Virginia	19	21	1	1	20	1	19
North Carolina	10	12	1	1	11	6	5
South Carolina	6	8	..	8	8	..	..
Georgia	2	4	..	..	4	..	4
Vermont	2	4	4	4	..	..	..
Kentucky	2	4	..	..	4	4	..
Tennessee	1	3	..	..	3	3	..
Totals	106	138	71	59	68	30	48*

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....Timothy Pickering, Pa.....Continued.
Secretary of Treasury...Oliver Wolcott, Conn..... "
Secretary of War.....James McHenry, Md..... "
Secretary of Navy.....To Department of War till 1798.
Attorney-General.....Charles Lee, Va..... "
Postmaster-General.....Joseph Habersham, Ga.....With Treas. Depart. till 1829. Continued.

THE INAUGURAL.—President Adams in his inaugural broadly affirmed the policy of the Washington administrations, and made a calm and studied denial of the oft-repeated charges that the Federal party was influenced by English patronage or any love for England. It did not serve to mellow the bitterness of the Republicans. On the contrary, they seemed to share the bad feeling now openly manifested by the French Republic on account of Republican defeat in America.

ARMED NEUTRALITY.—Adams found his administration between an upper and nether millstone of excitement. He must act and that promptly. Steps were taken toward preserving the neutrality established by the previous administrations, peaceably if possible, forcibly if necessary. A navy was improvised. Monroe, an ardent Republican and Minister to France, was recalled, and C. C. Pinckney sent in his stead. The French

* Of those marked as scattering Samuel Adams received 15; Oliver Ellsworth, 11; George Clinton, 7; John Jay, 5; James Iredell, 3; George Washington, 2; John Henry, 2; S. Johnson, 2; and Charles C. Pinckney, 1.

Directory parted with Monroe, expressing admiration for the American people, and contempt for the American government. They at the same time ordered Pinckney to quit their country, and declared they would receive no more American ministers till their grievances, prominent among which was the Jay treaty, were redressed.

FIFTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—On hearing of the French attitude, the President called the Fifth Congress into Extra Session, May 15, 1797. It organized by electing Jonathan Dayton, of New Jersey, Speaker. He was a Federal, and that party had a majority in both branches. The President developed his foreign policy in an address. It meant neutrality, even at the expense of war with offenders. But three envoys were proposed, to go to France and exhaust all reasonable efforts for peace. These were approved by both Houses, and they departed on their mission. Congress adjourned July 10, 1797.

AN EMPTY MISSION.—While the envoys were absent the respective parties kept their feelings ablaze by the old charges of English and French influence and favoritism. "The country contained few Americans, but very many English and French," was remarked of the situation by a foreign observer. The envoys, after a fruitless effort at peace, submission to conduct they regarded as humiliating, and refusal on their part to listen to a request for a loan to the French Republic as a preliminary to negotiations, came back to report their failure, and meet the ridicule of the Republicans.

A CONDITION OF WAR.—While the envoys—the X. Y. Z. mission* as they were called—had been treated hardly by the French, and no better by their opponents at home, the country was forced to confront the solemn fact that France was making not only secret attack upon its commerce, under cover of law, but open attack as well, which nothing but a state of war would excuse. Any vessel carrying American shipping papers was deemed fit subject for seizure and confiscation.

* Agents of the French Directory over the initials X. Y. Z. had intimated to the envoys the possibility of their success, provided they could offer some substantial money inducement.

FIFTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met at Philadelphia, Nov. 13, 1797. The juncture was critical. The Republicans were so pronouncedly in favor of France, and were so strong, that it looked as if a policy of "Armed Neutrality" would at any moment go to the wall. Early in 1798 they were able, in the House, to vote down a proposition to arm American vessels. But the Senate, April 8, made public the attempted negotiations of the envoys to France. They surprised both parties. The Federals became furious at the insult heaped on their accredited agents and at the double-dealing, not to say corrupt overtures, of the French Directory. The Republicans stood aghast at the revelation. They could not brook conduct so flagrant, much as their sympathies had been enlisted in behalf of their struggling brethren of France. The more patriotic and shrewder-minded turned in with the Federals. A respectable minority found silence golden. American self-respect and American danger impelled to a common political sentiment, and that sentiment found popular outburst in the cry of "millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute."

ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—Congress co-operated with the administration in placing the government on a war footing. The navy was strengthened, and orders were issued to seize French vessels operating against American commerce. Letters of marque and reprisal were authorized. Treaties with France were declared abrogated. A temporary army was ordered, to be commanded by Washington as Lieutenant-General. Thus far all was popular and unquestioned. But France was to be fought not only on the ocean and on the field. It was felt that she was stronger in the country through her secret emissaries than in any other spot. Hence, the Alien Law, passed June 25, 1798, giving the President power to order aliens, whom he should adjudge dangerous, out of the country, and providing for the fine and imprisonment of those who refused to go. This was followed by the Sedition Law of July 14, to remain in force till March 3, 1801. It imposed fine and imprisonment on conspirators to resist government measures, and on libellers and scandalizers of the government, Congress or President.

NATURALIZATION LAW.—This law required an alien to reside fourteen years in the United States before he could be naturalized. The Federals favored it on general principles of safety to the country, and because they felt that they could not hope for accessions to their party from any foreign element then likely to become immigrant. The Republicans fought for a five-year probation, on the ground that America was properly an asylum for all nations, that a longer term would cause too many of the inhabitants to owe no allegiance, and because they knew, with the Federals, that immigrants would naturally augment their political ranks. The Congress adjourned July 16, 1798.

STORMY INTERVAL.—War action had been set into feverish reaction by the Alien and Sedition Laws, which the Republicans regarded as a violent stretch of constitutional authority, and as arming the government with altogether too much power, even for war times. Not choosing to distinguish between themselves and those at whom the laws were aimed, they claimed that they were a menace to all Republicans, that they abridged liberty of speech and the press, that they were unconstitutional out and out. They had the best of the argument before the country, for the Federals could only justify them by the necessities of the hour. Constitutional construction was then in its infancy, and any new step was likely to excite jealousy and alarm. As a matter of policy, they were a step beyond what the Federals need have taken. They had, without them, a patriotic and permanent standpoint, and they had for it a strong Republican support, especially among the people, caused by the action of the French Directory. Their execution gave greater offence than their enactment. Having gone too far to retract, the administration insisted on carrying them out, even though France had come forward to deny any knowledge of bribery and corruption on the part of her agents, and had expressed a desire for peace. Thus they became a torment to the Federals, present and recurring. Aware of their keenness as a political weapon the Republicans drove it home on every occasion.

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.—Though the enforce-

ment of the Alien and Sedition Laws was a source of weakness to the Federals, the Republicans soon felt they could not hope by their opposition to them to carry the fall (1798) Congressional elections. They therefore turned their attention to the State Legislatures, feeling that there their opposition could be made effective in the next Presidential election. Effort took the shape of denunciatory resolutions (really proclamations) passed by the Legislatures of two States. They are noteworthy as being the first formal declaration of strict construction views of the day, and are worthy of study as containing the doctrine on which all subsequent strict constructionists have relied for their advocacy of State sovereignty, nullification and secession.

RESOLUTIONS OF 1798.—The Kentucky resolutions were drawn by Jefferson, the Virginia resolutions by Madison. Both were adopted by the respective State Legislatures. The Virginia resolutions declared the Constitution to be a compact made by the States and to form which the States had agreed to surrender only a part of their own powers. The Federal government could not exceed the authority delegated to it by the States. If it did the States had a right to stop it, and to maintain the powers they had reserved to themselves. The Alien and Sedition Laws were usurpations of powers not granted to the Federal government, for the Constitution forbade any abridgment of liberty of speech or the press. The State of Virginia declared them unconstitutional, and appealed to the other States to join her. The governor was ordered to lay the resolutions before the other State Legislatures. They were repeated in 1799.

The Kentucky resolutions repeated those of Virginia in substance, and added that the Federal compact was as if a contract between two parties, the States being one, and the Federal government the other; and that each party was to be the judge of any breach of the agreement, as well as of the manner of redress. These were also repeated in 1799, but with the wonderfully bold amendment, designed to draw the line between party opposition and criminal or treasonable opposition to the government, that the rightful remedy on the part of a State was "nullification of

all unauthorized acts (by the Federal government) done under color of that instrument (the Constitution)." It ought to be observed, in justice to Jefferson, ever diplomatic, if very ardent in his Republicanism, and who, at this time a prospective candidate for the Presidency, would not willingly have jeopardized his chances, however anxious he might have been to force home on the Federals their mistake in passing the Alien and Sedition Laws, that the final position taken in the Kentucky resolutions was far more ultra than his own, and that it was not regarded as good strict construction doctrine, till other causes, times and men,* conspired to give it sanction and render it operative.

FIFTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met at Philadelphia, Dec. 3, 1798. Irregular ocean warfare was still going on between American and French privateers. There was scarcely any opposition to an increase of the navy, but the Republicans antagonized every measure for an increase of the army, alleging that none was needed and that the matter was only an ingenious Federal scheme, gotten up for the sake of providing places for their party leaders. The President, who had hitherto been firm, but who began to feel that his firmness was really a source of weakness so far as his aspirations to succeed himself in office were concerned, departed from his determination not to negotiate further with France, and, without consulting his Cabinet, sent three other envoys to treat for peace. This action led to a division in the Cabinet, and the protesting members met with the approval of the Federal party at large. The effort of the President to recover lost ground with the Republicans lost him more ground within his own party. Congress adjourned *sine die* March 3, 1799.

SIXTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met at Philadelphia, Dec. 2, 1799. Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts was chosen Speaker. He was a Federal, and the Federals had a good working majority in both Houses. They represented the war feeling of the country, and had been chosen before sentiment began to revolt against the enforcement of the Alien and Sedition Laws, at least before such revolting sentiment could be made effective

* Notably 1832, Calhoun's time; and 1860, the era of open secession.

in the Congressional districts. It was the policy of the Republicans to avoid all party contests. Drawing their inspiration from Jefferson, they kept quiet, conscious that the ferment of opposition already active in the body politic would work favorably to them, and by no means displeased witnesses of the estrangement, gradually growing wider, between the President, and such prominent Federal leaders as Hamilton and others. The Federals in Congressional caucus nominated as their candidates for the Presidency John Adams, of Mass., and C. C. Pinckney, of S. C. The Republicans, in a Congressional Convention* at Philadelphia, nominated Thomas Jefferson, Va., and Aaron Burr, N. Y. Congress adjourned May 14, 1800.†

ELECTION OF 1800.—Though the Legislatures of the States did not meet to choose Presidential electors till November, the fact that those bodies chose them made the Presidential result turn on their political complexion. The Presidential election was therefore in reality scattered over a great part of the year previous to November. Adams was unfortunate in not having the undivided support of his party. The State election

* This term "Congressional Convention" implies what we would now understand to be a Congressional Caucus. It was full, formal and called, and therein differed from those informal caucuses of members which had bespoke former nominations. The first political platform, and the only one till the Clintonian address or platform of 1812, was that of this Republican Congressional Convention of 1800 which nominated Jefferson. It announced (1) "Preservation of the Constitution in the sense in which it was adopted by the States;" (2) "Opposition to monarchizing its features;" (3) "Preservation to the States of the powers not yielded to the Union, and to the Legislature of the Union its constitutional share in division of powers;" (4) "A rigorously frugal administration of the government;" (5) "Reliance for internal defence solely on the militia, until actual invasion, and for such naval force only as may be sufficient to protect our coasts and harbors;" (6) "Free commerce with all nations, political connection with none, and little or no diplomatic establishment;" (7) "No linking ourselves with the quarrels of Europe;" (8) "Freedom of religion;" (9) "Freedom of speech and the press;" (10) "Liberal naturalization laws;" (11) "Encouragement of science and art."

† On May 13, 1800, the sixth amended Tariff act was passed, raising the duty on sugar one-half cent per pound, and on silk 2½ per cent. The rates on the leading articles now ranged as follows: Sugar, 2½ cents per pound; coffee, 5 cents per pound; tea, 18 cents per pound; salt, 20 cents per bushel; pig iron, 15 per cent.; bar iron, 15 per cent.; glass, 20 per cent.; cotton goods, 15 per cent.; woollens, 12½ to 15 per cent.; silk, 2½ per cent.

in New York, April 28, resulted in a Republican Legislature. This result, due more to Hamilton's estrangement than to either Jefferson's or Burr's popularity, was a bad omen for the Federals. Adams was so piqued that he dismissed Hamilton's friends from the cabinet, and they went forth branded as British factionists. The Republicans had been making their ground solid in the States by such means as the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions for two years. But despite their seeming advantage of harmony and popular hue and cry, the returns in November were doubtful till South Carolina was heard from. Her vote settled the election in favor of the Republicans.

SIXTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met at Washington, Nov. 17, 1800.* This short session had a problem on hand which loomed up in the Fourth Congress, and which in certain shapes has returned periodically to plague Congress and the people. The electors had voted under the then existing constitutional provision, each for two candidates not of the same State. In February, 1801, when Congress came to count the returns, it was found that Jefferson and Burr each had 73 votes, Adams 65 and Pinckney 64. There was therefore no choice, for no one candidate had the highest vote.

CONTESTED ELECTION.—The election passed to the House, where a protracted struggle resulted, and one full of bitterness and danger. The Federal element had to choose between two Republicans, one of whom, Jefferson, the Republicans were bent on making the President, the other, Burr, the Vice-President. Some of the Federals preferred to reverse this, not only to balk the Republican plan, but because they regarded Jefferson as a more formidable opponent than Burr. Burr himself fell, of course, to this idea, and fostered it by all the arts of which he was the well-known master. Balloting began Feb. 11, and, after running for several days, the Federals proposed to confess their inability to elect by vote of the States. Against this the Republicans threatened armed resistance. After other days were con-

* The Capitol building was ready in June, 1800, and the ten years during which the seat of government was to remain at Philadelphia having expired, it was formally removed to Washington at this session of Congress.

sumed in idle balloting, the Federals were charged with a wish to put off the election till after the 4th of March and thus to make John Jay, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the temporary President. The result proved that this charge had no foundation. Burr finally lost caste in his attempts to dicker with the Federals, and Jefferson won on the 36th ballot, Feb. 17, by securing ten States, leaving four for Burr and two blank. This contention so clearly proved the defects and dangers of the plan of electoral voting that the Twelfth Amendment was proposed to the Constitution, Dec. 12, 1803, and declared in force Sept. 25, 1804. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1801. Jefferson was sworn in as President and Burr as Vice-President, March 4.

IV.

JEFFERSON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1801—March 3, 1805.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, VA., *President.* AARON BURR, N. Y., *Vice-President.* SEAT OF GOVERNMENT AT WASHINGTON.

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
SEVENTH CONGRESS.	1, December 7, 1801–May 3, 1802. 2, December 6, 1802–March 3, 1803.
EIGHTH CONGRESS.	1, October 17, 1803–March 27, 1804. 2, November 5, 1804–March 3, 1805.

ELECTORAL VOTE.

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Republicans. Thos. Jefferson, Va.	Republicans. A. Burr, N. Y.	Federals. J. Adams, Mass.	Federals. C. C. Pinckney, S. C.
Connecticut	7	9	..	..	9	9
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia	2	4	4	4	..	..
Kentucky	2	4	4	4	..	..
Maryland	8	10	5	5	5	5
Massachusetts	14	16	..	..	16	16
New Hampshire	4	6	..	..	6	6
New Jersey	5	7	..	..	7	7
New York	10	12	12	12	..	..
North Carolina	10	12	8	8	4	4
Pennsylvania	13	15	8	8	7	7
Rhode Island	2	4	..	Sc.*	4	3
South Carolina	6	8	8	8	..	..
Tennessee	1	3	5	3	..	..
Vermont	2	4	..	..	4	4
Virginia	19	21	21	21	..	..
Totals	106	138	73	73	65	64†

* This one vote was thrown for John Jay.

† No choice. See contested election on p. 461.

CABINET.

Secretary of State.....James Madison, Va.
Secretary of Treasury...Samuel Dexter, Mass.....Continued.
Secretary of War.....Henry Dearborn, Mass.
Secretary of Navy.....Benjamin Stoddard, Md....Continued.
Attorney-General.....Levi Lincoln, Mass.
Postmaster-General.....Joseph Habersham, Ga.....Continued.

POLITICAL REVOLUTION.—The Republican sweep was clean, up to the door of the Judiciary. Adams' defeat was keenly felt, though not unexpected. He had many admirers who remembered with pride his eloquence in behalf of Independence, and his bold stand in favor of Federalism. But the loss of a President was as nothing compared with the permanent break in the Federal lines. The breaches were too wide for healing. The prestige it had acquired in placing the government on a firm basis, in anxious controversy for such power as would make it respected at home and abroad, in spirited contention for a policy of neutrality, and in timely, though not very masterly, effort to restrain the French Republican influence, had been badly clouded by some of its later efforts to hold political place, or at least prevent certain of its opponents from holding the same. Its internal weaknesses were now in sad contrast with that former boldness which successfully dared the most intricate financial problems, provided an ample revenue, and established an enduring national credit.

NEW POWER.—Jefferson's inaugural address laid down the policy of the Republican party. After attempting to remove asperities and smooth differences, he announced the intention to continue the payment of the public debt, reduce the army and navy, lower taxes, restrict the power of Federal government to the lowest limit permitted by the Constitution, and preserve the State governments in all their rights. While the message had the effect of abating party spirit somewhat, the old outcrops of enmity were still frequent. Federals were still "Black Cockade Federals." Republicans were still "Democrats and Jacobins." The wealth, intellect and culture of the country, largely of Federal type, naturally felt apprehensive of a situation now commanded by those it had learned to look upon with distrust and

to associate with what was foreign and revolutionary in spirit. Perhaps they saw in Jefferson himself all they feared from his party, when they spoke of him as "an atheist in religion and a fanatic in politics."

REMOVALS FROM OFFICE.—The President proceeded immediately to undo some of the centralizing measures of the preceding administration by pardoning those imprisoned under the Alien and Sedition Laws. Then he turned his attention to his party friends anxious for office. His removal of Elizur Goodrich, Federal, from the Collectorship of New Haven, and the appointment of Samuel Bishop, Republican, in his stead, was looked upon as a proscriptive innovation, and brought a Federal storm about his ears. Washington had made his appointments without reference to political opinions. Adams had made few removals and none for political reasons. Why should the old rule be broken? And especially why should it be broken in this instance when Goodrich was competent and Bishop was 78 years old and incompetent? To all which Jefferson made the memorable reply whose spirit was, in Jackson's time, incorporated into the aphorism, "To the victor belongs the spoils." With rare sagacity, he, however, drew a fine line of distinction between removals for retaining opinions and removals for using influence. The former he would not make, the latter he would make. And again he would rebuke President Adams, by removing all his appointees after the result of the Presidential election became known.* All of this is interesting as the rather cautious beginning of that policy of removal from office, and appointment thereto, which grew by slow degrees until Jackson

* Jefferson said that it was not "political intolerance to claim a proportionate share in the direction of public affairs. If a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few, by resignation none." He would base his causes for removal as "much as possible on delinquency, on oppression, on intolerance, on ante-revolutionary adherence to our enemies." After thus getting a fair quota of the offices for his party, and thus correcting what he charged as erroneous procedure on the part of his predecessor, he said, "that done, I will return with joy to that state of things when the only questions concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

claimed the policy to be an indisputable right, and which has been exercised since by all political parties as such, until questioned by the civil service reform spirit of the present day.

SEVENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1801. Organized by electing Nathaniel Macon, Republican, of North Carolina, Speaker, there being a small Republican majority in both branches. Instead of delivering his message in person to the Congress as Washington and Adams had done, Jefferson presented it in writing and thus established a custom which has ever since been maintained, for convenience sake as well as for its accordance with republican simplicity. The Congress went manfully to work to modify previous Federal legislation. The limit for naturalization was fixed at five years, with privilege of declaration of intention after a residence of three years. The act of 1798 required a residence of fourteen years. A sinking fund was established. The army, navy and taxes were reduced. Perhaps the most direct blow at the Federals was the repeal of the Judiciary law. The law of the previous session had established twenty-four new Circuit Courts, the officers for which Adams had appointed the last thing before retiring. The Republicans said this was an abuse of his power, in that the commissions had been made out and signed after the results of the Presidential election had become known. They called them "midnight judges," and though the Federals declared that there was judicial work for all of them, and further that Adams had not exceeded his authority in granting their commissions, the Republicans found a way to overcome, for the time being, their strict construction notions and repeal the bill. This drove the Federals from their last hold on the government, and they never recovered their lost ground. Ohio entered the Union Nov. 29, 1802. Congress adjourned May 3, 1802.

LOUISIANA PURCHASE.—Republican zeal for France and the French Republican cause received a blow early in 1802 when it was announced that Spain had secretly ceded the Louisiana Territory to France. Our government had been making war preparations against Spain in order to settle the right to free navigation of the Mississippi, and to equal privileges about the

Gulf entrance. By the cession to France, the entire programme changed. The government was confronted with a new and more formidable owner of this vast country of Louisiana,* and probably with a new set of complications. Minister Livingston was instructed to remonstrate with the French Emperor and to say that France's possession of this territory would drive the American Republic to enter into an alliance with England. James Monroe was sent to Livingston's aid, with instructions to buy Florida and the Island of Orleans, which Jefferson mistakingly supposed had been embraced in the Spanish cession to France. Monroe found France in need of money for contemplated war on England and not averse to selling all of Louisiana. A bargain was at once struck for $15,000,000, and though Monroe had exceeded his instructions and no authority existed anywhere for the transaction, Jefferson agreed to the contract, trusting to the Congress and the people to stand by him. In this he was not disappointed. The treaty of purchase was ratified by the Senate, Oct. 20, 1803.

SEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1802. The respective parties were so watchful of each other and so resolute that each failed to accomplish any significant political legislation. The action of Spain was censured by the Republicans. Attempts to amend the Constitutional mode of electing a President, to abolish the mint, and to fasten a charge of mismanagement on the Treasury Department, failed. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1803.

EIGHTH CONGRESS—First Session.—This Congress was called together Oct. 17, 1803, in order that the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana might be disposed of. The Republican majority had been increased, the Federals having lost some of their best leaders. Nathaniel Macon was again chosen Speaker. The debates on the ratification of the treaty were similar to those over the Jay treaty of 1795, but parties were turned right round, the Republicans using the old Federal, and the Federals the old Anti-Federal logic. As observed above, the treaty was ratified by the Senate Oct. 20, 1803, and the House made the appropria-

* For fuller account of this purchase, see *ante*, page 92.

tion to carry it into effect.* The Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution changing the mode of Presidential election was passed Dec. 12, 1803, and ratified by the States by Sept. 25, 1804. The first articles of impeachment under the new government were voted by the House against Judge Pickering of the United States District Court of New Hampshire, for occasional drunkenness. The articles were sustained and the judge dismissed. Other articles were voted against Judge Chase, of Md., and Judge Peters, of Pa., for arbitrary conduct in trying cases under the Alien and Sedition Laws. The Federals took alarm at these steps and boldly charged the Republicans with a design to make places for their party judges, and to impair if not destroy the judiciary. An amended tariff bill was passed March 26, which, if anything, increased the average rate of duties then existing. Congress adjourned March 27, 1804.

ELECTION OF 1804.—Burr had never secured Jefferson's confidence after the suspicion that he had tried to barter with the Federals for his defeat during the previously disputed Presidential election. Besides he had then come too near the Presidency to suit Jefferson's idea of his own success. He was therefore sacrificed in the Congressional caucus, and Jefferson and George Clinton of New York became the Republican nominees for President. The nominees of the Federals were C. C. Pinckney, S. C., and Rufus King, N. Y. The Federals were vanquished in every State except Connecticut, Delaware and part of Maryland.

EIGHTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 5, 1804. The session was not complimentary to the Republican majority. The impeachment trial of Judge Chase came on under the articles previously drawn in the House. It took a decided partisan turn and awakened the bitterest sentiment. Burr, who was under a cloud for having killed Hamilton, and who felt keenly the disappointment of defeat at the hands of his Republican friends, did much, as presiding officer at the

* Senate vote for ratification was 24 to 7; and House vote for the appropriation was 90 to 25, so that the purchase, notwithstanding its irregularity, was abundantly confirmed.

trial, by his refusal to hearken to the demands of his party, to re-establish his lost reputation. This angered the Republicans all the more, and when their determination to convict was met by a square verdict of acquittal on all the charges, they proposed several Constitutional amendments (none of which carried), making impeachment, conviction and removal from office easier. The electoral votes were counted in February. Jefferson and Clinton had 162, and Pinckney and King, 14. The Eighth Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1804. The successful Presidential candidates were sworn into office March 4, 1804.

V.

JEFFERSON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1805—March 3, 1809.

THOMAS JEFFERSON, VA., *President.* GEORGE CLINTON, N. Y., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
NINTH CONGRESS.	1, December 2, 1805–April 21, 1806. 2, December 1, 1806–March 3, 1807.
TENTH CONGRESS.	1, October 26, 1807–April 25, 1808. 2, November 7, 1808–March 3, 1809.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Republicans. Thos. Jefferson, Va.	Republicans. G. Clinton, N. Y.	Federals. C. C. Pinckney, S. C.	Federals. R. King, N. Y.
Connecticut	7	9	..	..	9	9
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia	4	6	6	6	..	..
Kentucky	6	8	8	8	..	..
Maryland	9	11	9	9	2	2
Massachusetts	17	19	19	19	..	..
New Hampshire	5	7	7	7	..	..
New Jersey	6	8	8	8	..	..
New York	17	19	19	19	..	..
North Carolina	12	14	14	14	..	..
Ohio	1	3	3	3	..	..

* While the nominations did not distinguish between President and Vice-President, the candidates were voted for as if they had been so distinguished, the Constitutional amendment (the twelfth) having been ratified in September in time for the vote to be cast under its provisions.

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Republicans. Thos. Jefferson, Va.	Republicans. G. Clinton, N. Y.	Federals. C. C. Pinckney, S. C.	Federals. R. King, N. Y.
Pennsylvania	18	20	20	20	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	8	10	10	10	..	..
Tennessee	3	5	5	5	..	..
Vermont	4	6	6	6	..	..
Virginia	22	24	24	24	..	..
Totals	142	176	162	162	14	14

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....James Madison, Va.....Continued.
Secretary of Treasury....Albert Gallatin, Pa. ..... "
Secretary of War.....Henry Dearborn, Mass.... "
Secretary of Navy.....Jacob Crowninshield, Mass.
Attorney-General.....Robert Smith, Md.
Postmaster-General.....Gideon Granger, Conn.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The Congressional elections had been nearly as disastrous to the Federals as the Presidential election. They were strong only in New England, and even there Vermont had turned Republican. Federalism was clearly moribund. The Republicans had the affirmative. The times were prolific of new situations, which could be turned to popular account. Jefferson understood the art of keeping his party on a happy vantage ground better than any statesman in it, and as he had its entire confidence, so far as the masses were concerned, he exercised a control which was quite autocratic.

NINTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1805. Organized by re-electing Nathaniel Macon Speaker. Both Houses strongly Republican. A notable event was the estrangement of John Randolph, of Virginia, from the President. His ambition to go as Minister to England had not been gratified, and he had failed also in his aspirations to be the leader of the administration on the floor of Congress. He therefore with a small following threw his strength to the Federals, and thus augmented they became a brilliant, determined and useful minority. The Spanish Mississippi situation was still delicate. It was decided that the best way to settle it was to buy out the remaining interest of Spain in our soil. The President was authorized to make the purchase, but it was not effected till 1819. Though both England and France were violating the rights of

neutrals, the President would not sanction the building of an American navy, but compromised on a system of gunboats, which was much ridiculed by his opponents. Republican partiality for France was shown by the passage of a measure prohibiting the importation of English goods after Nov. 15, 1806. This was designed to be retaliatory of England's violation of the rights of neutrals. As France had been, and was still, equally guilty, the blow might very justly have been aimed at both. Not yet tired of efforts to Republicanize the Judiciary, another attempt was made to clear out the old Federal incumbents, but it failed. A strained situation for the Republicans grew out of the proposition to build a National Road from the Potomac to the Ohio. Contrary to all their previous views of a rigid construction of the Constitution, and in vivid contrast with the notions of their school which prevailed for fifty years afterwards respecting internal improvement, they enacted to lay out and build such road. An adjournment took place April 21, 1806.

NINTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1806. During the vacation Burr's enterprise of a Southwest Empire became public, and the President had ordered his arrest. Information of the scheme was laid before Congress, and the Senate enacted to suspend the writ of habeas corpus for three months, but the House did not concur. Financial management had been such as to produce an excess of receipts over expenditures. This excellent condition the President proposed to turn to the account of the country by devoting the surplus to education and national road and canal making. He was however too far in advance, or outside, of his party in this matter to be able to persuade it to any such general undertaking. A revulsion of sentiment had set in on the discriminating act against England, passed at the previous session, and the President was given power to suspend the operation of the law till December, 1807. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1807.

BURR BUBBLE.—In the early part of the year 1807 the Burr bubble burst, and he returned, under arrest, to Virginia, the scene of his plots, for trial. What he designed to accomplish

by his expedition down the Mississippi has never been accurately known. His enemies regarded his scheme as treasonable, having for its object the establishment of an empire in the Southwest so as to control the commerce of the Mississippi. His friends—rather his excusers, for friends were hardly possible—gave him the credit of a far-sighted enterprise to expel all foreign influence from the region of the Gulf, provide an inviting field for immigration, and thus establish Federal sovereignty in a distant and dangerous part of the public domain. However it may all be, his trial was now (May, 1807) on at Richmond, before Chief Justice Marshall. It was far more political than judicial. The Federals, who had denounced the President's order for arrest as a usurpation of authority, now heaped personal invective on him for his anxious letters to the District Attorney and his open attempts to influence the trial. Nothing, however, served to deter Jefferson. He had no love for Burr, and, further, he felt that his conviction was to be his own vindication for a procedure which was so bitterly denounced as arbitrary and without precedent. The result was Burr's acquittal for want of jurisdiction. The defeat of the administration was humiliating in proportion to its anxiety to impress the trial.

TENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Oct. 26, 1807, and organized by electing Joseph B. Barnum, Republican, of Massachusetts, Speaker, there being again a Republican majority in both branches. An early session was called to consider the attitude of England. The foreign outlook was by no means assuring. The English treaty of 1806 had been rejected by the President on his own responsibility, because, like the Jay treaty of 1795, it left England at liberty to search American ships and impress American seamen. This the Federals stoutly opposed as a bold assumption on the part of the President and because they, being largely the commercial part of the community, were most anxious for some kind of a treaty with England. But above all the snubbing of England by the President led her to stubborn and retaliatory renewal of her aggressions. In June, 1807, the Leopard, a British frigate, attacked the Chesapeake, an American frigate, in Hampton Roads, and forcibly removed four

seamen, ostensibly English. Here parties swung to and fro and almost embraced. The Federals became indignant at England for this outrage. The Republicans had grown lukewarm toward France, who, though not so boldly, was practising the same invasions of neutral rights. Our commerce suffered most from English aggressions, only because England was stronger than France on the water. So great was the destruction of our commerce that Jefferson privately wrote how he had come to regard "England as a den of pirates and France as a den of thieves."

EMBARGO ACT.—England's prohibition of all commerce with France, a similar prohibition by France, blockades by each, searches of neutrals by both, led the President to a proclamation against British armed ships entering American ports. To support him in this was the object of the called session. The Republicans passed his Embargo bill, against the opposition of the Federals supported by the Randolph Republicans, or *quids*, as they were facetiously called, both of whom argued that it would retroact on the United States and lead to more complete commercial ruin than direct aggression by either England or France had done. The Republicans averred it must be either an Embargo or war, and chose the former, not without a modification, however, to the extent of making it operative during the President's pleasure. The Embargo Act passed Dec. 21, 1807, by a vote of 87 to 35 in the House and 19 to 9 in the Senate. It prohibited American vessels sailing from foreign ports, foreign vessels taking cargoes from American ports, and all coasters from landing cargoes elsewhere than in the United States. It proved to be a veritable boomerang, as the Federals had predicted. Congress adjourned April 25, 1808.

ELECTION OF 1808.—During the summer and autumn of 1808 sentiment was shaping for the Presidential contest. For a long time (since 1806) Randolph had been actively engineering the cause of Monroe, who was Minister to England, against Madison, whom Jefferson had been coaching for his successor. But the Congressional caucus nominations at the called session had resulted in the nomination of James Madison, Va., for President, and George Clinton, N. Y., for Vice-President, on the part

of the Republicans, and C. C. Pinckney, S. C., for President, and Rufus King, N. Y., for Vice-President, on the part of the Republicans. Jefferson, like Washington, had been requested to accept a third term but declined. The issue turned on the Embargo Act, the Federals denouncing it as unconstitutional, as destructive of American commerce, and as tending to help England as against France—a cunning argument in view of previous Republican favoritism for France, yet one whose truth was daily becoming apparent. They carried their opposition to the verge of physical resistance along the New England coast, and really lost sight of the political situation in their vehement desire to force the repeal of a destructive and obnoxious law. The result in November was a majority of Republican electors, though by no means as large as that for Jefferson.

TENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 7, 1808. Opened with protests against English and French aggressions, and an attempt of the Federals to repeal the odious Embargo Act, whose operation had by this time driven them to commercial despair. The President was informed by John Q. Adams, who had resigned from the Legislature of his State (Mass.) because his advocacy of the Embargo had drawn public censure, that it would be impossible to further enforce the act in New England, and that a scheme of open resistance was already in course of preparation. However truthful this might have been—it was stoutly denied,—and however much it may have been a part of Adams' wish to thus secure administrative favor—he was soon after sent as minister to Russia,—it is certain Jefferson changed front on the question, and with him the entire Republican party. The bill was repealed, the repeal to operate on and after March 4, 1809, and a simple Non-Intercourse Act substituted. The Republicans even went so far as to pronounce in favor of an American navy, and full protection of American rights on the high seas. Had this wonderful surrender taken place a few months earlier, the Federals must have swept the country in the Presidential contest. But it was shrewdly postponed till after the verdict had been recorded.

The electoral votes were counted in February. Madison had

for President 122, and George Clinton 6. Pinckney had for President 47. For Vice-President Clinton had 113, King 47, and 15 were scattering. Congress adjourned *sine die* March 4, 1809. Madison and Clinton were sworn into office March 4, 1809.

VI.

MADISON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1809—March 3, 1813.

JAMES MADISON, VA., *President.* GEORGE CLINTON, N. Y., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
ELEVENTH CONGRESS.	1, May 22, 1809—June 28, 1809, extra session. 2, November 27, 1809—May 1, 1810. 3, December 3, 1810—March 3, 1811.
TWELFTH CONGRESS.	1, November 4, 1811—July 6, 1812. 2, November 2, 1812—March 3, 1813.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 33,000.	Votes.	Republicans. J. Madison, Va.	Republicans. G. Clinton, N. Y.	Federals. C. C. Pinckney, S. C.	Federals. R. King, N. Y.	
Connecticut	7	9	..	..	9	9	
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3	
Georgia	4	6	6	6	..	..	
Kentucky	6	8	7	7	..	..	1 vacancy.
Maryland	9	11	9	9	2	2	
Massachusetts	17	19	..	..	19	19	
New Hampshire	5	7	..	..	7	7	
New Jersey	6	8	8	8	..	..	
New York	17	19	13	13	Sc.	Sc.	
North Carolina	12	14	11	11	3	3	
Ohio	1	3	3	Sc.	..	..	
Pennsylvania	18	20	20	20	..	..	
Rhode Island	2	4	..	..	4	4	
South Carolina	8	10	10	10	..	..	
Tennessee	3	5	5	5	..	..	
Vermont	4	6	6	..	..	Sc.	
Virginia	22	24	24	24	..	..	
Totals	142	176	122	113	47	47	

THE CABINET.†

Secretary of State.....Robert Smith, Md.
Secretary of Treasury.....Albert Gallatin, Pa.....Continued.

* Of those marked scattering Clinton received 6 for President, and for Vice-President Madison received 3, John Langdon 9, and James Monroe 3.

† The Cabinets as here found are those first organized by the incoming administrations. For the changes and all incumbents see the respective department heads under "Ruling Nationally."

The Cabinet—Continued.

Secretary of War.....William Eustis, Mass.
Secretary of Navy.....Paul Hamilton, S. C.
Attorney-General.....C. A. Rodney, Pa.....Continued.
Postmaster-General.....Gideon Granger, Conn..... "

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The Republicans were on the eve of an entire change of policy. Jefferson had adroitly handled the old Federal policy of neutrality so as to keep a show of firmness, and at the same time avoid armed conflict with England or France. On the score of economy he opposed high taxes, a navy, an army. Madison fell heir to this policy. When Erskine, British Minister, mistakingly informed him that England desired peace, Madison immediately suspended the Non-Intercourse Act, as he was authorized by its terms to do, so far as England was concerned. But when England repudiated the conduct of Erskine, the President had to restore the operation of the act. Whether this was sheer double-dealing on the part of England, or only a Republican trick to influence sentiment, as the Federals claimed, from that time on the drift toward war was too strong for the Republicans to resist. The schism in the ranks of the party left an active minority to operate on the strict party flanks. It was a time when a body of new leaders, active and strong, could walk away with the organization and shift its ancient policy. From this time on, too, we begin to hear popular mention of the word Democrat. As admiration for France, which had made the word Republican popular, subsided, as Jacobin and Democrat were no longer offensively identical, and further as there were two schools of thought in the Republican ranks, one newer and more aggressive than the other, it became common for the older to designate themselves as Democrats, that is, the true Republicans, the primitive Democratic-Republicans.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met May 22, 1809, with a Republican majority. Organized by re-electing Joseph B. Varnum, Mass., Speaker. The only matter before it was the President's suspension and reassertion of the Non-Intercourse Act. After affirming his action Congress adjourned, June 28, 1809.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met

Nov. 27, 1809. The Non-Intercourse act was continued, and the British Minister was censured for contradictory statements and obtrusive conduct. France had shrewdly shaped her commercial policy so as to receive all the benefits of the American position. This galled England all the more, and as a consequence her attitude became more hostile. In advocacy of her right to search American vessels for deserted British seamen, she announced as final the doctrine, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." During the session the Republicans had a large majority and shaped legislation without much dissent from the Federals. Adjourned May 1, 1810.

ELEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1810. The Non-Intercourse Act was repealed as to France and continued as to England. This threw both England and America on their mettle. But the administration was not yet done with its economic and peace ideas. The National Bank, chartered in 1791 for twenty years, was asking for a new lease of life. It had, as we have seen, secured the favor of a charter through a momentary spasm of liberal construction on the part of strict interpreters of the Constitution. Such a spasm was not now on, though it had so many Republican friends in both branches that the bill granting a new charter was defeated by only one vote in the House and by the casting vote of the Vice-President in the Senate. It therefore wound up its business and ceased to exist. The attitude of Federal and Republican on this question of a national bank became, in after years, that of Whig and Democrat on the same question. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1811.

TWELFTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Nov. 4, 1811. Either the administration must accept the idea of forcible resistance to England or go to the wall. American vessels, estimated at 900, had been captured since 1803. American commerce had become a thing of the past. It would not do to allow the idea to grow further that the Republicans were aiming a blow at commercial New England by persistence in their suicidal policy of dilly-dallying diplomacy and devouring peace. A new order of men came to the front. Henry Clay, Ky., was elected

Speaker. John C. Calhoun, S. C., became an ambitious and able leader in the House, as did William H. Crawford, Ga., in the Senate. Fortunately none of these new leaders, fully imbued with the war spirit, thoroughly determined on a change from the economic, hesitating, and now cowardly, policy of Jefferson and Madison, were mistrusted by Madison. Clay had been his firm friend, and had come out of a two-term career in the Senate the better to lead on the wider plane of the House. Therefore their work of swinging the administration and the party from its peace moorings was comparatively easy. During the session, and against the opposition of the Federals and a Republican minority, bills for increasing the navy and organizing the militia were passed. Whatever scruples the President may still have had about accepting the situation and affirming this heterodox legislation was overcome by the intimation that his renomination depended on his acquiescence. He therefore fell fully in with the new leaders, and made his *exposé* of the Henry documents * which so outraged the sentiment of New England, but which brought from Congress the action designed, viz., a resolution denunciatory of England for an attempt to divide a friendly nation.

This was followed by an Embargo on American shipping for ninety days, which of course brought an announcement from the English Minister (May 30, 1812), which was supported by the Parliament, that England would not change her policy toward neutrals.

DECLARATION OF WAR.—A message from the President, June 1, 1812, referred to a committee, brought a report which, as a summary of grievances, complained of the British orders in council, of the unfair system of blockades of the French ports, of the refusal to settle claims for damages, and, last but not least, of the searching of American ships and impressment of American seamen. It recommended a declaration of war. A

* The President made this *exposé* in a special message. The documents, he said, he bought of one John Henry for $50,000. They purported to show how Henry had been a Canadian agent sent to influence New England Federals to join their cause with that of England. The British Minister denied all knowledge of such agent or agency.

war act was consequently passed and promptly signed by the President (June 18, 1812), who had by this time received a second nomination for the Presidency and who was acting in strict concert with the war wing of his party. At first the declaration of war was received with applause. But a reaction soon set in. The Federals of New England published a protest against it as sectional and not national, the act of a party and not of the country. Strictly construing the Constitution, Massachusetts and Connecticut refused to permit their militia to go beyond the boundary of their States till an actual invasion had taken place. To answer them the Republicans became liberal interpreters of the Constitution and would obliterate State lines and forget all about State rights in order to present a solid national front to the foe. Louisiana had become a State in the Union, April 30, 1812.

TARIFF OF 1812.—Madison had urged in his message a revision of the Tariff. The new leaders took it up. Calhoun and Lowndes favored Clay's new doctrine that the Protective idea ought not any longer to be secondary to the Revenue idea. South Carolina was then a high protection State, England having levied exorbitant duties on raw cotton. Here was a marvellous shifting of party doctrine. The Republicans became such liberal interpreters of the Constitution that they not only swung to the Protective notion, but actually used the report of Hamilton, which brought the earliest Tariff acts, in vindication of their position. The Federals, in their weakness, forgetfulness of party traditions and determination to see nothing good in the administration, swung clear over to the abandoned strict construction doctrine of their political enemies, and through such as Webster (then in the House) and others opposed the Protective thought. Sentiment on this Tariff act ought to be carefully noted. It was the beginning of that division in the Republican party which prepared the way for "The American Idea," for "Internal Improvement," and for the Whig organization, which was Clay's outlet from the strict construction columns. Indeed, even at this session a bill for internal improvement was passed under Clay's leadership, which Madison vetoed. The tariff act was

passed July 1, 1812, and it marks the highest rates of duty reached from the foundation of the government till 1842. Sugar went from 2½ cents per pound to 5; coffee from 5 cents per pound to 10; tea from 18 cents per pound to 36; pig iron from 17½ per cent. to 30; bar iron from 17½ per cent. to 30; glass from 22½ per cent. to 40; manufactures of cotton from 17½ per cent. to 30; woollens from 17 per cent. to 30; silk from 15 per cent. to 25. Congress adjourned July 6, 1812.

ELECTION OF 1812.—We have seen the conditions upon which Madison was permitted to become a candidate for a second term. But he still had opposition. De Witt Clinton, N. Y., who would have been the candidate in case Madison had declined to wheel into the war line, refused to be bound by the bargain. The other Republican States had become jealous of Virginia's claim to be "the home of Presidents." Clinton moved on this line, secured the nomination of the New York Legislature and issued an address ("Clinton's Platform") protesting against caucus nominations of Presidential candidates, the continuance of public men in office for long periods, the claim of particular States to monopolize principal offices, and "that official regency which prescribed tenets of political faith." His followers became known as Clintonian Democrats.

Madison was nominated in May, 1812. John Langdon was nominated for Vice-President, but declining on account of age, Elbridge Gerry, Mass., was substituted. The Federals, taking advantage of the schism in the Republican ranks, met in caucus in New York city and nominated De Witt Clinton for President, with Jared Ingersoll, Pa., for Vice-President.* The election came off in November. A large majority of Republican electors was chosen. The Congressional elections resulted also in a majority of Republican members favorable to the war.

TWELFTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 2, 1812. There was a slight adjustment of parties on account of

* Eleven States were represented in this caucus or convention. It was a bitterly partisan body, determined to see nothing good in any act of Madison, and as an evidence of its desperation, willing to support a soured Republican in order to defeat the regular Republican nominee.

the war. Some Republicans voted with the Peace Federals, but they were more than offset by War Federals voting with the straight Republicans. There was but little opposition from any source to an increase of the navy, which had already won the right to be encouraged by proving a match for the best equipped ships of England. Other measures of war were carried by Republican votes. The count of the electoral vote was made in February, and showed 128 for Madison and 89 for Clinton. For Vice-President 131 for Gerry and 86 for Ingersoll. Congress adjourned March 3, 1813. The candidates elect were sworn into office, March 4, 1812.

VII.

MADISON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1813—March 3, 1817.

JAMES MADISON, VA., *President.* ELBRIDGE GERRY, MASS., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
THIRTEENTH CONGRESS.	1, May 24, 1813—August 2, 1813, extra session. 2, December 6, 1813—April 18, 1814. 3, September 19, 1814—March 3, 1815.
FOURTEENTH CONGRESS.	1, December 4, 1815—April 30, 1816. 2, December 2, 1816—March 3, 1817.

ELECTORAL VOTE.

States.	Basis of 35,000.	Vote.	Republicans. J. Madison, Va.	Republicans. Elbridge Gerry, Mass.	Fed. or Clinton Dem. De Witt Clinton, N.Y.	Fed. or Clinton Dem. Jared Ingersoll, Pa.	
Connecticut	7	9	..	..	9	9	
Delaware	2	4	..	..	4	4	
Georgia	6	8	8	8	..	..	
Kentucky	10	12	12	12	..	..	
Louisiana	1	3	3	3	..	..	
Maryland	9	11	6	6	5	5	
Massachusetts	20	22	..	2	22	20	
New Hampshire	6	8	..	1	8	7	
New Jersey	6	8	..	..	8	8	
New York	27	29	..	..	29	29	
North Carolina	13	15	15	15	..	..	
Ohio	6	8	7	7	..	..	1 Vacancy.
Pennsylvania	23	25	25	25	..	..	
Rhode Island	2	4	..	..	4	4	
South Carolina	9	11	11	11	..	..	
Tennessee	6	8	8	8	..	..	
Vermont	6	8	8	8	..	..	
Virginia	23	25	25	25	..	..	
Totals	182	218	128	131	89	86	

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	James Monroe, Va	Continued.
Secretary of Treasury	Albert Gallatin, Pa	"
Secretary of War	John Armstrong, N. Y.	"
Secretary of Navy	William Jones, Pa	"
Attorney-General	William Pinckney, Md	"
Postmaster-General	Gideon Granger, Conn	"

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called May 24, 1813, to provide means for the war. House organized by re-electing Henry Clay, Ky., Speaker. Republican majority greatly reduced in both House and Senate, the vote on the Speakership being 89 to 54, though the latter were not all Federals, but partly anti-war Republicans. In the Senate there was a strong faction of anti-administration Republicans. After meeting the object of its call the Congress adjourned, Aug. 2, 1813.

WAR SENTIMENT.—It was already manifest that the war was destined to be unpopular with the country. Do their best the Republicans could not keep up a furore respecting it. The Federal sentiment, still strong in the Eastern States, was pronouncedly against it. The Embargo, while it may not have been designed as such, was a cruel blow at the centres of commerce. The peace faction in the Republican ranks was growing more out-spoken. England, in order to encourage a wider division of sentiment between the Eastern and other States, had actually gone so far as to exempt them from her blockade of the Atlantic coast, and it was charged by the Republicans that at the port of New London, Conn., the departure of American vessels was secured, notwithstanding the Embargo, by means of blue light signals to the English blockading fleet.

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1813. Financial subjects, relating to the war, were chiefly uppermost. But in view of alleged violations of the Embargo Act by New England mariners a stricter act was passed, embracing all ships, large and small. The war was in the midst of its greatest activity. Congress adjourned April 18, 1814.

THIRTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Called as early as Sept. 19, 1814, to consider negotiations for peace which had been begun in August, soon after the capture and burning

of Washington by the English, and when it had become apparent that the provisions to meet vigorous and protracted war were as inadequate as was the popular sentiment to further sustain it. England had gotten rid of her home adversary, Napoleon, and was at liberty to direct her undivided attention to America. She had long since revoked her orders in council and was only insisting on her right to search American ships and impress her deserting seamen. The administration, in view of the entire situation, had therefore wisely instructed its commissioner abroad to negotiate for peace without insisting on rectification of the "search and impressment" grievances. But as this showed weakness, the English grew bold, and would not only have no American fleets or military posts along the Great Lakes, but a permanent Canadian barrier erected in the shape of an Indian Confederacy.

HARTFORD CONVENTION.—The administration and its active Republican support were in a quandary. The weakness of abject surrender must be confessed, or resort must be had to those reserved powers which strict interpreters of the Constitution had ever denied to the government. The War Department favored a more imposing and effective army, by means of a draft and the enlistment of minors. The Navy Department proposed to impress seamen, after the English fashion. Every effort was made by the administration to recover lost ground, put on a front worthy the American name, and fight the war to a successful end. But it was too late in the day. The President's own party could not be imbued with his suddenly assumed liberal construction notions. His radical war measures were either defeated or coldly favored. Beyond, the situation was appalling. England held vantage ground in Maine and along the northern border. New England had been almost entirely neglected by the government. Every war measure thus far had been more destructive to her industry and wealth, and more disparaging to her people, than to the overt enemy. Massachusetts invited a conference (Oct., 1814) of the New England States "to confer on the subject of their public grievances." This met at Hartford in December, 1814, and sat for three

weeks. It was the historic Hartford Convention, so odious to Republicans, so dear to Federals. Its secret proceedings aroused suspicion and drew on its members and their cause a denunciation than which nothing could be more bitter, and a proscription even, which was the knell of their party importance. So far were the charges of treasonable design carried that, years afterwards, it was deemed proper to break the seal of secresy and publish the entire proceedings, but too late, of course, to remove the stigma which inflamed partisanship had fastened to the event.*

WELCOME PEACE.—The treaty of Ghent had been signed Dec. 14, 1814, and in February, 1815, the text reached the country. Notwithstanding the fact that it was a barren paper, scarcely touching on the causes of the war and securing not one of the objects for which it had been declared, it was received with universal rejoicing. The President felt that it was a happy escape for himself and party from dire financial straits, and the Federals regarded it as the lifting of a heavy load from our commercial industry and the end of a farcical and iniquitous proceeding throughout. But the latter never escaped from the political issues the war had raised. Their decay, as a power, was, thenceforth rapid. Peace eventuated in a return of prosperity and plenty to the land.

* Judged by the proceedings the convention was not only timely and orderly, but representative of grievances which were hardly to be borne, and which ought never to have existed. It was simply unfortunate in its manner of deliberation, and in the fact that the close of the war shut off public presentation of its protest and resolutions to the government. The resolutions opposed (1) drafts, conscriptions or impressments not authorized by the Constitution. (2) A plan whereby the respective States or sections might defend themselves against the enemy and pay for the same, the central government to reimburse them. (3) A full militia for each State, with power to detach a portion at the request of other States, when invaded. (4) Seven amendments recommended to the Constitution: (1) Representatives and direct taxes to be apportioned among the States in proportion to the number of *free* persons. (2) Admission of States only on vote of two-thirds of both Houses. (3) No embargo beyond sixty days. (4) No interdiction of commercial intercourse except by two-third votes of both Houses of Congress. (5) No declaration of war except by vote of two-thirds of both Houses. (6) No naturalized person to be eligible to Congress. (7) No second term for the President, nor any President from the same State twice in succession. A fifth resolve provided for the reassembling of the convention in case these resolutions did not bring redress.

Congress had easy work the balance of the session, repealing war legislation and reducing everything, except the navy, to a peace footing. It adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1815.

POLITICAL RESULTS.—The war had been a lesson to the Republicans. It taught them that however captivating the strict construction notions of their party had been, and however pleasant it was to indulge them as theories in time of peace, exigencies might arise when they would prove a source of weakness to their professors. As a consequence, they had advanced up to the old Federal plane, and many of them were firmly entrenched on it. The Federals, having no cohesive force, not even a reason for their name, after their mission in successfully establishing the government had ended, and after the acceptance of the fact of its existence as well as their cardinal principles, by the Republicans, floundered about on the negative of issues presented by their opponents, and at last were ready to disintegrate. It might be said that so far as the old lines went, there was no political party after the war. The Federal name was hardly used or usable. The Republican name was used to hold together a sentiment which was widely variant from and far in advance of its authors.

FOURTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1815. The situation had enured to the benefit of the Republicans, and they had a pronounced majority in both branches. The House organized by re-electing Henry Clay, Speaker. April 27, 1816, an amended tariff act was passed, which reduced the duties imposed by the act of 1812. Discussion of it brought a distinct announcement of the idea of protecting the American industries which had sprung up since the war and whose existence was threatened by the importation of cheaper English goods. But this idea failed to influence the bill favorably.

A NEW BANK.—Madison had vetoed a bill to recharter a National Bank, only the year before (1815). Clay took the ground that the experiences of the war showed the necessity for a national currency and for a national financial agency like a bank. Though this was again counter to the traditional strict

construction views of the Republicans, and though it met the determined opposition of the once liberal construction Federals, and of a minority of the Republicans, a National Bank charter was authorized, April, 1816, to run for twenty years, or until 1836. Strange to say it was modeled on that of 1791 which the Anti-Federals had unsuccessfully opposed, and on that of 1811, which the Republicans had successfully opposed, and the arguments for its support were a repetition of those framed and used by Hamilton, together with those supplied by the success of his first financial experiment. The bill was promptly signed by the President, and a new National Bank became a fact. The rest of the session was consumed in legislation on internal affairs. Congress adjourned April 30, 1816.

ELECTION OF 1816.—The administration favored James Monroe, Va., then Secretary of State, for President. The Congressional caucus of the last session carried out its wishes, but against an earnest party protest, which secured fifty-four votes in the caucus for W. H. Crawford, Ga. to sixty-five for Monroe. This action did not satisfy Burr and some other extremists, who attempted to break the caucus nomination by denouncing the caucus system, opposing Virginia's attempts to dominate the politics of the country, and finally favoring the nomination of Andrew Jackson. The original nomination stood, and that of Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y., was added to it as Vice-President. The Federals nominated Rufus King, N. Y., but divided their votes for Vice-President. The result in November was their overwhelming defeat, they carrying only Massachusetts, Connecticut and Delaware.

FOURTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1816. No measures of party interest came up. The Electoral count, in February, showed 183 votes for Monroe for President, and 34 for King; 183 for Tompkins for Vice-President, and 34 scattering. Indiana was admitted as a State Dec. 11, 1816. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1817. The President and Vice-President were sworn into office March 4, 1817.

VIII.

MONROE'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1817–March 3, 1821.

JAMES MONROE, VA., *President.* DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, N. Y., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
FIFTEENTH CONGRESS.	1, December 1, 1817–April 20, 1818. 2, November 16, 1818–March 3, 1819.
SIXTEENTH CONGRESS.	1, December 6, 1819–May 15, 1820. 2, November 13, 1820–March 3, 1821.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 35,000.	Votes.	Republican. James Monroe, Va.	Republican. Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y.	Federal. Rufus King, N. Y.	Federal. No nomination.
Connecticut	7	9	..	..	9	sc.
Delaware	2	4	..	..	3	sc.
Georgia	6	8	8	8	..	..
Indiana	1	3	3	3	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	12	12	..	..
Louisiana	1	3	3	3	..	..
Maryland	9	11	8	8	..	..
Massachusetts	20	22	..	..	22	sc.
New Hampshire	6	8	8	8	..	..
New Jersey	6	8	8	8	..	..
New York	27	29	29	29	..	..
North Carolina	13	15	15	15	..	..
Ohio	6	8	8	8	..	..
Pennsylvania	23	25	25	25	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	9	11	11	11	..	..
Tennessee	6	8	8	8	..	..
Vermont	6	8	8	8	..	..
Virginia	23	25	25	25	..	..
Totals	183	221	183	183	34	

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	John Quincy Adams, Mass.	
Secretary of Treasury	Wm. H. Crawford, Ga.	Continued.
Secretary of War	George Graham, Va.	
Secretary of Navy	B. W. Crowningshield, Mass.	"
Attorney-General	Richard Rush, Pa.	"
Postmaster-General	R. J. Meigs, Ohio.	"

THE INAUGURAL.—Monroe ushered in what was popularly known as "The era of good feeling." The asperities of

* There were 4 vacancies. Of the scattering votes, John E. Howard received 22; James Ross, 5; John Marshall, 4; Robert G. Harper, 3.

the war were passing away. Party differences were subsiding, or rather there were no longer two confronting parties, for the last election had settled the matter of organized Federal opposition. That party passed away, seeing its primary glory repeated in the triumph of the Republicans, and many of its ruling tenets adopted by them as a matter of principle, or put into practice by them as a matter of necessity. Monroe's inaugural was so liberal in tone that it satisfied men, of whatever shade of political opinion. Like Washington, he made a tour of the Northern States (June, 1817), which added greatly to his popularity. To help "The Era," business was meeting with a rebound, and the people were prosperous amid most welcome peace.

FIFTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1817, with a large Republican majority. The Federals were so few in number, or so lukewarm in opposition, that the House organized by the unanimous election of Clay to the Speakership. Discussion of the Tariff resulted in extending the act of 1816 for seven years. Propositions to use the dividends of the National Bank, instead of appropriations, and to recognize the revolting colonies of Spain in South America, as Republics, were voted down. Mississippi entered the Union Dec. 10, 1817. Congress adjourned April 20, 1818.

THE RECESS.—During the summer Jackson made his celebrated invasion of Florida, then belonging to Spain, in order to punish the Indians who had retreated from Georgia. Here he captured and put to death the notorious Arbuthnot and Ambrister, whom he charged as outlaws. They happened to be British subjects, and this fact, united with the danger of re-opening the feuds of the late war, made the matter a delicate one to handle. But the most important political feature of the time was the shaping of sentiment in the direction of a new party. Monroe had followed the new school of Republican leaders, as Clay and Calhoun, through their advocacy of a Protective Tariff, but he could not follow Clay in his advocacy of internal improvement, though his first inaugural inclined to it. Clay's position had always been conspicuous and his leadership pronounced. He and Calhoun had changed the tardy and damaging peace

policy of Madison to one of war, and Clay especially had stood head and shoulders above all others in advocating a stronger army and navy. During the last session he had gone still further, and suggested a new use for the Bank, as well as a new foreign policy with reference to the South American Republics. The Federals and liberal Republicans looked with favor on his advanced doctrines, but the old school of strict interpreters looked on them with alarm. These latter defeated his favorite measures of the last session, and thereby threw him on his own never failing resources. It was more than ever evident that the germs of a new party were pushing in the loins of the dominant organization.

FIFTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 16, 1818. The matter of Jackson's conduct of the Indian (Seminole) war came conspicuously forward. It was proposed to censure him for his execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, but after long debate, the matter was postponed indefinitely by the Senate, though a majority against censure was obtained in the House. As long as Jackson lived, his opponents refused to be quieted about what they thought an arbitrary and high-handed procedure. The controversy resulted in one good. The government, tired of the ever recurring complications with the Indians, Spaniards, and British adventurers in Florida, determined to buy the territory, authority to do so having been given by Congress years before (1806). Then came one of those unaccountable blunders which, supplemented in after years by the pride of undoing and by the fierce sectional and aggrandizing spirit of the time, cost the country the sacrifices of a war. In consideration of $5,000,000 and the abandonment of all claims to French Louisiana west of the Sabine by the United States, Spain ceded Florida, Feb. 22, 1819. West of the Sabine meant Texas, and the recovery of Texas meant the Mexican war (1846).

MISSOURI AND SLAVERY.—Illinois became a State of the Union Dec. 3, 1818. Long before this the policy of offsetting a free by a slave State prevailed. This at first was designed to keep up a balance of parties and to take full and legal advantage of the Constitutional clause which gave representa-

tion to three-fifths of the slave population. But it had gotten to mean vastly more, as sentiment divided on the rightfulness of slavery, and was to mean more and more as time went on. Missouri asked the Congress to admit her as a State. The one thing unusual about her situation was that she was beyond the Mississippi, whither the recognized lines of division—Mason and Dixon line of 36° 30′, and the Ohio River—between the Slave and Free States did not extend. An amendment was offered to the bill to admit her, drawn in the language of the ordinance of 1787 for the government of "The Territory Northwest of the Ohio River," prohibiting slavery or involuntary servitude in Missouri, except as a punishment for crime. The amendment was so sudden and unexpected that parties sat for a time with bated breath and never recovered their lines on the question. It became a test of Free States against Slave States, and the former proved strongest in the House, carrying the amendment. The latter proved strongest in the Senate, and defeated it. This was the injection of slavery into politics, and the beginning of its extinction. A common, or almost, Colonial existence for it had been gradually narrowed to a line, south of which it had come to be regarded civilly as a necessary and entailed evil, industrially as a source of profit, and politically as a potential force.* The Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1819.

SIXTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1819. Clay was again elected Speaker by an almost unanimous vote. The advance made by his liberal construction views may be measured by the passage in the House of a Tariff bill which

* Historically, the first sectional debate over slavery arose in 1793, on the presentation of a petition to Congress from a "Philadelphia Society," appealing to it "to use its influence to stop the traffic in slaves." At that time members arrayed themselves in debate, not according to party, but according to States, and some Southern debaters, of ultra turn, went so far as to protest, even to the extent of civil war, against interference with slavery. All saw the possibility of the question becoming, at no remote date, a political if not a dangerously partisan and sectional one. The apprehensions of the hour were quieted by the passage of the first Fugitive Slave law, Feb. 12, 1793. This date is significantly coincident with the invention of Whitney's cotton gin, which gave to slave labor a profit never before realized, and cemented it into an institution to be defended at all hazard.

definitely affirmed the Protective idea, but which the Senate rejected. As the discussion of this bill was dispassionate, and the large Republican majority fairly divided on it, it is a proper place to get such a view of the politics of the Tariff as will extend even to the present day. The Protective idea as projected into the Tariff legislation of that time was justified by those who favored a liberal construction of the Constitution. They found in the power "to regulate commerce and provide for the common defence" a warrant not only to raise necessary revenue by means of a Tariff, but a right to make that Tariff a protective one, that is, a means of fostering domestic manufactures and thus creating a home market for home agricultural products. As a corollary to this hung, or grew, the plan of Internal Improvement, which depended not more on a liberal construction of the Constitution, but which was thought by its opponents to belong to the States. On the contrary, those who clung to a rigid construction of the Constitution granted the right of the government to provide for its expenses and pay its debts by means of money raised by a Tariff on imports, but they regarded a Tariff, so arranged as to protect American manufactures against foreign competition, as a usurpation of the powers conferred, or intended to be conferred, by the Constitution.*

MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—Maine applied for admission into the Union. She was populous, ready, and anxious to escape her Massachusetts allegiance. But the Free States would then preponderate in the Senate. Missouri again asked for leave to form a State government. Maine was voted in by the House. Missouri was granted permission, but with the amendment of the last session, prohibiting slavery, the vote being entirely sectional. The Senate threw the responsibility back on the House by combining the bills, as originally presented (the

* The terms "Free Trade," "Tariff for Revenue," and "Tariff for Revenue only" were not then as common as now. Then the question of Tariff, in the affirmative, was a question of Constitutional construction and a national policy; in the negative, a question of Constitutional construction and a State policy. Now, so generally do the liberal construction views prevail, the question is no longer one of right or wrong construction of the Constitution, but one of policy entirely, a policy, however, which still divides sentiment and supports parties.

Missouri bill with slavery), and passing them. This action the House rejected. Clay, ever full of expedients, came forward with his compromise—the historic "Missouri Compromise of 1820." It brought about the admission of Maine, March 15, 1820, and gave leave to Missouri to form a State government with slavery. It also prohibited slavery in all territory of the United States north of 36° 30′, in other words, it extended the already familiar Mason and Dixon line through to the Pacific,* or at least as far as the western boundary of Missouri. Congress adjourned May 15, 1820.

ELECTION OF 1820.—This election passed off without nominations by either party. The electors chosen cast their votes by common consent for Monroe and Tompkins, one however voting for John Q. Adams.

SIXTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Nov. 13, 1820. Clay's resignation of the Speakership gave opportunity for a square test of strength between the liberal and strict schools of Republicans. A warm fight for his successor resulted in the choice of John W. Taylor, N. Y., who was equally advanced with Clay in the matter of Protective Tariff and Internal Improvement, and who was opposed, far more earnestly than Clay, to the extension of slavery in the Territories.† The heat of this contest was transferred to Missouri's claim for admission as a State, she having now prepared a State government, with a clause in the Constitution prohibiting free negroes from entering her bounds. As a free negro was a citizen in some of the Northern

* Clay's compromise barely got through the Congress. In the Senate it was carried by Senators from the Southern and Slave States, against fifteen Senators from the Free States. In the House it was carried by a vote of 86 to 82, thirty-five of the latter being from Slave States and its bitterest opponents. Randolph denounced it as a "dirty bargain," and called those "Northern men with Southern principles" who were ashamed of them or afraid to stand up for them "doughfaces," a term which was in convenient and sarcastic use for forty years. The compromise bill was then regarded by its opponents as unconstitutional. The seeds of repeal were in its passage.

† So offensive was this election to the extreme Southern members, or rather so significant was it of the growth of liberal construction ideas in the Republican ranks, that they chose to see in it a menace to the institution of slavery, and actually debated a proposition to secede from the Union.

States, this was regarded, in its unqualified form, as unconstitutionally and offensively restrictive. Debate over the matter took all the latitude incident to discussion of the slave question and involved all its bitterness. Not until Clay again came forward with measures of peace did the contention subside. His proposition admitted the State, provided the Constitution were so amended as to recognize all the citizens of other States. Her Legislature did this in June, 1821, and she became a State Aug. 10, 1821.

The electoral vote was counted in February, and the status of Missouri came up. Denying the right of Congress to interfere with slavery within her borders, the Southern members claimed that she was already a State, and so determined to count her electoral vote. The Northern members, claiming authority of Congress over all Territories for any purpose, until fully qualified to enter as States, determined that her electoral vote should not be counted. After an angry discussion, another compromise was effected, which counted the vote with an "if." "If" her vote were counted, James Monroe would have 234, out of 235, and John Adams 1, for President, and Daniel D. Tompkins would have 221 for Vice-President, with 13 scattering. "If," on the contrary, her vote were not counted there would be a total of only 232, and the Monroe and Tompkins vote would be reduced to 231 and 218, respectively. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3d, 1821. The candidates-elect were sworn into office March 5, 1821, the 4th falling on Sunday.

IX.

MONROE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 5, 1821—March 3, 1825.

JAMES MONROE, VA., *President.* DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, N. Y., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS.	1, December 3, 1821—May 8, 1822. 2, December 2, 1822—March 3, 1823.
EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS.	1, December 1, 1823—May 27, 1824. 2, December 6, 1824—March 3, 1825.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 35,000.	Vote	Republican. James Monroe, Va.	Republican. Daniel D. Tompkins, N. Y.	No opposition.
Alabama	1	3	3	3	
Connecticut	7	9	9	9	
Delaware	2	4	4	Sc.	
Georgia	6	8	8	8	
Illinois	1	3	3	3	
Indiana	1	3	3	3	
Kentucky	10	12	12	12	
Louisiana	1	3	3	3	
Maine	7	9	9	9	
Maryland	9	11	11	10	
Massachusetts	13	15	15	7	
Mississippi	1	3	3	3	
Missouri	1	3	..	..	Disputed.
New Hampshire	6	8	7	7	1 for J. Q. Adams.
New Jersey	6	8	8	8	
New York	27	29	29	29	
North Carolina	13	15	15	15	
Ohio	6	8	8	8	
Pennsylvania	23	25	25	25	
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	
South Carolina	9	11	11	11	
Tennessee	6	8	8	8	
Vermont	6	8	8	8	
Virginia	23	25	25	25	
Totals	187	235	231	218	

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	John Quincy Adams, Mass.	Continued.
Secretary of Treasury	W. H. Crawford, Ga.	"
Secretary of War	John C. Calhoun, S. C.	"
Secretary of Navy	Smith Thompson, N. Y.	"
Attorney-General	Richard Rush, Pa.	"
Postmaster-General	R. J. Meigs, Ohio.	"

SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1821. The organization was effected by electing P. P. Barbour, Va., Speaker. The fanciful "era of good feeling" held, so far as opposition to the Republicans went, but they were now a divided and inharmonious party. The fight over the speakership showed that the strict or old school elements were willing to die in their trenches rather than suffer themselves to be carried further by the liberal or new school element. The former won the Speaker, but the latter passed a bill to care for the National (Cumberland) Road. At this juncture Monroe broke

* Of the scattering 8 were cast for Richard Stockton; 4 for Daniel Rodney; 1 for Robert G. Harper; 1 for Richard Rush. There were three vacancies.

with the liberals, took a decided step backwards and vetoed the bill. His veto message discussed the constitutional side of the question very elaborately, and concluded with the announcement that no power was conferred on Congress to pass laws for internal improvements of this kind. The President reached the above conclusion only after long hesitation, for his messages heretofore rather favored the position of the liberals, a strong element in his Cabinet still favored it, and he even advised, in his veto, an amendment to the Constitution conferring directly the powers on Congress which the liberal interpreters claimed it was endowed with by implication. However, his position, now that it was definitely ascertained, fortified that of the strict school, and they summarily disposed of bills involving the same principle looking to an internal canal system and a Tariff with stronger protective features.

Nor was the country in a happy mood. Great financial distress prevailed. The government was forced to retrench, and even to borrow. The division in the Republican ranks was gradually forcing its way down among the masses, and as is common in such cases, its party feeling was keener than between old opponents. The Congress adjourned, May 8, 1822.

SEVENTEENTH CONGRESS — Second Session. — Met Dec. 2, 1822. Again the liberals forced their Internal Improvement and Protective Tariff ideas to the front to meet with defeat at the hands of the rigid interpreters. All however united to help the administration along in its now difficult work of keeping financially afloat. An adjournment *sine die* took place, March 3, 1823.

EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1823, and organized by electing Henry Clay Speaker. This election was significant. It showed that the country had swung to the liberal side of the Republican party. It meant that thereafter that side would push its measures with greater vigor and under better auspices.

MONROE DOCTRINE.—It will be remembered that Clay in the Fifteenth Congress had proposed as a Foreign Policy the recognition of the South American Republics, then in a state of

revolt from Spain. The President in his message to the present Congress dwelt largely on this question of recognition, and formulated what has ever since been accepted as "the Monroe Doctrine." It announced the principle of (1) "No interference in wars of European powers in matters relating to themselves." (2) Defense of our own political system against any attempt of foreign powers to establish theirs in any part of this hemisphere. (3) No interference with existing foreign colonies. (4) Interference by foreign powers with colonial dependencies that have declared and maintained their independence, and been recognized by this government, to be regarded as an unfriendly disposition toward the United States. (5) "It is the true policy of the government to leave the parties (Spain and the revolting Republics) to themselves, in the hope that other powers will do the same," this, since "Spain cannot subdue them," and since, if left alone, they would never voluntarily adopt a foreign political system.

TARIFF OF 1824.—In the same message Monroe inclined to the popular side on matters of Protection and Internal Improvement. He was a good President in that he was observant of situations and respected majority wishes. Two months were consumed in heated debate on this measure, which, while the rates on leading articles were not as high as under the act of 1812, involved more directly the principle of protection to American manufactures, by preventing the competition of the cheaper manufactures of Europe, than any preceding act. Lines were drawn closely between the liberal and strict schools of interpreters of the Constitution, and, strange to say, these lines now showed quite a solid array of Southern States * against as solid an array of Northern States. The former supplemented their old argument against the Constitutionality of the Protective idea, by the new ones that it was unjust to them, and, moreover, sectional in spirit. Thus early they projected into the contention the thought that legislative protection to manufacturing industry was legislative hardship to planting industry, and that encouragement of free paid labor was discouragement of slave unpaid labor. The bill passed by a close vote, a few of its

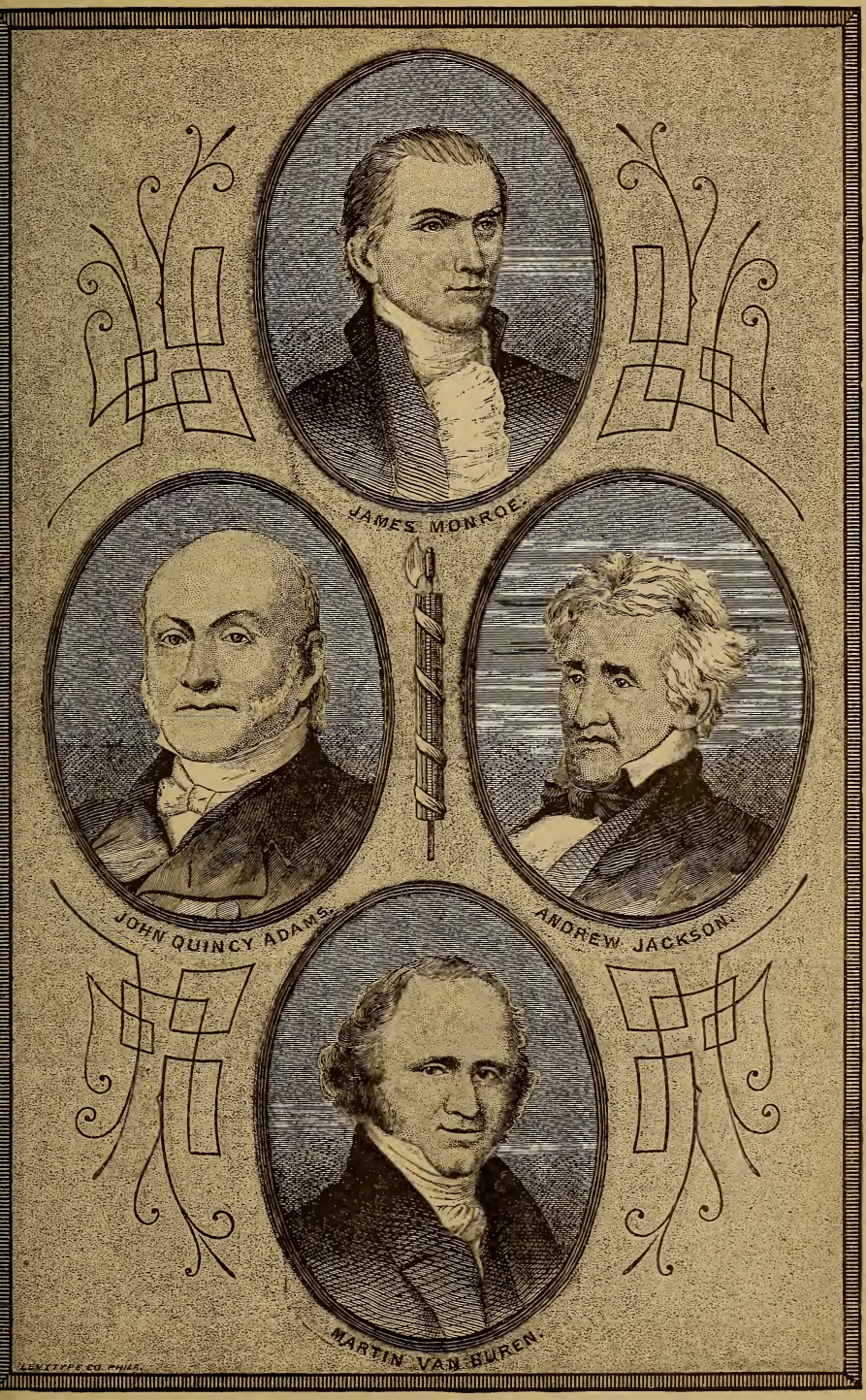
* Clay's own State Kentucky, was for the bill.

ablest opponents, as Webster, coming from the New England States. These, however, chiefly contested the propriety of high protective duties and not the Constitutional right to impose them, denying that the distress of the country was as great as described by the friends of the bill, and doubting if any legislation could be made to stimulate industry and manufacturing enterprise. The bill was approved by the President and thoroughly engrafted "The American System" in our national politics. The duties on leading articles were: Sugar, 3 cents per pound; coffee, 5 cents per pound; tea, 25 cents per pound; salt (bulk), 20 cents per pound; pig iron, 20 per cent.; bar iron, $30 per ton; manufactures of glass, 30 per cent. and 3 cents per pound; manufactures of cotton, 25 per cent.; manufactures of woollens, 30 per cent.; silk, 25 per cent. It was followed by another bill involving the same liberal views, which provided for surveys of routes upon which to base a system of national canals. Congress adjourned, May 27, 1824.

ELECTION OF 1824.—In the last Presidential election the Republican party had no opposition, but it had a head. Now it furnished its own opposition, being without a head. The contest began during the session of the previous Congress by bids for popular favor, expediency measures and votes, and outlines for a future which would be less gloomy than the then present.

An attempt to revive the obsolete Congressional caucus nominations, in the interest of Wm. H. Crawford, Ga., failed. A Constitutional amendment had been mooted to choose electors by popular vote. The campaign became historic as "the scrub race for the Presidency." The liberal school of Republicans supported Henry Clay, Ky., and John Quincy Adams. The strict school supported Wm. H. Crawford, Ga., and Andrew Jackson, Tenn. John C. Calhoun, S. C., had a general support for the Vice-Presidency and was elected. None of the candidates for the Presidency received a majority of "the whole number" of electoral votes, though Jackson had the most. The election therefore went into the House of Representatives.

EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec.



PRESIDENTS FROM 1817 TO 1841.

6, 1824. This session saw the disruption of the Republican party, and the dawn of the Whig party. Its only political work was the counting of the electoral vote and the subsequent election of a President. The count showed 99 for Jackson; 84 for John Quincy Adams; 41 for Wm. H. Crawford; 37 for Henry Clay. For Vice-President, Calhoun had 182 votes, as against 78 scattering. He was, therefore, declared Vice-President. In the contest over the Presidency in the House, Clay, who was out of the fight,* threw his strength, or as much of it as he could control, to Adams, which gave him 13 States, as against 7 for Jackson and 4 for Crawford. Though the election of Adams was perfectly regular and constitutional, it forced the liberal and strict schools of interpreters wide apart, and the latter, carrying their fight to the country in the shape of a rebuke to those Representatives who had slaughtered Jackson, soon had the vantage ground. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1825. The President and Vice-President elect were sworn into office, March 4, 1825.

X.

JOHN Q. ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1825—March 3, 1829.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, MASS., *President.* JOHN C. CALHOUN, S. C., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
NINETEENTH CONGRESS.	1, December 5, 1825–May 22, 1826. 2, December 4, 1826–March 3, 1827.
TWENTIETH CONGRESS.	1, December 3, 1827–May 26, 1828. 2, December 1, 1828–March 3, 1829.

* In such contests the three candidates having the highest number of votes are the only candidates before the House, and in voting each State shall have only one vote. Twelfth Amendment to Constitution.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 40,000.	Votes.	Republicans. President. A. Jackson, Tenn.	J. Q. Adams, Mass.	W. H. Crawford, Ga.	H. Clay, Ky.	Vice-President. J. C. Calhoun, S. C.	N. Sanford, N. Y.
Alabama	3	5	5	..	..	..	5	..
Connecticut	6	8	..	8	..	..	..	sc.
Delaware	1	3	..	1	2	..	1	sc.
Georgia	7	9	..	..	9	..	..	sc.
Illinois	1	3	2	1	..	..	3	..
Indiana	3	5	5	..	..	..	5	sc.
Kentucky	12	14	..	..	..	14	7	7
Louisiana	3	5	3	2	..	..	5	..
Maine	7	9	..	9	..	..	9	..
Maryland	9	11	7	3	1	..	10	sc.
Massachusetts	13	15	..	15	..	..	15	..
Mississippi	1	3	3	..	..	..	3	..
Missouri	1	3	..	..	..	3	..	sc.
New Hampshire	6	8	..	8	..	..	7	sc.
New Jersey	6	8	8	..	..	..	8	..
New York	34	36	1	26	5	4	29	7
North Carolina	13	15	15	..	..	..	15	..
Ohio	14	16	..	..	..	16	..	16
Pennsylvania	26	28	28	..	..	..	28	..
Rhode Island	2	4	..	4	..	..	3	..
South Carolina	9	11	11	..	..	..	11	..
Tennessee	9	11	11	..	..	..	11	..
Vermont	5	7	..	7	..	..	7	..
Virginia	22	24	..	..	24	..	..	sc.
Totals	213	261	99	84	41	37	182	30

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....Henry Clay, Ky.
Secretary of Treasury...Richard Rush, Pa.
Secretary of War.....James Barbour, Va.
Secretary of Navy.....S. L. Southard, N. J.....Continued.
Attorney-General.....William Wirt, Va..... "
Postmaster-General.....John McLean, Ohio..... "

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY.—This party, foreshadowed for some time, was now ready for a name. The division in the Republican ranks, encouraged by the free play of

* There was one vacancy. The scattering votes were, N. Macon, 24; A. Jackson, 13; Martin Van Buren, 9; Henry Clay, 2. At this election the popular vote began to be considered, for a great many States had abandoned the plan of choosing electors by their Legislatures, and a majority of them were about to do so. South Carolina adhered to the plan till 1868. The popular vote at this election was Andrew Jackson, 155,872, 10 States; John Q. Adams, 105,321, 8 States; Wm. H. Crawford, 44,282, 3 States; Henry Clay, 46,587, 3 States. Contest finally decided in the House. *See* p. 497.

sentiment during "The era of good feeling," and facilitated by the efforts of leaders of both schools of construction to impart their personalism to a following, now became a permanent breach. Adams entered on his administration with the Crawford supporters, who were the straightest sect of rigid interpreters, against him. His success had also set the Jackson following against him. They differed from the Crawford supporters only in the respect that they went with Jackson in his Federal and Protective Tariff ideas. But they could now unite forces and stand squarely against the administration. Clay's strength, which had gone to Adams' support in the House and helped to elect him President, naturally favored the administration. But Adams had made Clay his Secretary of State, a position then much courted as inviting to the Presidency. This gave the now united and embittered opposition a chance to charge collusion between Adams and Clay. Crimination and recrimination followed. Both sides became more compact and determined. Besides the sharp personalities involved, the President, in his inaugural and in his first message to Congress, had mapped a set of principles which, as to Protection, Internal Improvement, and liberality of Constitutional Construction in general, would answer as a bond of agreement for his own followers and those of Clay. Thus solidified, they set out as National Republicans (though known in the campaign of 1828 as Adams' men), a name excellently chosen, for as Republicans, yet as liberal or national interpreters of the Constitution, the title was accurate and full of meaning. But by a fatality not unusual with party titles, the name did not stick for many years, being pushed aside to make room for the meaningless title of Whig.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY.—The Crawford and Jackson following were united only in their opposition to Adams' administration and to the new National Republican party. Crawford was sick and could not look out for his own Presidential chances. Jackson forced the situation, got a nomination three years in advance (October, 1825) from the Legislature of Tennessee, and thus became a centre about which all opposition to the administration could cluster. While Jackson's personalism was neces-

sary to attract the Crawford support and cement the alliance, his followers were (in the campaign of 1828) "Jackson men." Thus, claiming to adhere more closely to the old Republican traditions than either Adams or Clay, they were more unmindful of the old Republican name, having dropped it altogether. But when it became necessary to get away from Jackson's personalism and give the party a national status, the name Democrat * was popularly and officially assumed. It was an easy transition to this title. Men like Calhoun and others, who never liked the name Republican, had all along preferred to be designated as Democrats. It was, therefore, not new; had been, in fact, a part of the Republican title, and was a titular revival, rather than invention. Thus went out of existence the distinctive Republican party and Republican name, though the Democrats claimed to perpetuate its principles, in a rigid construction of the Constitution. Yet even in this they too were, for a time at least, divided, for the extreme Southern, or State rights wing, sometimes called the Crawford faction, held to the doctrine of the Kentucky resolutions of 1799, which, we have seen, squarely broached the right to nullify objectionable Federal laws. A test of their doctrine was soon to be made under the lead of Calhoun.

NINETEENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1825, with a bare majority of liberal Republicans, who organized by electing John W. Taylor, N. Y., Speaker. The Senate had a majority of administration members, but Calhoun so arranged the committees as to enable the opposition to obstruct, or defeat nearly every political measure known to be favored by the President. This led the majority on the floor to retaliate by taking the power of appointing committees away from the presiding officer, temporarily. The opposition was so strong and defiant

* The present Democratic party began to take its name in 1831, and became fully recognized in 1832–33. I have before me papers of both the National Republican and Jackson parties in 1831. One called the "Republican" had the ticket headed "Democrat-Republican candidate for President in 1832, Andrew Jackson." On the other side in 1831, the papers were headed, "National Republican candidate for President in 1832, Henry Clay." I was myself the secretary of a National Republican club in 1832, and have the minutes now before me."—*Reminiscences of an old Whig.*

that no measures of moment passed the Congress, except those relating to appropriations. But a great many important bills were debated, among which was one to amend the Constitution, so as to permit the people to vote directly for the President; a "Tenure of Office Bill," compelling the President to lay before the Senate his reasons for making removals from office; another to so amend the Constitution as to prevent any member of the Congress from accepting a Federal office during his term; and lastly a bill which proposed a Congress of American States to agree on a plan to prevent future European colonies and armed influence in the country. This last became notable, as drawing from the President, who had been a member of Monroe's cabinet, a reiteration of "The Monroe Doctrine," and a limitation of it, as Monroe's own idea, to our own border. His idea also being, that interference with nations on our own continent or hemisphere, even to protect them, would be unjustifiable, except under the provisions designed to be agreed upon by some such tribunal as the proposed Congress of American States. Congress adjourned May 22, 1826.

NINETEENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1826. The two parties—National Republican and Democratic—still squarely faced each other, both nearly equally strong, both voting down the measures of the other, among which was one to increase the Tariff, and another which deserves attention as the first effort to divide a part of the national revenue among the States.* Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1827.

TWENTIETH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1827. Organized by electing Andrew Stevenson, Va., a Democrat, Speaker. This was a curiously constituted Congress. It was Democratic. What may be called the Adams and Jackson issues—they were scarcely Administration and Anti-Administration, nor yet National Republican (or Whig) and Democratic—

* This was afterwards done during Jackson's administration. The same question of a division of the surplus revenue among the States is now attracting wide attention. The policy of doing it was announced in the Pennsylvania Republican platform of 1882.

had been carried to the country. The Democrats carried every Southern State except Louisiana. They were no less fortunate, owing to Jackson's Protective Tariff record, in New York, Pennsylvania * and Illinois. Thus while they secured a majority in the Congress, it was united only for general party purposes. On the matter of a Protective Tariff it was divided, and enough Democrats from Northern States supported the National Republicans to bring about the celebrated Tariff Act of May 19, 1828.

TARIFF OF 1828.—This act had nothing peculiar about it, except that it increased the duty on manufactures of wool, and some other manufactures, to what was deemed a protective extent. But its importance was due to the fact (1) that it was designed to emphasize the "American system," and influence the approaching Presidential election. (2) To the fact that it was a turning-point of the hitherto hostile New England sentiment, Webster having changed ground and entered upon its advocacy. (3) To the fact that opposition to it was more than ever sectional, the South regarding it as robbery of the many for the benefit of the few, as a blow at the planting interests, as a discrimination against unpaid labor, and as unconstitutional. (4) To the fact that it became the basis of that partisan hostility which rapidly culminated in nullification.

The session was prolific of party debates, but barren of results, other than those indirect ones which were designed to work to the benefit or detriment of prospective candidates for the Presidency. Congress adjourned, May 26, 1828.

ELECTION OF 1828.—The common consent candidates of the respective parties were Adams and Jackson. No others were possible, for really these had had the field for four years. The great point with Adams, or the National Republicans, was to so emphasize the Protective Tariff and Internal Improvement ideas of the administration as to take away from Jackson whatever strength his Tariff record gave him. With Jackson the contest

* A Convention of Protectionists, of national import, had been held at Harrisburg, Pa., in July, 1827, which took the ground that the country needed greater protection than the act of 1824 gave.

was altogether different. He considered himself aggrieved by the result of the previous election, and his campaign was conducted—in the Democratic name—so as to vindicate the principle of choice by the popular vote, in other words the Democratic principle. A misfortune of the situation was that the entire candidacy was sectional, for John C. Calhoun, S. C., was running as Vice-President with Andrew Jackson, Tenn., and Richard Rush, Pa., as Vice-President with John Quincy Adams, Mass. The result would reach further than simple party differences warranted. At the election in November the Democrats triumphed.

TWENTIETH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1828, with its former Democratic majority in both Houses, the doubtful members in the Senate having swung to the Anti-Administration side, or, which is the same, to the side of the incoming administration. No measures were mooted likely to hamper the new administration, though one, accepting the liberal theory of Internal Improvement, and making large appropriation therefor, went through, after provoking the then stereotyped debates as to its constitutionality. The electoral count in February showed 178 votes for Jackson and 83 for Adams, for President, and 171 for Calhoun, and 83 for Rush, for Vice-President. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1829. The candidates elect were sworn into office March 4, 1829.

XI.

JACKSON'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1829—March 3, 1833.

ANDREW JACKSON, TENN., *President.* JOHN C. CALHOUN, S. C., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS.	1, December 7, 1829–May 31, 1830. 2, December 6, 1830–March 3, 1831.
TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS.	1, December 5, 1831–July 16, 1832. 2, December 3, 1832–March 3, 1833.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 40,000.	Votes.	Democrat. And. Jackson, Tenn.	Democrat. J. C. Calhoun, S. C.	National Republican. J. Q. Adams, Mass.	National Republican. R. Rush, Pa.	
Alabama	3	5	5	5	..	..	
Connecticut	6	8	..	..	8	8	
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3	
Georgia	7	9	9	2	..	..	7 for S. C. Smith.
Illinois	1	3	3	3	..	..	
Indiana	3	5	5	5	..	..	
Kentucky	12	14	14	14	..	..	
Louisiana	3	5	5	5	..	..	
Maine	7	9	1	1	8	8	
Maryland	9	11	5	5	6	6	
Massachusetts	13	15	..	..	15	15	
Mississippi	1	3	3	3	..	..	
Missouri	1	3	3	3	..	..	
New Hampshire	6	8	..	..	8	8	
New Jersey	6	8	..	..	8	8	
New York	34	36	20	20	16	16	
North Carolina	13	15	15	15	..	..	
Ohio	14	16	16	16	..	..	
Pennsylvania	26	28	28	28	..	..	
Rhode Island	2	4	..	..	4	4	
South Carolina	9	11	11	11	..	..	
Tennessee	9	11	11	11	..	..	
Vermont	5	7	..	..	7	7	
Virginia	22	24	24	24	..	..	
Totals	213	261	178	171	83	83	

CABINET.

Secretary of State.....Martin Van Buren, N. Y.
Secretary of Treasury.....Samuel D. Ingham, Pa.
Secretary of War.....John H. Eaton, Tenn.
Secretary of Navy.....John Branch, N. C.
Attorney-General.....John M. Berrien, Ga.
Postmaster-General.....Wm. T. Barry, Ky.

NEW ADMINISTRATION.—This first Democratic administration opened amid storm and invited storm. It had to confront the fact that the extreme Democrats of the South (the Crawford following) were not heartily with it, but that their drift was toward Vice-President Calhoun, as their leader, who was now among the most rigid masters in the school of strict interpreters and a pronounced champion of the Kentucky resolutions of 1799. Indeed, both Georgia and South Carolina had already assumed, through their Legislatures, to notify the President and the country that they declared null and void any act

* Popular vote—Jackson, 647,231; States, 15; Adams, 509,097; States, 9.

of Congress (the really objectionable act was the tariff of 1828) which they as States adjudged unconstitutional.

In his first message, Jackson took high ground against a recharter of the National Bank, though the charter of 1816 did not expire till 1836, regarded its usefulness as in every way past, argued that it was Anti-Democratic and despotic, and held the law authorizing it unconstitutional. He also swung quite to the side of those who opposed Protection and Internal Improvement. This alienated from him very many Democrats who were of sufficiently liberal turn to favor all these measures. However, this did not last very long, for circumstances soon compelled him to change front on Tariff and Internal Improvement measures, and to at least see that all such as had assumed the shape of law were duly enforced. His hostility to the bank, however, continued. He gave his opposition a decidedly political turn. Its destruction was the result.

Nor was the foreign outlook assuring. France was urging a settlement of her spoliation claims, even to the extent of threatening war, and England was clamorous and angry about the Maine boundary. To cap all, a new party, known as the Anti-Masonic, had risen in New York, which became a bidder for national distinction, and which, in its fervor, threatened to demoralize existing political forces.* Amid all these complications and antagonisms a President of ordinary nerve would have failed. But it seemed to be the kind of political atmosphere which Jackson liked to breathe. He was fortunate in the respect that there could be no hearty and effective combination of opposing elements, and equally fortunate in the sympathy which naturally goes out toward one who is singly enlisted against overwhelming odds. His personalism infected his entire administration, and this, in his case, was not a misfortune, for

* This organization, short-lived as it was, was peculiarly galling to such leaders as Clay and Jackson, who were both Masons. The furore which originated it came from the sudden, and as yet unaccounted for, disappearance of one Daniel Morgan, of Batavia, N. Y., who had written a book exposing the secrets of Free Masonry, in 1826. In 1832 it nominated a Presidential ticket, and then fell into rapid decline.

he had been a military hero, was of undeniably honest, but blunt intention, and was quite on a level with the masses in brusque demeanor and every-day speech.

VICTOR AND SPOILS.—The clouded and uncertain surroundings of the new administration were its justification for a general clearing out of all officials not in sympathy with it. This became the new doctrine of "Rotation in Office," or as it found popular expression from the lips of Senator Marcy, N. Y., the doctrine that "The spoils of the enemy belonged to the victor." * We have seen that Jefferson had given the hint for this doctrine, but that after applying it for the correction of certain errors on the part of his predecessor, had fallen back on the custom, which prevailed from the beginning till Jackson's time, of trusting to time to make vacancies and to the future supremacy of his party to fill them. Whether Jackson's excuse of self-defense were justified or not, his practice was accepted by all future parties, and prevailed without question, till called to account by Civil Service Reform.

TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1829, and organized by re-electing Andrew Stevenson, Va., Speaker, the Democrats being in a majority in both branches. Now the alienations already indicated began. The message, taking its high ground against the National Bank, which was allied with Protection and Internal Improvement, and proposing various things, among them a distribution of the surplus revenue to the States,† which were either new or upon which an agreement was impossible, they were

* "Another doctrine of Jackson was that he was 'responsible for the entire action of the Executive Department,' and, therefore, had the power to remove and appoint all officers at pleasure—a doctrine which, at a later day, during the administration of Andrew Johnson, Congress was compelled to legislate against. 'Responsible?' said Mr. Webster, replying to Jackson's protest. 'What does he mean by being responsible?' Does he mean *legal* responsibility? Certainly not—no such thing. Legal responsibility signifies liability to punishment for misconduct or maladministration. A Briareus sits in the centre of our system, and with his hundred hands touches everything, moves everything, controls everything. I ask, sir, is this Republicanism? is this a government of laws? is this legal responsibility?"—*Reminiscences of an old Whig.*

† This afterwards came about. See p. 517; also p. 501 and note.

summarily dealt with by the committees to which they were respectively referred. Party lines were strictly drawn over the question of removing the Cherokee Indians of Georgia to the west of the Mississippi, the Legislature of that State having enacted to open their lands to settlers, contrary to existing treaties with the tribe. The National Republicans opposed the bill for removal. Though it passed, it was ineffective, the Indians refusing to part with their lands.* Several enactments looking to Internal Improvements were passed, some of which the President vetoed directly. Others he retained for the legal ten days, and Congress having in the meantime adjourned they thus failed to become law. This convenient way of vetoing a bill by indirection was frequently practised by the President, and got to be known as the "Pocket Veto" method.

The most notable event of the session was the introduction into the Senate, by Foot, Conn., of an apparently harmless resolution of inquiry into the matter of public lands, coupled with a proposition to stop surveys and limit sales. As the effect of the proposition would have been to check migration and western settlement, it was opposed by western members, and gave rise to a five-month debate. This took the widest latitude. The imputation by Southern members that it had always been a New England policy to check western settlement, drew from Webster a reference to the ordinance of 1787 for the government of the territory northwest of the Ohio. As this ordinance prohibited slavery, the slave question came up, and was discussed in all its bearings, the debates being sectional, exhaustive and bitter. Hayne's allusion to the attitude of New England in the war of 1812 brought from Webster a reference to the Kentucky nullifying resolutions of 1799,† and to the recent action of

* They were afterwards forcibly removed in defiance of a decision of the Supreme Court to the effect that the treaties between them and the United States were valid.

† Hayne quoted the Virginia resolutions of 1799, written by Madison, as justifying nullification. Webster defended Madison, and showed that such interpretation could not be put upon them. But this did not destroy Hayne's reliance on the Kentucky resolutions, written by Jefferson. We have taken the trouble to show that the doctrine of nullification was not in the Kentucky resolutions which Jeffer-

Georgia and South Carolina respecting the tariff of 1828. This brought up the whole question of nullification, Hayne voicing the well-known sentiments of Calhoun. And so it drifted from Southern grievance to New England Federalism, from State rights to Federal powers, from the government as a League to the government as a Nation, covering the entire field of national and constitutional history. Benton, though a participant, justly calls it "The Great Debate in the Senate." Congress adjourned, May 31, 1830.

TWENTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1830. This Congress met at a time when the doctrine of Nullification was passing from peaceful resistance to Federal authority to open, violent resistance. It had shown its hand the preceding April, when at a dinner party in Washington the President had rebuked the Nullification sentiment which prevailed by the toast, "Our Federal Union; it must and shall be preserved." Vice-President Calhoun immediately flung the counter-toast among the guests, "Liberty, dearer than Union." These led to enough to satisfy the President that he must be on his guard, and the Nullifiers that they could not carry him with them. As to his friends in Congress, especially those of liberal sentiment, he offended them, as before, by repeating in his message his opposition to the National Bank, and by going still further and opposing Internal Improvement, except under certain limited conditions. This element went to the support of the National Republicans, and the result was such an emphatic verdict in favor of bills for improvement of harbors, rivers and roads, and for light-houses, that he relented his opposition and gave them executive approval.

Before adjournment the President was made to feel the hatred of the Nullifiers toward him. Vice-President Calhoun came out in a pamphlet severely criticising his war record, especially as it related to the Seminole affair. This touched him in a very tender spot. Angered beyond measure at its publication, smart-

son drew, but was in those of the next year (1799), in the shape of an amendment to Jefferson's. Madison protested against Hayne's use of Jefferson's name in support of what he called the "colossal heresy of nullification."

ing under the insinuation that all was not lovely among the families of his cabinet, and the further insinuation that he preferred to be advised by hangers-on at the White House—a "Kitchen Cabinet," as they were called—he stormed as only "Old Hickory" could storm. His cabinet resigned in a body, and gave him opportunity to reorganize, which he did by making Edward Livingston, La., his Secretary of State, *vice* Van Buren; Louis McLane, Del., Secretary of Treasury, *vice* Ingham; Lewis Cass, Mich., Secretary of War, *vice* Eaton; Levi Woodbury, N. H., Secretary of Navy, *vice* Branch; Roger B. Taney, Md., Attorney-General, *vice* Berrien. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1831.

TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1831. The House organized by re-electing Andrew Stevenson Speaker. His majority in the former House was 93, in this it was 1. The Senate was opposed to the Administration. The President forced his war on the United States Bank, and the Congress met him more than half way by an act reviving the charter, though the old one did not expire till 1836. He vetoed the bill, and the requisite two-thirds could not be mustered to pass it over the veto. From this time on he pursued the bank with Spartan persistency until he drove it out of existence.

TARIFF OF 1832.—The process of getting ready for the Presidential campaign seemed to require, as it had done for several previous campaigns, a revision of the Tariff. An act passed in May, 1830, had considerably scaled the rates of duty laid in the act of 1828, but not enough to destroy the Protective features of that act. The nullifying sentiment in the South must be appeased somehow. Another act was the remedy. It was the act of July 14, 1832, which reduced duties very considerably and placed coffee and tea on the free list. But it failed to effect its purpose, for as yet there had been no official or legal repudiation of the Protective idea. Bills making liberal appropriations for Internal Improvement were also passed and signed; some, however, received the adroit pocket veto.

The split between the President and Vice-President was widened by the refusal of the latter to confirm by his casting vote

in the Senate the appointment of Van Buren as Minister to England. This spiteful proceeding reacted on Calhoun in the shape of the nomination of Van Buren for the Vice-Presidency. Congress adjourned, July 16, 1832.

ELECTION OF 1832.—This contest is noteworthy as the first in which all the parties made their nominations through national conventions, and two of them a proclamation of principles through what are now known as party platforms. The Anti-Masons took the field as early as September, 1831, at Baltimore, by nominating for President William Wirt, Va.; for Vice-President, Amos Ellmaker, Pa. Their principles were involved in their formal call of a convention as "opposition to secret societies."

The National Republicans followed in December, 1831, at Baltimore. They nominated for President, Henry Clay, Ky.; for Vice-President, John Sergeant, Pa. The address of the convention to the people, or platform, defined the issues of the campaign as the tariff, internal improvement, the question of removing the Cherokee Indians, and renewal of the United States Bank charter.

The Democrats met, also at Baltimore, in March, 1832, and nominated for President, Andrew Jackson, Tenn.; for Vice-President, Martin Van Buren, N. Y. The convention published no platform of principles.*

Thus the respective parties entered the campaign. No part of the country felt as warmly toward Jackson as at his first election. The South was cold, and, in the case of South Carolina, defiant. The North, or wherever the influence of the United States Bank was strongest, was unsympathetic or pronouncedly against him. But there was little coherency in the

* But at a ratification meeting, held in Washington, May 11, 1832, a set of resolutions were adopted which favored internal improvement, denounced removals from office for opinion sake and contained the following on the tariff: "*Resolved*, That an adequate protection to American industry is indispensable to the prosperity of the country, and that an abandonment of the policy at this period would be attended with consequences ruinous to the best interests of the nation." None of which was very good Jackson doctrine so far as his first administration was concerned.

opposition, and the result of the election, in November, was decidedly in his favor. "The American System," which Clay's nomination had placed on trial before the country, and which the National Republicans had presented with all their eloquence and logic, was, for the time being, swamped by both the national verdict and that in the Congressional districts. South Carolina supported none of the nominees, but cast her vote for John Floyd, Va., and Henry Lee, Mass.

NULLIFICATION.—No sooner had the Presidential election passed over than a South Carolina convention, at Columbus, Nov. 19, 1832, declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "null and void and not binding upon the State, her officers and citizens." It is difficult to understand this action at this time except upon the theory that it was a direct blow of Calhoun and his friends at Jackson, for since protection * had been made the distinguishing feature of the Presidential campaign, and had not been endorsed by the country, any reasonable opponents of the protective idea must have been satisfied.† Other circumstances may, however, have conspired to bring about the ordinance at this juncture. The sentiment of nullification had been ripening for some time. The State of Georgia had practically nullified the Cherokee Indian act by refusing to obey the decrees of the United States Supreme Court. The thought that coercion of a State by the Federal troops was possible did not prevail then,

* The nullifiers, it must be remembered, claimed that a tariff act which involved the idea of protection was unconstitutional. This, they said, was the *gravamen* of the acts of 1828 and 1832. It is very probable, however, that they deemed the time a fit one to test the position of a State in the Union.

† "Jackson had pledged himself to a single term, and Calhoun had expected to be his successor. But by adroit use of resolutions in several of the State Legislatures in favor of a second term for Jackson, he concluded to run again. His quarrel with Calhoun now became a feud. Calhoun pressed his nullification idea, and Jackson resisted by the proclamation of force, Dec. 16, 1832. Clay, fearing war, introduced his "Compromise tariff bill," which passed March 2, 1833, under which duties were to be scaled at the rate of 10 per cent. annually till they reached a uniform rate of 20 per cent. This they did in 1842. During this period the country reached universal bankruptcy in 1837, a sub-treasury law had to be passed to supply the place of the suspended State banks, a bankrupt law to relieve individuals, and the tariff act of 1842 to relieve the country."—*Reminiscences of an old Whig.*

and the further thought that any such attempt at coercion would be resisted by the States through which such troops would be compelled to pass, did prevail in South Carolina. At any rate the ordinance passed, and it was backed up by resolutions to the effect that any appeal from it to the United States Supreme Court would be punishable as an offence, and that any attempt at force on the part of the general government would be followed by the secession of the State.

This Ordinance, which went into effect Feb. 1, 1833, placed the State in the attitude of forcible resistance to the laws of the United States. A certified copy of it reached the President in December, 1832, the Legislature of the State in the meantime passing laws taking back all those powers it had parted with to the central government, and rapidly placing it on a war footing. Soon after its receipt, the President, Dec. 16, 1832, issued his celebrated proclamation to the people of the State. It is important as showing how the first overt nullification, and first direct attempt at secession, was met, and that by an executive who, though not of the extreme school of rigid interpreters of the Constitution, was yet sufficiently inclined that way to be the national representative of the then existing Democracy. The Proclamation (1) exhorted the people of South Carolina to obey the laws of Congress. (2) Pointed out the illegality of their procedure. (3) Showed that the general government was one in which the people of all the States were collectively represented. (4) Affirmed that Representatives in Congress are Representatives of the United States and not of particular States, are paid by the United States and are not accountable to the State for their legitimate acts. (5) Concluded, therefore, that the government was not a League, but a government, whether formed by compact or in any other way; that it operated on individuals, not on States; that the States parted with enough of their powers to make a nation; that the claim of a right to secede was not the mere withdrawing from a contract, but was destructive of the unity of a nation; that it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing an

offence. (6) Expressed his determination to enforce the laws, even by a resort to force if necessary.

Without recourse to Congress, then in session, but in the exercise of the power he already possessed as executive, he threw a naval force into Charleston Harbor and proceeded to collect the duties under the Tariff of 1832. In January, however, he was forced to ask for legislation to aid him in the enforcement of the laws. A bill was consequently prepared in the Senate which was deemed adequate. Its provisions provoked intense hostility. Debate was long and acrimonious. Notwithstanding the fact that it was shown to contain no new feature, and had the support of such conservative-minded men as Webster, it was denounced as unconstitutional, as tending to civil war, as a "Force Bill," as "the Bloody Bill," etc. It was a bill to enforce the Tariff Act of 1832. It passed, was signed by the President, and duly executed. South Carolina did not secede on account of it, and no State was injured by its passage and enforcement. All in all it was probably the best measure which could have been devised for the emergency. At any rate it made the President master of the situation, and rampant nullification subsided. Soon after the opening of Congress in December Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency and entered the Senate, where he took early occasion to say that his State had never intended to resist the government by force, and as an evidence of it he called attention to the fact that a recent meeting of nullifiers had been held at which it was agreed that all thought of forcible resistance should be postponed till after the Congress had adjourned.

TWENTY-SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1832. The most important act was that spoken of in the preceding paragraph, except perhaps the compromise Tariff Act. This act, conceived by Clay in a spirit of compromise, met two requirements: (1) the verdict of the last Presidential election; (2) the wishes of those engaged in nullification, not fully, perhaps, but sufficiently to show that the friends of Protection were not necessarily the enemies of their opponents. Its weakness was that of all compromises. It was immediately heralded by the nullifiers as their vindication, and amid great rejoicing was

proclaimed as a surrender of "the American system" and a justification of the South Carolina status. It did not enact anything affirmatively, but taking the Tariff of 1832 as a basis, proceeded to emasculate it by a dry rot repeal extending over a period of ten years (till 1842), during all which time there was to be a gradual biennial reduction of duties, till in the end no higher rate than 20 per cent. should survive.

The President continued his war on the National Bank, but was headed off by its friends. The Public Land Question came up again in the shape of a bill to turn the proceeds of sales over to the States as a loan. A pocket veto settled its fate.

The count of the electoral vote in February, 1833, revealed, for President, Jackson 219, Clay 49, Floyd 11, Wirt 7; for Vice-President, Van Buren 189, Sergeant 49, Wilkins 30, Lee 11, Ellmaker 7. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1833. Jackson and Van Buren were sworn into office March 4, 1833.

XII.

JACKSON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1833—March 3, 1837.

ANDREW JACKSON, TENN., *President.* MARTIN VAN BUREN, N. Y., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS.	1, December 2, 1833–June 30, 1834. 2, December 1, 1834–March 3, 1835.
TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.	1, December 7, 1835–July 4, 1836. 2, December 5, 1836–March 3, 1837.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 47,700.	Vote.	Democrat.		Nat. Republican.		Anti-Mason.	
			And. Jackson, Tenn.	M. Van Buren, N. Y.	H. Clay, Ky.	J. Sergeant, Pa.	W. Wirt, Va.	Amos Ellmaker, Pa.
Alabama	5	7	7	7	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	6	8	..	..	8	8	..	..
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3	..	..
Georgia	9	11	11	11	..	..	..	..
Illinois	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..
Indiana	7	9	9	9	..	..	..	..

* There were two vacancies. The South Carolina vote went to John Floyd and Henry Lee. William Wilkins, Pa., got 30 of the scattering votes. The popular vote was: Andrew Jackson, 687,502; Henry Clay, 530,189; William Wirt, 33,108.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 47,700.	Vote.	Democrat. And. Jackson, Tenn.	Democrat. M. Van Buren, N.Y.	Nat. Republican. H. Clay, Ky.	Nat. Republican. J. Sergeant, Pa.	Anti-Mason. W. Wirt, Va.	Anti-Mason. Amos Ellmaker, Pa.
Kentucky	13	15	..	..	15	15	..	..
Louisiana	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..
Maine	8	10	10	10	..	..	..	..
Maryland	8	10	3	3	5	5	..	..
Massachusetts	12	14	..	..	14	14	..	..
Mississippi	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
Missouri	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	5	7	7	7	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	6	8	8	8	..	..	..	..
New York	40	42	42	42	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	13	15	15	15	..	..	..	..
Ohio	19	21	21	21	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	28	30	30	sc.	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	..	..	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	9	11	sc.	sc.	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	13	15	15	15	..	..	..	..
Vermont	5	7	..	..	..	..	7	7
Virginia	21	23	23	23	..	..	..	..
Totals	240	288	219	189	49	49	7	7

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	Lewis McLane, Del.	
Secretary of Treasury	William J. Duane, Pa.	
Secretary of War	Lewis Cass, Mich	Continued.
Secretary of Navy	Levi Woodbury, N. H.	"
Attorney-General	Roger B. Taney, Md.	"
Postmaster-General	William T. Barry, Ky.	"

Jackson's Cabinets were very fluctuating. This one was arranged, the better to carry on his war against the United States Bank. But Mr. Duane refused to obey his order to remove the deposits from the Bank on the plea that they were unsafe there, that they had been used for political purposes, or for any reason whatever. Nor would he resign his office. He on the contrary alleged that the President's action was unnecessary, arbitrary, and unjust. He was removed, and Roger B. Taney took his place. The deposits were then transferred to favorite State banks. The National Bank, thus left without bankable resource, began to call in its loans and wind up business, in the midst of great financial embarrassment and commercial distress.

TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1833. Organized by re-electing Andrew Stevenson, Speaker, by a majority of 81. The war on the Bank culminated during

this session. Enough Democratic Senators united with the National Republicans to censure the President for his removal of the Bank deposits. This was tabled in the House, which then committed itself by a resolution not to vote for a re-charter of the Bank. Thus the President carried his position by indirection, and the tedious, bitter, demoralizing, and, so far as Jackson was concerned, personal, struggle ended. Even the commercial and industrial hardship entailed by the loss of so powerful a financial agent was quoted as an evidence of the truth of the President's charges against it.*

The Post-office Department, which had been conducted under the Treasury Department until 1829, and then set apart as distinct, came up for investigation. As this was an administration measure, the Department was declared by a House investigating committee to be corrupt, and a bill for its reorganization passed.

The President and Senate were in a perpetual snarl. The latter rejected his pet nominations, among them that of Taney for the Treasury, and Stevenson, the Speaker, as Minister to England. It also attempted to limit his political removals and appointments, by a species of Tenure of Office bill. Congress adjourned June 30, 1834.

TWENTY-THIRD CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1834. This session was mainly devoted to finance. The deposit of public moneys in the State banks was giving rise to trouble. As a system it was inconvenient and dangerous, though tenaciously adhered to by the Democrats. Its opponents proposed as a substitute a system of Sub-Treasuries at various business centres, through whose agents the Treasurer might act safely and promptly. This the Democrats voted down, only, however, to fall in with and adopt it at a later date, as their best weapon with which to fight those who favored re-chartering a National Bank. Slight encouragement was given the system of

* It is perhaps needless to say that the leading Democratic opponents of the Bank, such as Benton, rested their case on a denial of the right of the government to make anything money except gold and silver. They rigidly interpreted the coinage clause of the Constitution, and popularized the idea that Democrats then constituted "the hard money party."

Internal Improvements, by an appropriation therefor. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1835.

TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1835. Organized by electing James K. Polk, Tenn., as Speaker. Neither branch was a happy body. An amalgamated opposition to the Democrats controlled the Senate, and the Democratic majority in the House was divided into two factions, one administration, anxious to advance Van Buren's chances for the Presidency, the other anti-administration, anxious to advance those of Hugh L. White, Tenn. Fortunately no measures of party moment arose. The leading act of the session was one which passed in pursuance of the President's announcement in his message that the public debt would soon be paid, and his advice that some method of disposing of the surplus revenue should be provided. It is of moment now, in view of the fact that a similar proposition is being mooted, and bids fair to become a party issue.

SURPLUS REVENUE.—Clay's previous plan to distribute the surplus arising from the sale of public lands among the States was premature, because the government had need of the money. Now, the extinguishment of the public debt made a similar plan more timely. But how to get at it was a grave question. Every way seemed unsatisfactory till a plan of regulating the deposit of public moneys in the State banks was hit upon. Deposits had hitherto been made in the "pet banks." Now the surplus revenue was to be divided in proportion to the population of each State, and the share of each, as thus ascertained, was to be deposited in its designated State bank or banks, for the use of the State, the same to be regarded as in the nature of a loan for whose return, when called on, the State stood as a pledge. This ingenious act passed both Houses in June, 1836, to take effect Jan. 1, 1837. It applied to all surplus above $5,000,000, and under it $26,101,644 were distributed. It ceased to operate in less than a year, by act of Congress, owing to hard times. The Distribution bill was signed by the President reluctantly. The promised benefit to the States did not accrue, nor did those who favored it with the hope of advancing

their Presidential chances reap the harvest they expected. The panic of 1837 burst upon the country all the same, and the Democratic party suffered defeat in 1840. Arkansas became a State June 15, 1836. Congress adjourned July 4, 1836.

PANIC OF 1837.—The destruction of the United States Bank, the scaling of duties under the Tariff Act of 1833, the multiplication of State banks and introduction of their variable and doubtful notes, made the financial situation uncertain, distressed business, and tended directly toward panic. This was precipitated by an order of the President, issued through his Secretary of Treasury (July, 1836), to the effect that the Treasury should cease to take State bank notes in payment for Public Lands, but should, in the future, take only gold and silver. From a Treasury standpoint this was justifiable, for the notes of the State banks had been piling up in the Treasury Department in great quantities. But as such a result had been invited by the destruction of the National Bank, with its uniform and stable currency, it looked as if the President were recoiling from it. His specie order speedily swamped the State banks, except the "pet" ones, which were banks designated to receive the national deposits, by creating a demand for gold and silver they could not meet. The panic broke on the country the next year, and the direst distress prevailed in every department of business.

ELECTION OF 1836.—This contest opened early by the nomination (1834–35) of H. L. White, Tenn., by the Legislature of Alabama. This was to head off Jackson, who sought the nomination of Van Buren. The White faction was the rest, residue and remainder of the old Crawford faction, members of the extreme school of rigid interpreters, strict State-rights men, former nullifiers, unyielding opponents of Jackson. But the Van Buren forces were not to be demoralized in this way. The era of caucus and legislative nomination had passed. A popular convention met in Baltimore in May, 1835, and placed Martin Van Buren, N. Y., in nomination for President, with Richard M. Johnson, Ky., for Vice-President. This was called a "Loco-Foco" convention, the term having come into popular use the previous winter in New York as a set-off to the term "Whig,"

which was at the same time applied to the National Republican party. The "Loco-Focos" promulgated a platform, the important plank in which was adherence to gold and silver as the only proper circulating medium.

The Whigs, Anti-Masons, "and all opposed to" Van Buren, united on William Henry Harrison, Ohio, for President, and Francis Granger, N. Y., for Vice-President, who had been the declared nominees of a State convention held in Pennsylvania (1835).

To the Alabama nomination of H. L. White for President had been added that of John Tyler, Va., for Vice-President.

Feeling that the election could be thrown into the House, where the Democratic division would insure the choice of an opposition candidate, Ohio placed John McLean in nomination for the Presidency, and Massachusetts, Daniel Webster.

Thus shaped, the election took place in November, 1836, and resulted in a majority of Van Buren electors.

TWENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1836. This session was not notable for bills passed, but is memorable for the attempt made by the Southern members to recover the territory west of the Sabine (Texas), which had been lost at the time of the Florida purchase (1819). Contrary to the advice contained in the President's message, against interference between Mexico and the Republic of Texas (Texas had seceded from the Mexican Republic and set up for herself), the Senate passed a bill recognizing Texan independence, which the House rejected.

A NEW POLITICAL FORCE.—It is further memorable as directly recognizing a new political force which had been incorporated in 1833 as the National Anti-Slavery Society, which had been working quietly and suasively by means of lectures, tracts and newspapers, and which, in its preference of a broad humanity for narrow code, had given offence to the South by technical violations of the existing regulations respecting the return of fugitives. The mob violence which had been resorted to in several Northern cities for the purpose of breaking up the sources of abolition literature having failed, and there being an

alarming increase of the same in the South, the President advised Congress to pass a bill construing such literature as incendiary and prohibiting its carriage by the United States mails. The times were not yet ripe for this summary method, and the bill was rejected.

THE ELECTORAL COUNT.—Michigan was admitted as a State, Jan. 26, 1837. The electoral count in February resulted in 170 for Van Buren; 73 for Harrison; 26 for White; 14 for Webster; and 11 for W. P. Mangum, N. C., for President; and for Vice-President, 147 for Johnson; 77 for Granger; 47 for Tyler; and 23 for William Smith, Ala. There being no choice for Vice-President, the House elected Richard M. Johnson, Ky. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1837, and on March 4 Van Buren and Johnson were sworn into office.

Jackson signalized his retiracy by a farewell address, after the manner of Washington, in which he vindicated his administrative career, and congratulated the country on its peace, prosperity, and full triumph of the Democratic principles and party. His own peace of mind had been exalted by the passage of a resolution, March 16, 1837, expunging the Clay resolution censuring his conduct in the removal of the public moneys from the National Bank.

XIII.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1837—March 3, 1841.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, N. Y., *President.* RICHARD M. JOHNSON, KY., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.	1, September 4, 1837–October 16, 1837, extra session. 2, December 4, 1837–July 9, 1838. 3, December 3, 1838–March 3, 1839.
TWENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.	1, December 2, 1839–July 21, 1840. 2, December 7, 1840–March 3, 1841.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 47,700.	Votes.	Democrat. M. Van Buren, N. Y.	Democrat. R. M. Johnson, Ky.	Whig. W. H. Harrison, Ohio.	Whig. F. Granger, N. Y.
Alabama	5	7	4	4	..	..
Arkansas	1	3	3	3	..	..
Connecticut	6	8	8	8	..	..
Delaware	1	3	..	.	3	3
Georgia	9	11	7	7	..	..
Illinois	3	5	4	4	..	..
Indiana	7	9	5	5	..	..
Kentucky	13	15	..	..	9	9
Louisiana	3	5	sc.	sc.	..	..
Maine	8	10	10	10	..	..
Maryland	8	10	..	..	10	sc.
Massachusetts	12	14	..	..	sc.	14
Michigan	1	3	..	..	..	..
Mississippi	2	4	4	4	..	..
Missouri	2	4	4	4	..	..
New Hampshire	5	7	7	7	..	..
New Jersey	6	8	..	..	8	8
New York	40	42	42	42	..	..
North Carolina	13	15	15	15	..	..
Ohio	19	21	..	..	21	21
Pennsylvania	28	30	30	30	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	9	11	sc.	sc.	..	..
Tennessee	13	15	..	..	15	15
Vermont	5	7	..	..	7	7
Virginia	21	23	23	sc.	..	sc.
Totals	242	294	170	147	73	77

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....John Forsyth, Ga.....Continued.
Secretary of Treasury....Levi Woodbury, N. H.... "
Secretary of War.....Joel R. Poinsett, S. C.
Secretary of Navy.....Mahlon Dickerson, N. J...Continued.
Attorney-General.....Benjamin F. Butler, N. Y... "
Postmaster-General.....Amos Kendall, Ky..... "

THE INAUGURAL.—Van Buren's inaugural teemed with faith in his predecessor and promises to abide by his policy. It congratulated the country on its prosperity and peace, and laid down as his chart the doctrines of the Democratic party. This commitment was untimely. It made him the executor of

* Webster got the 14 votes of Massachusetts; Mangum the 11 votes of South Carolina; White 26 votes from various Southern States. For Vice-President, John Tyler got 47 and William Smith 23. The popular vote was, Van Buren, 761,549, 15 States; Harrison, 7 States; White, 2 States; Webster, 1 State; Mangum, 1 State—236,656 votes.

the wreck invited by a financial policy which would have in time carried even Jackson down. The State banks had flooded the country with a "wild-cat" currency. Values were inflated and speculation rife. The President's (Jackson's) order to take nothing but gold and silver in payment for public lands had by this time resulted in a heavy gold premium, and the impossibility of getting specie at all by the weaker banks. The folly of the law ordering the distribution of the surplus among the States was now apparent, for the surplus was in the keeping of the "pet banks," and they could not respond to the order to pay money over to the States which they had loaned out and could not promptly collect. On May 10, 1837, a general suspension of the banks took place. This stopped the treasury, for its deposits were with the banks. The panic of 1837 was on, with its cruel and unparalleled wreck of every vital business interest.

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called Sept. 4, 1837, to consider the financial situation. House organized by electing James K. Polk, Tenn., Speaker. Both branches Democratic; House by a majority of 13. The President's message defended Jackson's "Specie Circular," but recommended the Government to break off from the banks, whether State or National, and rely on an Independent Treasury System,* with an issue of Treasury notes; further, to stop paying the deposits due the States under the act then in force. The message met with violent opposition from Whigs and many Democrats. Clay, Webster, Cushing and others made it a text for the review of Democratic finance, from the beginning of the Government down. The Democratic opponents of the message switched off into a separate party, calling themselves "Conservatives." The bills enacted sustained the Administration and marked the era of a complete separation between State and National banking. They stopped the distribution of the surplus among the States, extended the time to merchants who had borrowed National

* This was really the Sub-Treasury plan proposed by the National Republicans in the 23d Congress, and then rejected by the Democrats. It was now opposed by the Whigs, who saw, since the distress was on, an opportunity to re-establish a National bank, and, as they reasoned, thus lift the country out of panic.

moneys, and sanctioned the issue of Treasury notes to the extent of $10,000,000.

The interest of the session was heightened by Calhoun's resolutions in the Senate against interference with slavery in the States, and to the effect "that it would be inexpedient and impolitic to abolish or control it in the District of Columbia or the Territories." He was loud in his praise of the Missouri Compromise of 1820. From this time on the subject of slavery came up in nearly every session of Congress, till 1863. Congress adjourned, Oct. 16, 1837.

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1837. The coalition between the Whigs and Conservative Democrats still prevailed, and it defeated in the House the Senate bill to establish an Independent Treasury, though it came to the relief of that department by authorizing it to accept as current the notes of specie-paying banks. This innocent-looking measure really permitted the Administration to get away from the hampering effects of Jackson's Specie Order without the humiliation of formally withdrawing it.

The determination of the Southern States to regain Texas came boldly forth this session by a bill for annexation, which did not pass. It will be curious now to watch the growth of this idea of enlarged slave territory, first by direct acquisition, and then by the doctrine that, notwithstanding the Missouri Compromise, all Government territory was open to slavery; and to note that the idea kept even pace in its growth with the loss of political power occasioned by a preponderance of free States and the rapid growth of the Anti-Slavery sentiment. Congress adjourned, July 9, 1838.

TWENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1838. There was no political legislation of moment during this session. The Administration was as if wrapped up in a hard Democratic shell, and the drift of sentiment in Congress and the country was away from it and toward the Whigs, or some element equally liberal in its interpretation of the Constitution and willing to propound and risk something for the relief of the country. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1839.

TWENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1839. The organization of the House was delayed by a closely contested Congressional election in New Jersey. Five Democrats contested the seats of five Whigs. Neither set was admitted until after the choice of a Speaker, which fell to Robert M. T. Hunter, Va., a Whig, and in favor of the Sub-Treasury plan. The Whigs in this instance were aided by a few regular Democrats and by the friends of Calhoun, who for several sessions had swung free lances in both House and Senate. The final decision of the case was not had till in March, 1840, when the Democratic contestants were seated, making the full Democratic strength 122, and the Whig strength 113. The leading act of the session was one providing for the "collection, safe-keeping and disbursing of the public money." It was simply Monroe's Independent Treasury plan, and it was passed by a small majority in both Houses and signed by the President. The Whigs opposed it under the lead of Clay, but some of them, as Cushing, favored it. A heavy blow was aimed at the system of Internal Improvement by an act suspending all appropriations therefor. The practice of "pairing off" began during this session. J. Q. Adams introduced a resolution to censure it, but it was not put on its passage. The practice has grown ever since—grown to be a nuisance. John Tyler, Va., an ultra Democrat of the Calhoun school, won his way to the Vice-Presidency on the Whig ticket by his opposition to the Administration during this session. Congress adjourned, July 21, 1840.

ELECTION OF 1840.—The Whigs took the lead in National Convention at Harrisburg, Pa., Dec. 4, 1839. Clay, the ablest and most pronounced Whig in the country, was not deemed available as a candidate owing to a desire to conciliate the Anti-Mason and other opposing elements, and to the thought that one of military prowess would go through, as Jackson had done. The nomination for President was, therefore, conferred on William Henry Harrison, Ohio, and for Vice-President on John Tyler, Va. No platform.

The Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 5, 1840, and unanimously renominated Van Buren, leaving the States to

fill up the Vice-Presidency. A lengthy platform was adopted, affirming (1) "That the Federal Government was one of limited powers;" (2) "That the Constitution does not confer the right on the Government to carry on a system of internal improvement;" (3) nor to assume the debts of the States contracted for internal improvement; (4) "Justice and sound policy forbids the Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another or one section to the injury of another;" (5) urged economy; (6) Congress has no power to charter a U. S. bank; (7) and no power to interfere with the domestic institutions of the States; (8) Government money must be separated from banking institutions; (9) this country is the asylum of the oppressed of all nations.

The Abolition or Liberty party nominated, Nov. 13, 1839, James G. Birney, N. Y., for President, and Francis Lemoyne, Pa., for Vice-President. Its platform favored (1) The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and Territories; (2) Stoppage of the inter-State salve trade; (3) General opposition to slavery to the full extent of constitutional power.

All parties were now ready. The campaign was the liveliest on record. The October elections inspired the Whigs. Their attack on Van Buren's financial policy was telling all along the line. The furore was intensified by the introduction of the spectacular. Log-cabins with the latch-strings hanging out, and barrels of hard cider, were made the type of "out West" generosity and happy pioneer life. The meetings were frequent and extended into every county and town. The result was a Whig victory of astounding magnitude, Van Buren carrying but five Southern and two Northern States.

TWENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1840. A quiet session and no work of political moment. Electoral vote counted in February, 1841, showing Harrison 234 and Van Buren 60 for President; for Vice-President, Tyler, 234; Johnson, 48; L. W. Tazewell, Va., 11; and James K. Polk, Tenn., 1. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1841, and on March 4 Harrison and Tyler were sworn into office.

XIV.

HARRISON'S AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1841—March 3, 1845.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, OHIO, *President.* JOHN TYLER, VA., *Vice-President.*

(Harrison died April 4, 1841, having served one month.)

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.	1, May 31, 1841–September 13, 1841. Extra Sess. 2, December 6, 1841–August 31, 1842. 3, December 5, 1842–March 3, 1843.
TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.	1, December 4, 1843–June 17, 1844. 2, December 2, 1844–March 3, 1845.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 47,700.	Votes.	Whig. Wm. H. Harrison, Ohio.	Whig. J. Tyler, Va.	Democrat. M. Van Buren, N. Y.	Democrat. R. M. Johnson, Ky.
Alabama	5	7	..	..	7	7
Arkansas	1	3	..	..	3	3
Connecticut	6	8	8	8	..	..
Delaware	1	3	3	3	..	..
Georgia	9	11	11	11	..	..
Illinois	3	5	..	..	5	5
Indiana	7	9	9	9	..	..
Kentucky	13	15	15	15	..	..
Louisiana	3	5	5	5	..	..
Maine	8	10	10	10	..	..
Maryland	8	10	10	10	..	..
Massachusetts	12	14	14	14	..	..
Michigan	1	3	3	3	..	..
Mississippi	2	4	4	4	..	..
Missouri	2	4	..	..	4	4
New Hampshire	5	7	..	..	7	7
New Jersey	6	8	8	8	..	..
New York	40	42	42	42	..	..
North Carolina	13	15	15	15	..	..
Ohio	19	21	21	21	..	..
Pennsylvania	28	30	30	30	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	9	11	..	..	11	sc.
Tennessee	13	15	15	15	..	..
Vermont	5	7	7	7	..	..
Virginia	21	23	..	..	23	23
Totals	242	294	234	234	60	48

* L. W. Tazewell got the 11 votes of South Carolina for Vice-President, and James K. Polk got 1 vote out of the column of States set down as for Johnson. The popular vote was: Harrison, 1,275,017—19 States; Van Buren, 1,128,702—7 States; Birney, 7,059.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	Daniel Webster, Mass.
Secretary of Treasury	Thomas Ewing, Ohio.
Secretary of War	John Bell, Tenn.
Secretary of Navy	G. E. Badger, N. C.
Attorney-General	John J. Crittenden, Ky.
Postmaster-General	Francis Granger, N. Y.

THE INAUGURAL.—Harrison's Inaugural was a genial, assuring paper, with a blow at Jackson's excessive use of the veto power and his "to the victor belong the spoils" theory, and at both his and Van Buren's attempts to make political capital out of the currency question. On March 17 he called an extra session of Congress, to convene May 31, to consider the revenue and financial situation. He died April 4, and John Tyler succeeded. This was the first time a Vice-President succeeded to the Presidency on the death of the President.

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met, pursuant to call, May 31, 1841. House organized by electing John White, Ky., Whig, Speaker. Whig majority in Senate 6; in House 25. The Whig majority was harmonious and had a plain duty to fulfil, as they thought, for their promises to the country had been explicit during the campaign and their policy well outlined. They therefore began by repealing the Independent Treasury Act, passing a Bankrupt Law, and an act to distribute certain proceeds of public lands among the States, all of which were signed by President Tyler. But when they came to substitute for the Independent Treasury a U. S. Fiscal Bank, even though it was an acknowledged improvement on the old U. S. Bank, the President interposed with a veto, his reason being that it was unconstitutional. This sudden swing to the President's old strict construction notions alarmed the Whigs. Not wishing to break with him they asked him to frame a bill which he could sign. After consulting his Cabinet, he presented one which was passed by both Houses, but which, to the astonishment of the Whigs and the country, he also vetoed. The Cabinet felt they had been insulted, and, with the exception of Webster, resigned. The Whigs grew indignant over their betrayal, and in an address to the country declared the President an impediment to their work of reform and repudiated him as

the head, and as a member, of the party. Congress adjourned, September 13, 1841.

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session. —Met Dec. 6, 1841, amid great political uncertainty. The President's course had demoralized the Whigs, and the fall elections had gone against them. He had reorganized his shattered Cabinet out of very conservative material, and it stood, Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, Mass.; Secretary of Treasury, Walter Forward, Pa.; Secretary of War, John McLean, Ohio; Secretary of Navy, A. P. Upshur, Va.; Attorney-General, Hugh S. Legaré, S. C.; Postmaster-General, Charles A. Wickliffe, Ky. The folly of having placed him on the ticket was apparent to all, for in accepting a place there, with the implied pledge to favor Whig doctrine, he certainly renounced none of his old rigid construction sentiments which threw him into the Calhoun school, and made it impossible for him to support Van Buren and the Democratic ticket. He was certain of a kind of support, however repudiated by the Whigs, for the Democrats who saw returning success through the Whig demoralization, naturally encouraged him in every measure calculated to further stampede them.

TARIFF ACT OF 1842.—Thus inauspiciously the regular session began. The Whigs came to the front with a Tariff act to amend the act of 1833, under whose scaling terms the duties had run so low that government receipts were now less than the expenses. The bill awakened the old animosities of the school of rigid interpreters, and called forth almost the old debates of 1828 and 1832, which, it will be remembered, were against the constitutionality of the Protective idea, and which involved the question of nullification. It passed, however, but was unfortunately coupled with a clause providing for the distribution of any surplus that might arise to the States. The President vetoed it, as violative of the compromise of 1833, which, as to protection and revenue, was to run till 1842, and as to non-discrimination against the planting interests was practically without time. Another was passed without protective features. This was also vetoed. A third was passed, without the protective

and the surplus clauses, and was signed Aug. 30, 1842. This became the Tariff act of 1842. It found a prevailing rate of 20 per cent. on leading articles, and on the principle that the government must have revenue, raised the rates some 10 per cent., cottons going to 30 per cent., woollens to 40 per cent., silks to $2.50 per pound, bar iron to $25 per ton, and pig iron to $9 per ton. Tea and coffee were still free, but sugar went to 2½ cents per pound. The bill to distribute the surplus was passed separately and vetoed. In the Senate debates on this Tariff, Clay and Calhoun, who stood together in the compromise Tariff of 1833, parted company, and the former charged the latter with revamping the "free trade theories of a certain party in the British Parliament."

THE SLAVERY QUESTION.—An exciting period in the session was reached when John Q. Adams, notwithstanding the previous decision of the House to refuse to entertain petitions for the abolition of slavery, presented a batch of them, on the ground that "the right of petition" was guaranteed by the Constitution. For this an unsuccessful attempt was made to vote him censurable. Scarcely had the flurry over this subsided when Joshua R. Giddings, Ohio, moved (March, 1842) his celebrated resolutions to the effect that slavery only exists by force of positive law, and is limited to the territory and jurisdiction wherein such law is found. That, being a curtailment of the rights of man, it cannot go beyond such jurisdiction by force of any common law or custom, nor be instituted anywhere except by express stipulation of the authorities interested. This, in connection with the claim that the government had exclusive jurisdiction over its unincorporated and incorporated territory, became the bulwark of those who afterwards fought to exclude slavery from the Territories. Giddings was censured by the House, resigned, and was vindicated by re-election.

Congress adjourned, Aug. 31, 1842.

TWENTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1842. The condition of the country was still unsatisfactory. The Treasury was empty, and $14,000,000 behind. The government could not place a loan of $12,000,000, author-

ized in 1841. Treasury notes were below par. The revenues were decreasing, for the Tariff Act of Aug. 30, 1842, had not yet begun to operate favorably. The dominant Whigs had lost their leader by the resignation of Clay from the Senate (March, 1842). His repeated defeats for the Presidential nomination, the inability of his party to fulfil its pledges to the people, owing to the hostile attitude of Tyler, the direct attacks of the Administration and its "corporal's guard" of followers on him, had filled him with disgust for political life. This was a terrible blow to the party, for he had unflinching courage, rare tact, grand eloquence, unquestioned rectitude of intention, and an advanced ground which brought out all the magnetism of his leadership. The best evidence of his qualities as a political captain is furnished by the fact that he built and held his party without the ordinary accessories of power and patronage. The session was barren of political results, except a warning by Anti-Slavery Whigs to the country to beware of the secret efforts going on to recover Texas, in the interest of the South.

Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1843.

TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1843. The result of the Congressional elections had been adverse to the Whigs. They had still a majority of four in the Senate; but their majority of twenty-five in the House had been turned into a Democratic majority of sixty-one. The House therefore organized by the election of John W. Jones, Va., Speaker. The President's message was a political curiosity. Contrary to all his rigid construction notions, to the freshest traditions and plainest professions of the only party now giving him comfort and support, he favored a national paper currency, and as to Internal Improvement, he went so far as to urge a system for the West. Two treaties were presented to the Senate for ratification, one rectifying the northwest boundary, the other annexing Texas. The latter was rejected, by a solid Whig vote and a strong Democratic contingent (seven in all). This thrust "Texas annexation" directly into politics. To annex at any cost became a Southern policy. A free North on the line of 36° 30′ to the Pacific would prove so overshadowing as to

endanger the political supremacy of the South and its peculiar institution. Of the two public improvement bills passed during the session, one for the East, the other for the West, the President vetoed the former. Congress adjourned, June 17, 1844.

ELECTION OF 1844.—The Liberty Party was first in the field, in convention at Buffalo, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1843. Its candidate for President was James G. Birney, Mich.; for Vice-President, Thomas Morris, Ohio. Its platform announced (1) human brotherhood as the cardinal principle of democracy; (2) demanded divorce of the general government from slavery; (3) stated that the party was not sectional but national, resting on the thought that slavery was in derogation of the principle of American liberty; (4) that the faith of the nation as originally pledged in all original instruments not to extend slavery beyond its present limits had been broken; (5) that slavery is against natural rights, therefore strictly local; (6) that the general government has no authority to extend it to the Territories; (7) called on the States to enact penal laws against the return of fugitives.

The Whigs met in national convention at Baltimore, May 1, 1844, and nominated, for President, Henry Clay, Ky., and for Vice-President, Theodore Frelinghuysen, N. Y. A brief platform announced as cardinal principles (1) "a well-regulated national currency;" (2) "a tariff for revenue, discriminating with reference to protection of domestic labor;" (3) "distribution of the proceeds of sales of public lands;" (4) "a single term for the Presidency;" (5) reform of executive usurpation.

The Democratic Convention met at Baltimore, May 27, 1844. This was a postponed convention from the previous December, in order to allow the Van Buren sentiment to ferment. Calhoun was Van Buren's opponent, and the former was running on the Texas annexation tide, the latter against it, not pronouncedly, but enough so to make his slaughter desirable. Calhoun, offended at the postponement of the convention and manner of choosing delegates, did not appear with the South Carolina delegation. His influence was not less by absence. Van Buren's clear majority of the 266 delegates was turned to his defeat by

a resolution that the nomination should be made only by a two-third vote. This he could not control. He withdrew on the eighth ballot, and James K. Polk, Tenn., received the nomination for President, and George M. Dallas, Pa., for Vice-President.* The platform affirmed that of 1840, and added (1) that the Constitution does not warrant the distribution of the proceeds of public land sales among the States; (2) that the President has a right to use the qualified ("pocket") veto; (3) that all of Oregon ought to be reoccupied and Texas be annexed.

The parties thus went to the country with their candidates and principles. Texas annexation, the Oregon ("54° 40′ or fight") question, and a vigorous effort to prove that under the act of 1842 Polk and Dallas were safe tariff men, were the hinging points of the Democrats. The Whigs drove the Protective Tariff idea and relied greatly on the fame of their candidate. Silas Wright, who had refused to serve on the Democratic ticket as Vice-President, on account of the slaughter of Van Buren, and who had resigned from the Senate to run as governor of New York, unwittingly contributed to the election of the ticket he had declined to run on. He went through as governor on his individual popularity, and the National ticket followed by a bare majority. The vote of New York elected Polk and Dallas, the State and National elections being held on the same day. And to this result Clay himself was an unwise contributor, for his effort to conciliate Southern Democrats by an untimely letter favoring postponed Texas annexation alienated enough anti-slavery Whigs to have still overcome Polk's popular majority in New York. In no National election was the result so close and doubtful in so many States. In fourteen it was not known for several days, and in several of these the vote of the Liberty party was a balance of power.

TWENTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1844. President Tyler had swung, in every respect, over to the doctrines of the extreme Southern school of Democrats, and actively co-operated with them under the lead of his Secretary of State, John C. Calhoun. His last message favored Texas an-

* Silas Wright, N. Y., was first nominated for Vice-President, but declined.

nexation and the assumption of her cause with all its consequences. The South was a unit on this measure. At Ashley, S. C., a meeting had been held (May, 1844), seeking to combine the Southern States in Convention, to unite themselves in a body to Texas, if Texas was not annexed as a State to the Union. The Texas treaty of annexation which had been rejected in the Senate was now substituted by a joint resolution to annex the State, through a commission, it being understood that the incoming President (Polk) would appoint such body. But at Calhoun's instance and to the surprise of everybody, the President determined to send out (March 3, 1845) a special messenger to arrange terms. Only on Calhoun's assurance that such act would not interfere with the formal commission provided for did the resolution secure the necessary support. It passed, and in pursuance of it Texas was afterwards incorporated as a State, with slavery under her own constitution, and with the proviso that slavery should not exist in any State formed from her territory North of 36° 30′, and that the question of slavery in any States formed from her territory South of that line should be left to the people of such States. Her condition being that of war with Mexico, the war was assumed by the United States, it being only a question of time when the then pending armistice between Texas and Mexico should end. Calhoun did not originally favor war with Mexico. He thought Mexico could be quieted by a money consideration. As the annexation was more his act than the President's, he was, after war broke out, charged with being its author.

A bill to organize Oregon into a Territory up to 54° 40′, away beyond the boundary claimed by England, was passed in the House, but the Senate failed to consider it. Harbor improvement bills for both East and West were passed, but vetoed. The result of the electoral count in February showed 170 electoral votes for Polk and Dallas, and 105 for Clay and Frelinghuysen. March 3d, Florida became a State of the Union. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1845. March 4, 1845, Polk and Dallas were sworn into office.

XV.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1845—March 3, 1849.

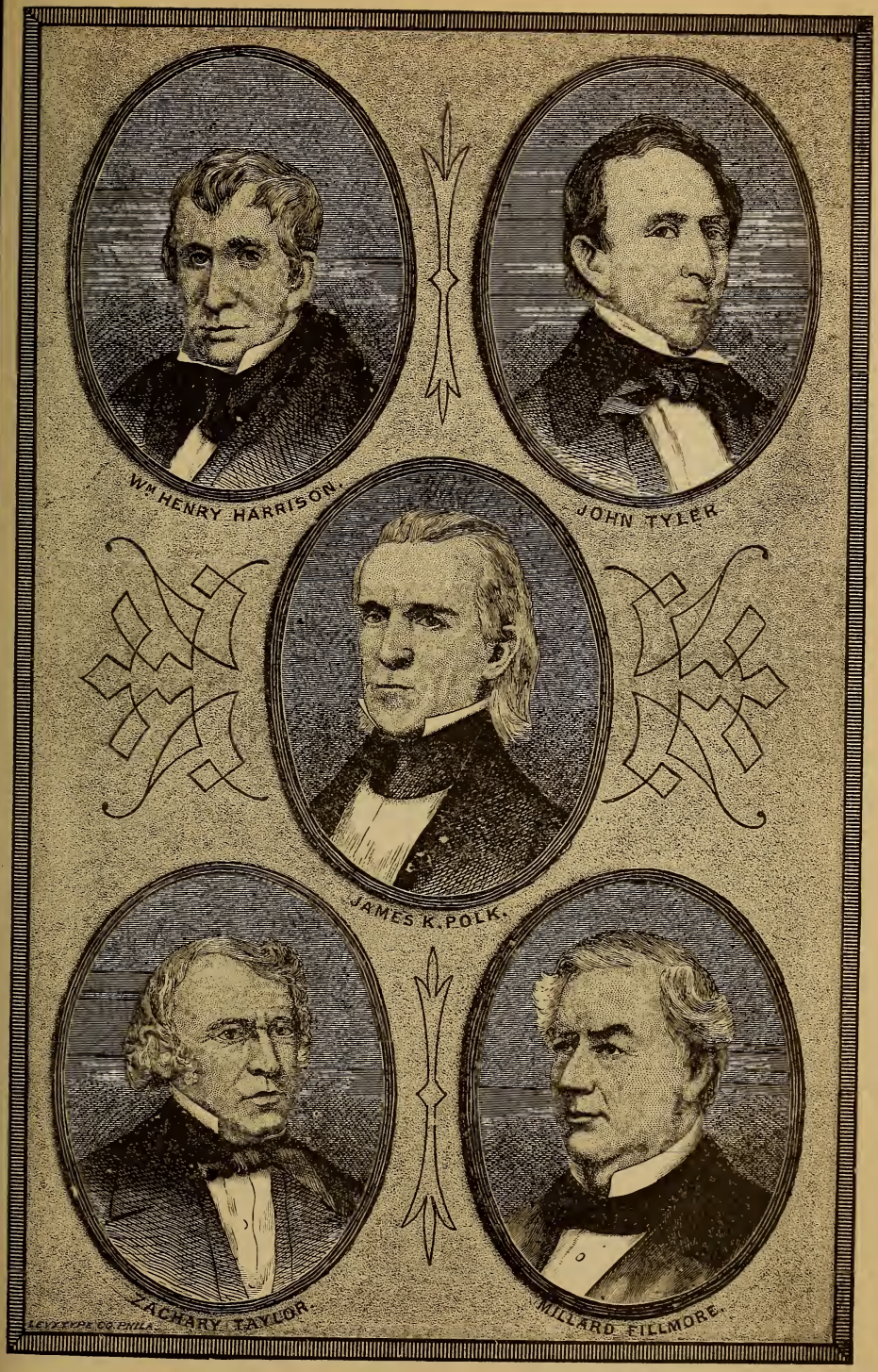
JAMES K. POLK, TENN., *President.* GEORGE M. DALLAS, PA., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS.	1, December 1, 1845–August 10, 1846. 2, December 7, 1846–March 3, 1847.
THIRTIETH CONGRESS.	1, December 6, 1847–August 14, 1848. 2, December 4, 1848–March 3, 1849.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 70,680.	Votes.	Democrat. James K. Polk, Tenn.	Democrat. George M. Dallas, Pa.	Whig. Henry Clay, Ky.	Whig. Theodore Frelinghuysen, N. Y.
Alabama	7	9	9	9	..	..
Arkansas	1	3	3	3	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	..	..	6	6
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Georgia	8	10	10	10	..	..
Illinois	7	9	9	9	..	..
Indiana	10	12	12	12	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	..	..	12	12
Louisiana	4	6	6	6	..	..
Maine	7	9	9	9	..	..
Maryland	6	8	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts	10	12	..	..	12	12
Michigan	3	5	5	5	..	..
Mississippi	4	6	6	6	..	..
Missouri	5	7	7	7	..	..
New Hampshire	4	6	6	6	..	..
New Jersey	5	7	..	..	7	7
New York	34	36	36	36	..	..
North Carolina	9	11	..	..	11	11
Ohio	21	23	..	..	23	23
Pennsylvania	24	26	26	26	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	..	..	4	4
South Carolina	7	9	9	9	..	..
Tennessee	11	13	..	..	13	13
Vermont	4	6	..	..	6	6
Virginia	15	17	17	17	..	..
Totals	223	275	170	170	105	105

* The popular vote was: Polk, 1,337,243—fifteen States; Clay, 1,299,068—eleven States; Birney, 62,300.



PRESIDENTS FROM 1841 TO 1853.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	James Buchanan, Pa.
Secretary of Treasury	Robert J. Walker, Miss.
Secretary of War	William L. Marcy, N. Y.
Secretary of Navy	George Bancroft, Mass.
Attorney-General	John Y. Mason, Va.
Postmaster-General	Cave Johnson, Tenn.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.—The Message to Congress dwelt largely on the Texas situation, and favored war with Mexico, especially if she infringed the treaty of 1839, as to indemnity to American citizens. It referred also to the Oregon boundary, showed the public debt to be $17,000,000, condemned all slavery agitation, favored a Sub-Treasury system, and recommended a Tariff for revenue, with protection to home industry as an incident. He applied the Jackson policy of rotation in office in the construction of his Cabinet, and in the Departments.

TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1845. Both branches were Democratic. House organized by electing John W. Davis, Dem., Indiana, Speaker, the vote being 120 to 70, though the full Democratic strength was 142, Whig 75, and American 6.* The relative strength in the Senate was 30 Democrat and 25 Whig.

MEXICAN WAR.—A popular convention in Texas had accepted the overture for annexation made by the United States. Mexico protested and withdrew her minister to Washington. General Taylor had been sent to the east bank of the Neuces, into neutral territory, and on Dec. 31, 1845, Congress passed an act extending authority over this territory lying between the Neuces and Rio Grande. None of these acts provoked Mexico to war. She was still in negotiable mood. Even before this, Dec. 29, 1845, Texas had passed into the American Union. The President ordered General Taylor (March, 1846) to march to the Rio Grande and hold the neutral ground. He did so, and was met by Arista, at Palo Alto, where a battle was fought. The next day was fought Resaca de la Palma, which sent Arista back

* This was the first appearance of the American party in National politics. Four of the above six were from New York, and two from Pennsylvania.

into Mexican territory. Now American blood had been shed on American soil, and Mexico was an offender. A *casus belli* had been found. The President sent a Message to Congress and asked for a Declaration of War. The House responded with a "declaration" and $10,000,000 to back it up, the Whigs favoring it under protest, and on the ground that an American army must not be sacrificed, even if forced into peril or a doubtful cause by the folly of a President.*

WILMOT PROVISO.—With the expectation that the war would soon be over and that an important cession of territory could be had, the President asked Congress for an appropriation of $2,000,000 to be placed at his disposal to negotiate with. To this appropriation, Mr. Wilmot, Pa., on behalf of himself and many Northern Democratic friends, moved what became historic as "The Wilmot Proviso," to wit, "That no part of the territory thus acquired should be open to the introduction of slavery." In strict law the proviso was unnecessary, for Mexico had abolished slavery, and any soil acquired from her would be free soil. But Texas had reintroduced slavery before annexation to the United States, and Wilmot felt that any other territory acquired from Mexico would be overrun by slaveholders, who would soon be clamoring for the protection of their institution. And this he felt, too, in the face of the new Democratic doctrine "that no power resided in Congress to legislate upon slavery in the Territories." This proviso brought heated discussion of the slave question. Calhoun declared it to be an outrage and menace. It occupied a place in Congress for two sessions. State Legislatures acted on it. Parties took it up. From that time on it

* The Whigs denounced as a falsehood the declaration, "Whereas, by the act of the Republic of Mexico a state of war exists between that government and the United States." The Liberty party opposed the war outright, regarding it as a huge, unjustifiable scheme to acquire slave territory. Calhoun opposed it also, as needless. He felt that the same results could have been brought about with less excitement and loss, and consequently with less detriment to the slave cause, by negotiation. It was said that the President, who had been approached by many members of his own party who were averse to the war, secured their support by the promise that it would be over in a short time and that negotiations for peace had been agreed upon before the war, which only awaited the return of Santa Anna from exile to be signed.

was nothing new to hear of civil war and a dissolution of the Union on account of it. How well Wilmot guessed may be inferred from the subsequent action of Calhoun (Feb. 19, 1847), when he introduced into the Senate his celebrated Slavery Resolutions, declaring the Territories to be the common property of the several States, and denying the right of Congress to prohibit slavery in a Territory or to pass any law which would have the effect to deprive the citizen of any slave State from migrating with his property (slaves) into such Territory. Though these resolutions were not acted on, they answered the purpose intended, to wit, to form a basis on which the slave could solidify against the free States; on which a repeal of the Missouri Compromise line could be effected, and on which the subsequent claim of non-interference with slavery in the Territories could be founded.

THE OREGON BOUNDARY.—The last Democratic platform had pronounced in favor of an Oregon Territory up to the line of 54° 40′, "or a fight" with England. The Whigs, now that Texas had been annexed, asked for a fulfilment of their pledges.* The Democrats of the extreme Southern school opposed any action, but enough of them came to the support of the President to warrant him in going on with negotiations. He soon found that he could not keep his party pledges of 54° 40′, for England refused to surrender above 49°.† The opinion of the Senate was asked, in accordance with an old Federal custom. The Whigs accepted the responsibility, joined with enough Democrats to save the administration from its party friends, and agreed to sanction a treaty based on 49°. This became the Oregon Treaty of June 15, 1846, by which war with England was averted. It was followed by a bill to organize The Territory of Oregon, without slavery. It was opposed by Southern Democrats, but passed, and was not reached in the Senate.

TARIFF OF 1846.‡—This disappointing act, passed in a

* For a full statement of this boundary trouble, see Oregon Treaty, p. 94.

† Calhoun, when Secretary of State, had proposed 49° as a line upon which an adjustment might be had. In this he was at odds with his party.

‡ "The bill passed the House and came to the Senate. Section was again arrayed

partisan spirit, against the promises of the Democrats not to disturb the act of 1842, and in obedience to the doctrine of rigid interpretation, which admitted of Tariff for revenue without the incident of protection, reduced the rates provided in the former act, from five to twenty per cent., and introduced the theory of general *ad valorem* duties. The river and harbor improvement bills, passed by both Houses, were vetoed, on the old rigid construction ground that the government had no right to appropriate money for internal improvements. Congress adjourned, Aug. 10, 1846.

TWENTY-NINTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1846. Mexican war measures occupied the time of this session. Appropriations were made to sustain the war, and purchase territory. Over the latter a spirited debate was had, which resulted in its passage in the House with the Wilmot proviso attached, and its passage in the Senate with the proviso removed. The House then acquiesced in the Senate's position. Ineffectual attempts were made to formally extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, to organize Oregon Territory, without slavery, and to appropriate money for Internal Improvement. All these measures showed a sectional vote. The Improvement bills passed, but received a pocket veto. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1847.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1847. The Whigs were in a majority in the House, and organized it by electing Robert C. Winthrop, Mass., Speaker. The Democrats controlled the Senate. The President's message extolled the working of the new Sub-Treasury system, spoke of

against section in the debate, and before the vote was taken it was found that the Senate was a tie, and that the Vice-President would have the casting vote. George M. Dallas, a Pennsylvanian, could defeat or pass the bill. He had the presidential bee in his bonnet as bad as any man I ever knew, and, hoping that he could gain the favor of the South in aid of his aspirations, he gave the casting vote against the section of his nativity, and the tariff bill of '46 became a law. As I anticipated, it put out the fire in our furnaces, paralyzed many of our best industries, and, finally, brought the credit of the Government to a discount. It also had a disastrous effect upon the dominant party, and cost them the presidency in 1848, when General Taylor was chosen."—*Hon. Simon Cameron, in Press.*

the continued success of the Mexican war, and stated that negotiations for peace were then pending. These negotiations resulted in the treaty of Guadaloupe-Hidalgo (Feb., 1848), which made the Rio Grande the boundary and gave New Mexico and Upper California to the United States for $15,000,000. This immense acquisition of territory brought up the slavery question again, and during the debates on the erection of Oregon Territory without slavery, and the proposition to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, Calhoun took occasion to say, "The great strife between the North and South is ended. The North is determined to exclude the property of slaveholders, and of course slaveholders themselves, from its territory. The separation of the North and South is completed. The South is bound to show that dearly as she prizes the Union, there are questions she regards as of more importance than the Union. It is not a question of territorial government, but a question involving the continuance of the Union."

A compromise bill passed the Senate, organizing Oregon, California and New Mexico, leaving slavery questions to be decided by the Supreme Court. The House rejected this, and sent the Senate the Oregon bill above mentioned. The Senate accepted this, but amended it so as to extend the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific. The House regarded this as dangerous, since it would cut the country into two distinct sections with different, if not hostile, institutions, and would, moreover, be equivalent to extending slavery to vast free areas, the Mexican territory being all free under Mexican laws. It therefore refused to extend the line. The Senate receded, and the Oregon bill passed, without slavery. The vital question in all these debates was the right of Congress to legislate on slavery in the Territories, a question which was pushed in many ways till it culminated in the Kansas-Nebraska affair, the Dred Scott decision, and the desperate step of secession. The House took decided ground in favor of Internal Improvement by a resolution aimed at the rigid interpreters, claiming that the government had a right to improve rivers and harbors, under the clause to regulate commerce and provide for the common defense. Wisconsin

entered the Union, May 29, 1848. Congress adjourned, Aug. 14, 1848.

ELECTION OF 1848.—The Democrats took the field first in National Convention at Baltimore, May 22, 1848. The two-third rule, which defeated Van Buren in the previous convention, was affirmed, and has since prevailed in the conventions of that party. Lewis Cass, Mich., was nominated for President, and William O. Butler, Ky., for Vice-President. A great contention arose over the power of the government to regulate slavery in the Territories, and a test resolution to the effect that the Congress had no power to interfere with slavery either in the States or Territories was voted down. The platform affirmed that of 1844, and went on to (1) congratulate the country on the results of the Mexican war; (2) commended the qualified veto; (3) denounced a Tariff, except for revenue, and hailed "the noble impulse given to the cause of free trade by the repeal of the tariff of 1842 and the creation of the more equal, honest and productive tariff of 1846;" (4) congratulated the Republic of France; (5) endorsed Polk's administration.

The Whig National Convention met at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, and nominated General Zachary Taylor, La., for President, and Millard Fillmore, N. Y., for Vice-President. Taylor's recent military achievements in Mexico gave him the preference over such other candidates as Clay, Webster and Scott. Test resolutions favoring the Wilmot Proviso were voted down. The Whigs were no more ready for open commitment to anti-slavery than the Democrats had shown themselves, in their convention, to be ready for open commitment to a pro-slavery policy. The convention did not adopt a platform, but resolutions passed at a grand ratification meeting, on the 9th of June, answered the same purpose. They were mainly heroic, inviting the country to a trial of well-known Whig principles under the laurel-crowned chieftain whose name was held in such high honor by every American.

The Free Soil Democrats met in convention at Buffalo, Aug. 9, 1848, and nominated for President Martin Van Buren, N. Y., and for Vice-President Charles Francis Adams, Mass. This faction

of Democrats, called "Barnburners" by their opponents, had sent a delegation to the Baltimore convention, pledged to oppose the further extension of slavery in the Territories. A counter delegation, called "Hunkers," also sent a delegation pledged to non-agitation of the slavery question. The convention sheared each of its strength by dividing the vote between them. This being equivalent to no vote at all, the Free Soilers withdrew and set up candidates of their own. They promulgated a lengthy platform which sought (1) to secure free soil to a free people; (2) withheld support from both the regular parties because one (the Democratic) had stifled free sentiment, and the other (Whig) had been afraid to pronounce itself; (3) affirming the ordinance of 1787, and the proviso of Jefferson that after 1800 no slavery should exist in the Territories; (4) that slavery exists only by State law and that "Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king;" (5) that the only way to prevent slavery in territory now free is to prevent it in all territory; (6) favoring Internal Improvement; (7) Watchword, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, Free Men."

The campaign was not a bitter one, except as the Democrats made it bitter among themselves. The effort to establish slavery in the newly-acquired Mexican territory, and to push the slavery question so as to commit the government either to non-interference with it or to direct sanction of it in all territory, estranged many Democrats. The Southern Democrats themselves were not a unit, for many of them preferred Taylor, from a slave State and without a platform, to Cass, from a free State and with a platform which did not directly favor or mention slavery. The old Liberty party blended with the Free Soil party. As in the former campaign, New York was the political turning-point. And as the Liberty party, by dividing the Whigs, had given it to Polk in 1844, so now the Free Soilers, by weakening the Democrats, gave it to the Whigs. The election in November was a Whig victory.

THIRTIETH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1848. Parties were very fidgety during this session. In view of the prominence given to slavery agitation, the old party lines

began to chafe considerably. Thus the Northern Democrats, almost in a body, voted in the House to organize the Territories of California and New Mexico without slavery, or, as it was then termed, with the Wilmot Proviso. This the Senate amended by providing for their organization with slavery. The Senate attempted to force its position by making the bill a part of the appropriation bill, thus presenting to the House the alternative of a moneyless government or two slave Territories. The response was an appropriation bill and the old Mexican free laws till July 4, 1850. The Senate withdrew its "rider," and the appropriation bill passed. A violent debate sprung up in the House over a resolution condemning the exhibition and sale of slaves in the city of Washington. The electoral count in February showed for Taylor and Fillmore 163 votes, and for Cass and Butler 127 votes. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1849. The candidates-elect were sworn into office March 5, 1849, the 4th being Sunday.

XVI.

TAYLOR'S AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

March 5, 1849—March 3, 1853.

ZACHARY TAYLOR, LA., *President.* MILLARD FILLMORE, N. Y., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS.	1, December 3, 1849–September 30, 1850. 2, December 2, 1850–March 3, 1851.
THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS.	1, December 1, 1851–August 31, 1852. 2, December 6, 1852–March 3, 1853.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 70,680.	Vote.	Whig. Zachary Taylor, La.	Whig. Millard Fillmore, N. Y.	Democrat. Lewis Cass, Mich.	Democrat. W. O. Butler, Ky.
Alabama	7	9	..	..	9	9
Arkansas	1	3	..	..	3	3
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	3	3	..	..

* The popular vote was: Taylor, 1,360,101—15 States; Cass, 1,220,544—15 States; Van Buren, 291,263.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 70,680.	Vote.	Whig. Zachary Taylor, La.	Millard Fillmore, N. Y.	Democrat. Lewis Cass, Mich.	W. O. Butler, Ky.
Florida	1	3	3	3	..	..
Georgia	8	10	10	10	..	..
Illinois	7	9	..	..	9	9
Indiana	10	12	..	..	12	12
Iowa	2	4	..	..	4	4
Kentucky	10	12	12	12	..	..
Louisiana	4	6	6	6	..	..
Maine	7	9	..	..	9	9
Maryland	6	8	8	8	..	..
Massachusetts	10	12	12	12	..	..
Michigan	3	5	..	..	5	5
Mississippi	4	6	..	..	6	6
Missouri	5	7	..	..	7	7
New Hampshire	4	6	..	..	6	6
New Jersey	5	7	7	7	..	..
New York	34	36	36	36	..	..
North Carolina	9	11	11	11	..	..
Ohio	21	23	..	..	23	23
Pennsylvania	24	26	26	26	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	7	9	..	..	9	9
Tennessee	11	13	13	13	..	..
Texas	2	4	..	..	4	4
Vermont	4	6	6	6	..	..
Virginia	15	17	..	..	17	17
Wisconsin	2	4	..	..	4	4
Totals	230	290	163	163	127	127

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....John M. Clayton, Del.
Secretary of Treasury.....William M. Meredith, Pa.
Secretary of War.....Geo. W. Crawford, Ga.
Secretary of Navy.....William B. Preston, Va.
Secretary of Interior.....Thomas H. Ewing, Ohio.*
Attorney-General.....Reverdy Johnson, Md.
Postmaster-General.....Jacob Collamer, Vt.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1849. The Senate was Democratic, 35 to 25. In the House were 110 Democrats, 105 Whigs and 9 Free Soilers. The latter held a balance of power, and stubbornly exercised it through sixty-two ineffectual ballots for Speaker. Only by agreeing that the highest number of votes for any one candidate should elect, was a Speaker chosen in the person of Howell Cobb, Ga., a Democrat of the extreme Southern school, and a slavery exten-

* This "Home Department," since called "the Interior Department," was created by the Thirtieth Congress.

sionist. The annual message deprecated the sectional feeling regarding slavery, spoke of the folly of disunion as a remedy, and took the Jackson stand, that at all hazards the Union must be maintained.

CALHOUN'S NEW DOCTRINE.—The postponed question of the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific came up early. Calhoun, always aggressive and masterly, proposed to cover the whole question by extending the Constitution of the United States to all the newly-acquired Mexican Territory.* Webster met this situation by showing that the Constitution was designed only for States, and that it could not operate even in the States without an act of Congress to enforce it. Further, that the sanction which that instrument gave to slavery where it existed would not create slavery where it did not exist, for slavery was a creation of the several States and not of the general government. While Calhoun's proposition was under debate the President's views were presented. They favored the admission of California directly,† as she was ready, and the erection of New Mexico and Utah into Territories, unmixed with slavery, leaving the matter to be decided by their people when they asked for admission as States.

COMPROMISE OF 1850.—Clay now came forward with a set of compromise measures, which in one shape or another were adopted during the session, and in the aggregate became known as the Compromise of 1850. They, in general, provided for the admission of California; for the erection of New Mexico and Utah Territories, unmixed with slavery, the same to be decided by the people when they came to form States; the adjustment of the Texas boundary and the payment of a money indemnity to that State; a more vigorous fugitive slave law; the abolition of the slave trade, but no interference with it in the District of Columbia. The Whigs and Free Soilers regarded Clay's Compromise as a weak and unnecessary concession of

* Calhoun's idea was that inasmuch as the Constitution sanctioned slavery, its extension over any territory would establish slavery there.

† California had formed a State Constitution without slavery, June 3, 1849, and had made formal application for admission as a State, Feb. 13, 1850.

free soil principles, and the extreme pro-slavery Democrats regarded it as a surrender of the late doctrine that Congress had no right to prohibit a slaveholder from going where he pleased in the Territories and taking his property with him. The measures therefore satisfied but few of the leaders, yet they served the purpose of temporarily postponing the agitation and perhaps averting, for the time, secession and civil war, threats of which, on the part of the South, were rife. California became a State, without slavery, Sept. 9, 1850.* The Fugitive Slave Law, the result of the Compromise, was a severe measure, much more so than the old one. It greatly encouraged the pursuit of fugitives, made it compulsory on all citizens to aid in their arrest, and compelled U. S. Commissioners to remand them without trial. Its execution led to indignant protest on the part of Northern citizens and to the protection of free negroes, charged with being slaves, by special State enactments. That part of the Compromise prohibiting interference with slavery in the District of Columbia was not accepted, and slavery was abolished therein by act of Sept. 15, 1850. The Congress adjourned, Sept. 30, 1850.

TAYLOR'S DEATH.—After an illness of four days, due to exposure in the sun on Independence day, President Taylor died, July 9, 1850. Vice-President Fillmore was duly inaugurated, July 10, 1850. His Cabinet was confirmed by the Senate, as follows:

Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, Mass.; Secretary of Treasury, Thomas Corwin, Ohio; Secretary of War, Winfield Scott, *ad interim*, and Charles M. Conrad, La., permanently; Secretary of Navy, William A. Graham, N. C.; Secretary of In-

* The political importance of California to the South was great. Long before, the free States preponderated in the House. But the Senate thus far was equally divided between North and South. California turned the scale. Her admission as a free State gave 32 free State Senators to 30 slave State Senators, and there was no other State ready for admission south of 36° 30′, nor likely to be for a long time. Besides California was the first fruit of the Mexican conquest, and the policy which controlled her admission was likely to hold as to the remainder of the Mexican Territory. It was a disappointing situation for the pro-slavery leaders, and the beginning of that policy which sought to break down all old barriers and compromises, invited the Kansas difficulty, and formed a prelude to a separate Confederacy.

terior, A. H. H. Stuart, Va.; Attorney-General, John J. Crittenden, Ky.; Postmaster-General, Nathan K. Hall, N. Y.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—While this sad transition was a peaceful one, and boded no disaster to the dominant party as did that from Harrison to Tyler, there were many things going on, more or less portentous. In the session of Congress just adjourned (First session Thirty-first Congress) the slavery measures of the extreme Southern Democrats had been even more opposed by Northern Democrats than by the Whigs. This was not only following up their charge that the pro-slavery element of the party had betrayed them in the previous Presidential campaign, but it showed a disposition to break away from the ultra doctrine of slavery extension to which the slaveholding members sought to commit the entire party.

The Whigs had not, as was expected, committed themselves in their National Convention to the Wilmot proviso. They therefore did not attract the members of the Liberty party, nor those of its successor, the Free Soil Democrats. On the contrary they lost many of their leaders to the pro-slavery Democrats. Thus while the Democratic party was being torn to pieces by losses of its Free Soil element, it was being recuperated by accessions of the pro-slavery Whig element. The Whigs losing, gained nothing, and their decay as a positive political force dates from the death of Taylor.

We have seen how rapidly the pro-slavery whirlpool was made to revolve under the bold yet skillful management of Calhoun, and how at every revolution the country had to face some new situation, till, failing to force the line of 36° 30′ through to the Pacific, thus making a free and slave section, it took the form of broad denial of the right of the government to interfere with slavery in any place, or at all. The accession of pro-slavery Whigs to the Democrats changed the aspect of affairs somewhat. It stopped, for the time being, the threats of secession and war, and introduced a new, more conservative and popular idea, over which to wrangle. It will be remembered the Democrats, in their last National Convention at Baltimore, had voted down a resolution to the effect that the government

had no authority over slavery in the Territories, the corollary being, that the people of each Territory should be let alone to treat the matter as they pleased. The pro-slavery Whigs now took hold of this doctrine and forced it on the attention of the Democrats and the country. It was the doctrine which afterwards became known as Popular, or Squatter, Sovereignty, which figured so prominently in the Kansas affair, and which served to draw Douglas, Geary, Reeder and other leaders outside of the then existing Democratic lines. It was the doctrine also which the hardy miners of California applied in their own State, to the surprise, if not disgust, of those who originated it. The pro-slavery sentiment which had thus proved a wedge to force asunder the Whig party, and had nothing more to fear from it as an organization, had to address itself to a more thorough control of the Democratic party. But in the meantime there would be an advance of opposition sentiment, and a final gathering up of political fragments into something more formidable, as a political force, than had yet been dreamed of.

THIRTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1850. The session was quiet and gloomy. The administration had nothing new to urge, and parties agreed to hold their own in comparative peace. Adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1851.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1851. The Congressional elections had turned on the Compromise measures of 1850, and the people endorsed them, as a happy quietus to slavery agitation, by returning a majority of Democrats of rather conservative turn. Both branches were, therefore, Democratic, the Senate by 8 and the House by 50. The House organized by electing Linn Boyd, Ky., Democrat, Speaker. The application of the Platte country (afterwards Nebraska and Kansas) for a Territorial government threatened for a time to open the slavery question, but the matter was dropped before debate took acrimonious turn. There was but little disposition shown on the part of the majority to antagonize the administration, and in general the session work was routine.

ELECTION OF 1852.—The Democrats led the field in National Convention at Baltimore, June 1, 1852. This was a supreme effort of the Southern or pro-slavery Democrats to commit the party to their doctrine of slavery extension, and to a rigid interpretation of the powers of the general government, the latter being then and afterwards best known as "State Rights" doctrine. The nominee for President was Franklin Pierce, N. H.; and for Vice-President, William R. King, Ala. The platform reaffirmed the greater part of that of 1848, and added: (1) No more revenue than is necessary to defray the expenses of the government. (2) No National Bank. (3) Separation of government moneys from banking. (4) The country is an asylum for the oppressed: therefore, no abridgment of citizenship and the right to own soil. (5) Congress has no right to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the States. (6) Endorsement of the Compromise measures of 1850, and resistance to all attempts to renew the slavery agitation. (7) Adhesion to the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798. (8) The war with Mexico was necessary and its results approved. (9) No monopoly for the few at the expense of the many, and the Union as it is and should be.

The Whigs met in National Convention at Baltimore, June 16, 1852, and nominated for President, Winfield Scott, Va.; for Vice-President, William A. Graham, N. C. The platform claimed: (1) A sufficient power in the government to sustain it and make it operative. (2) Revenue from tariff, with "suitable encouragement to American industry." (3) Internal Improvement. (4) Endorsed the Compromise measures of 1850, "the Fugitive Slave Law included." The platform was fair to the party—though extremely conservative—except the endorsement of the Compromise measures of 1850, "including the Fugitive Slave Law," which endorsement, as the sequel proved, was a part of the plan of the extreme pro-slavery leaders to commit both political parties to their policy of slavery extension, and which reacted on the Whig party with twice the effect it did on the Democratic party, so soon as the nature of those Compromise measures became fully known.

The Free Soil Democrats held their National Convention at Pittsburg, Pa., August 11, 1852, and nominated for President, John P. Hale, N. H.; for Vice-President, George W. Julian, Ind. Its platform announced: (1) That government was established to secure the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. (2) That the Constitution expressly denies to the general government all power to deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; that, therefore, it has no more power to make a slave than a king, or to establish slavery than establish a monarchy. (3) No more slave States, no slave Territory, no national slavery, no national legislation for the extradition of slaves. (4) The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 denounced as repugnant to the Constitution, common law, Christianity, and of no binding force. (5) The Compromise measures of 1850 disapproved. (6) Both political parties repudiated.

The election in November resulted in a Democratic victory, the Whigs carrying only Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, though the result in most of the others was very close.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1852. The bill for the organization of the Territory of the Platte, rejected at the last session, came up in the shape of a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska, which included Kansas. It was rejected by the Senate, at the instance of Southern members, the time not being ripe for open assumption of the position to which the Compromise measures of 1850 logically led. The electoral count, in February, showed 254 votes for Pierce and King, and 42 for Scott and Graham. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1853. President Pierce was sworn into office, March 4, 1853, and Vice-President King some time afterwards, he being sick on March 4.

XVII.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1853—March 3, 1857.

FRANKLIN PIERCE, N. H., *President.* WILLIAM R. KING, ALA., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS.	1, December 5, 1853–August 7, 1854. 2, December 4, 1854–March 3, 1855.
THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.	1, December 5, 1855–August 18, 1856. 2, August 21, 1856–August 30, 1856, extra session. 3, December 1, 1856–March 3, 1857.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 93,423	Votes.	Democrats. Franklin Pierce, N. H.	Democrats. William R. King, Ala.	Whigs. Winfield Scott, Va.	Whigs. William A. Graham, N. C.
Alabama	7	9	9	9	..	..
Arkansas	2	4	4	4	..	..
California	2	4	4	4	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	3	2	..	..
Florida	1	3	3	3	..	..
Georgia	8	10	10	10	..	..
Illinois	9	11	11	11	..	..
Indiana	11	13	13	13	..	..
Iowa	2	4	4	4	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	..	..	12	12
Louisiana	4	6	6	6	..	..
Maine	6	8	8	8	..	..
Maryland	6	8	8	8	..	..
Massachusetts	11	13	..	..	13	13
Michigan	4	6	6	6	..	..
Mississippi	5	7	7	7	..	..
Missouri	7	9	9	9	..	..
New Hampshire	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey	5	7	7	7	..	..
New York	33	35	35	35	..	..
North Carolina	8	10	10	10	..	..
Ohio	21	23	23	23	..	..
Pennsylvania	25	27	27	27	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	6	8	8	8	..	..
Tennessee	10	12	..	..	12	12
Texas	2	4	4	4	..	..
Vermont	3	5	..	..	5	5
Virginia	13	15	15	15	..	..
Wisconsin	3	5	5	5	..	..
Total	234	296	254	254	42	42

* The popular vote was, Pierce, 1,601,474—27 States; Scott, 1,386,578—4 States; Hale, 156,149.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....William L. Marcy, N. Y.
Secretary of Treasury.....James Guthrie, Ky.
Secretary of War.....Jefferson Davis, Miss.
Secretary of Navy.....James C. Dobbin, N. C.
Secretary of Interior.....Robert McLelland, Mich.
Attorney-General.....Caleb Cushing, Mass.
Postmaster-General.....James Campbell, Pa.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The administration opened with surface indications of peace. The country had ratified the Compromise measures of 1850, on the theory that they afforded an escape from slavery agitation, but without knowing that they were fuller of the germs of agitation than any measures yet propounded. Both parties had been committed to them in their platforms, at the instance of their pro-slavery members; they therefore stood committed to the logical results of those measures, or else to demoralizing retreat. The discovery of what they contained appalled the Whigs. They never recovered from the shock, lost their organization, never ran another Presidential Candidate. They literally died of too much Compromise, or, as was piquantly said at the time, "of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave law." President Pierce in his first message thoroughly committed the administration to the Compromise measures. The pro-slavery Democrats were therefore in a very enviable situation. They could force their construction of the situation with the hands of the Whig party tied, and with the assurance that the Democratic organization was firmly with them.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1853. The Democrats had a majority in the House, over all opposition, of 74, and in the Senate of 14. The House organized by re-electing Linn Boyd, Ky., Speaker. Discussion of the Kansas-Nebraska bill occupied the greater part of the session. It opened the slavery agitation in a new form, and it was not to cease till quieted by arms. The Nebraska bill of the previous sessions took the form of a bill to create two Territories out of the Platte country, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska. Both lay north of 36° 30′, the Missouri Compromise line of 1820; and therefore both were free Territories according to the provi-

sions of that Compromise. But the new pro-slavery doctrine—new since the Compromise measures of 1850—was, that these measures of 1850 invalidated those of 1820, and committed the government to non-interference with slavery in the Territories. Therefore the slavery question was an open one as to all territory, with no right on the part of Congress to legislate for or against it.

The Senate Bill (Kansas and Nebraska), under the amendment of Mr. Douglas, therefore provided, "that so much of the Compromise bill of 1820 preventing slavery north of 36° 30′, as was inconsistent with the Compromise of 1850 establishing non-intervention by Congress with slavery in either States or Territories, was inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

This amendment is noteworthy. It admitted what the pro-slavery Democrats and Whigs already knew, that the Compromise measures of 1850, logically construed, repealed the Compromise of 1820. It hampered them, however, for with the repeal of the Compromise of 1820 and their claim to go where they pleased with slave property, they had all the public territory open to slavery. The Douglas idea was that introduced into the Democratic party by pro-slavery Whigs, to wit, the idea of squatter or popular sovereignty, a leaving of slavery to the voice of the people of the Territory or proposed State.

While the bill as thus amended was not what the South wanted, it secured the united support of pro-slavery Democrats and Whigs, but it divided the Northern Democrats into two even bodies (44 each), one of which supported it, and the other opposed it. The Northern Whigs opposed it and the Free Soil Democracy. The Democratic breach soon closed, but the Whig breach widened, and the Northern wing left their name to be perpetuated for a little while by their Southern brethren, they in the meantime assuming the title of anti-Nebraska men, soon to be merged into Republican.

The passage of the bill, May 25, 1854, opened the eyes of the entire country to what was concealed in the apparently innocent Compromise measures of 1850, and transferred the scene of combat from Congress to the plains of the West, where it was carried on amid confusion and bloodshed for years. The squatter sovereignty idea placed the free and slave States on their merits as colonizers. The section that could send the greatest number of *bona fide* settlers into the new fields was bound to win in the end. Could the South, which had always out-manœuvred the North in slave diplomacy, cope with that more populous section in this practical adjudication of the delicate question? Congress adjourned, August 7, 1854.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1854. The session resulted in no measure of political significance. Adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1855.

A NEW POLITICAL FORCE.—The Native American idea is almost as old as the country. In 1790 naturalization could be had after two years' residenee. In 1795 it required five years' residence. A great majority of foreigners, either Frenchmen direct or Irish and Scotch driven from home for sympathy with France, naturally affiliated with the Republican party, which was always ready for a war with England. This fact induced the Federal measure of 1798, extending the period for naturalization to fourteen years. In 1802 the Republicans, in order to reinforce their party, fixed the time at five years, where it has since stood. They were not disappointed, for this legal consultation of a tendency, backed by the encouragement it ever received in their declaration of principles, has always secured to them a majority of the foreign vote, especially in the cities. To counteract, or correct, this, an organized movement was begun in New York as early as 1835. In 1844 the Native Americans carried that city, electing their Mayor by a good majority. This success caused the movement to spread to adjoining States. It embraced members of all parties, and became prominent in local municipal contests. Its presence in Philadelphia resulted in the murderous riots of 1844. In 1852 it reappeared as a secret organization, officially as the American party, but popularly as the

"Know-Nothing" party, from the reticence of its members as to their principles. Of it Hon. A. H. H. Stuart, Va., said: "The vital principle of the American party is *Americanism*—developing itself in a deep-rooted attachment to our own country—its Constitution, its union, its laws—to American men, American measures, American interests." Its cardinal principle was: "Americans must rule America;" its countersign was the order of Washington at a critical time during the Revolution, "Put none but Americans on guard to-night." By holding a balance of power in many cities and States, its vote decided several important elections, and as the extent of its influence could not be foreknown, political results were at times genuine surprises to party leaders. It received large accessions from the Whigs, especially of the South, after the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, who could not go with their Northern brethren into the anti-Nebraska movement, nor yet with the Democrats into a pronounced pro-slavery movement. In 1855 it carried as many as nine State elections. It was therefore a power which had been startlingly felt in the Congressional elections of that year, and was to be still further felt in the session about to be held.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1855. In the Senate the Democrats had a majority of nine. In the House the magnificent Democratic majority of the previous Congress had been wiped out and turned into one of anti-Nebraska men, of whom there were 117, as against 79 straight Democrats and 37 pro-slavery Whigs. Owing to the fact that many of the majority were Know-Nothings, a protracted contest arose over the speakership. A choice was not made till February, 1856, when a resort was had to the method adopted by the Thirty-first Congress, that of a choice by the highest number of votes. N. P. Banks, Mass., was then chosen on the 131st ballot. He was a pronounced anti-Nebraska man, and therefore the majority were represented in the Speaker. This was the stormy beginning of one of the stormiest sessions ever held.

KANSAS TROUBLE.—The Kansas question came up immediately and occupied the entire session. As we have seen the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854), with the

Squatter Sovereignty Amendment, threw open these Territories to competitive settlement by North and South, or by anti-slavery and pro-slavery men. The South had the advantage of proximity—Missouri being next to Kansas. The Missourians swarmed over the border and elected a congressional delegate, Nov. 29, 1854, who was accepted by the Congress. They did the same in 1855, and elected a Legislature, which met at Pawnee in July of that year, and enacted a State Constitution, strongly pro-slavery in its terms.

The anti-slavery settlers were all this time pouring in through Iowa and Nebraska—they had been prohibited from passing through the State of Missouri—against the armed protest of the pro-slavery occupants—Border Ruffians as they were called—and the condition of the Territory was one of war, with but little doubt as to the result, for the anti-slavery settlers came to make investment and to stay, while the pro-slavery occupants clung less tenaciously to the soil, and wasted time and energy in the excitement which the new field furnished. The anti-slavery or free State settlers met in convention at Topeka, Sept. 5, 1855, and enacted a free State constitution. They denounced the existing Legislature as not of Kansas, but the work of Missourians who had crossed the border to create it, elected a delegate to Congress, who was rejected, and on Jan. 15, 1856, elected State officers, and asked to be admitted as a State. Their work was rejected by Congress.

The local conflict grew louder and more sanguinary. The President interfered, Jan. 24, 1856, by a message endorsing the pro-slavery Legislature, and, Feb. 11, 1856, by a proclamation denouncing the attempt to form a free State government as an act of rebellion. He ordered the governor of the Territory (Shannon) to enforce the laws of the pro-slavery Legislature with the United States troops. This only added to the excitement. The free State Legislature, which met at Topeka, July 4, 1856, was broken up by United States troops, acting under the President's order. By this time a congressional committee, sent to the scene, reported that no free, fair election had ever been held in the Territory. On the strength of this, and in order to

balk the effort to force a government on the people without a fair expression of their sentiments as to whether it should be slave or free, the House refused to appropriate money for the army if it were to be used to sustain the pro-slavery Legislature of the Territory.

It would be impossible to conceive of the excitement in both Houses over the question, and throughout the country. In the Senate Charles Sumner was knocked down and beaten (May 22, 1856), by Representative Brooks, South Carolina, for a speech which criticised his relative, Senator Butler, South Carolina. Congress adjourned Aug. 18, 1856.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called Aug. 21, 1856. This session was called to meet the emergency occasioned by the adjournment of Aug. 18, without an appropriation for the army. The House still insisted on its proviso that the army should not be used to force a pro-slavery government on the people of Kansas; but a change of governors having been announced—Shannon was superseded by Geary*—it receded, and the army appropriation bill was passed. The extra session adjourned Aug. 30, 1856.

ELECTION OF 1856.—The Know-Nothing organization, which had been so successful in the State and local elections of 1855, would now try its hand in national affairs as The American Party. It took the field first, and met in national convention, at Philadelphia, Feb. 22, 1856. There were 227 delegates present. All the States were represented except Maine, Vermont, Georgia, and South Carolina. Many of the delegates (probably a fourth) were not so much "Americans" as anti-slavery men. Millard Fillmore, New York, was nominated for President, and Andrew J. Donelson, Tennessee, for Vice-President. The platform announced: (1) Perpetuation of the Union. (2) Preference of native-born citizens for office. (3) No office for any one who recognizes obligation to any foreign prince, potentate, or power. (4) Non-interference by Congress with questions belonging to individual States, nor by States with each other. (5) The right

* Geary arrived Sept. 9, 1856, and succeeded in bringing about a suspension of local hostilities without directly using the United States forces.

of native-born and naturalized citizens of any Territory to frame their own constitution and laws, and regulate their social affairs in their own way. (6) A residence of twenty-one years as necessary to naturalization. On account of the failure of the convention to recognize the right of Congress to re-establish the Missouri Compromise line, the anti-slavery delegates withdrew, and threw their strength to the coming Republican party.

The Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati, June 2, 1856, and nominated James Buchanan, Pennsylvania, for President, and John C. Breckinridge, Kentucky, for Vice-President. The platform endorsed preceding ones, and added, (1) Opposition to Americanism. (2) No more revenue than is necessary to defray expenses. (3) No general system of Internal Improvement. (4) Strict construction of Federal powers. (5) No National Bank. (6) No interference with Slavery in the Territories, the people to have the right to settle that question for themselves (this was an endorsement of the Squatter Sovereignty idea). (7) Approval of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

REPUBLICAN PARTY. *—This new candidate for national favor received a name, said to have been suggested by Governor Seward, N. Y., in the latter part of 1855 or early part of 1856. It was a substitute for the title of "Anti-Nebraska Men," then applied to those who had opposed the Kansas-Nebraska act, and who were, in general, opposed to slavery and its extension. It raised a standard around which could rally the old Liberty party, the Free Soil Democracy, the Anti-Slavery Whigs, and all who were finding it irksome to follow the Democratic party as it grew more rigid in its interpretation of the Constitution, inclined more and more to make a political dogma of State Rights, and refused to separate its own existence from that of slavery in the State, and slavery extension in the Territory.

The Republican party held its first National Convention at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, and nominated John C. Fremont, Cal., for President, and William M. Dayton, N. J., for Vice-

* Called the "Black Republican" party by its opponents, on account of its sympathy for the colored race.

President. Its platform showed that its members were liberal interpreters of the Constitution. It announced: (1) That the Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, shall be preserved. (2) "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law," and denial of the authority of Congress, or of a Territorial Legislature, or of any association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States, under the present Constitution. (3) Congress, in the exercise of its Constitutional power over Territories, ought to prohibit "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." (4) Denounced the Kansas policy of the administration, and all effort to set up a pro-slavery government there, in defiance of the will of the people. (5) The immediate admission of Kansas with her Free State Constitution. (6) Government aid for a Pacific Railroad. (7) A system of Internal Improvement.

The Whigs, or what was left of them, met at Baltimore, Sept. 17, 1856. They, in common with the Know-Nothings, denounced the Democratic and Republican parties as sectional, and then, without further endorsing or discussing the Know-Nothing principles, agreed to support Fillmore and Donelson, because they regarded the country as already in a state of civil war, and believed that their election would be the best means of restoring peace. The Whig name now disappears from the party lists.

After an exciting campaign, involving a wide discussion of principles, the election in November showed 1 State (Maryland) for Fillmore; 11 free States for Fremont; 14 slave States and the rest of the free (19 in all) States for Buchanan.

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1856. The result of the Presidential election had served to tighten party lines. The Anti-Nebraska Men (now Republicans) were numerically the strongest body (108) in the House, but could not command a majority as against the Democrats (83) and Americans (43) or Know-Nothings. The Senate stood 40 Democrats; 15 Republicans; 5 Americans.

THE KANSAS QUESTION.—The dispersion of the Free

State Legislature at Topeka, Jan. 6, 1857, by Federal troops, and the arrest of its officers and many members, again brought the question prominently before Congress. The House passed a bill declaring the acts of the Pro-Slavery Legislature oppressive and void, which the Senate tabled. A change of governors from Geary, who had lost caste with the Pro-Slavery Legislature, to Robert J. Walker, Miss., gave respite from discussion for the time being.

TARIFF OF 1857.—While this session showed a spirit of generosity in encouraging railroad enterprises in the West by grants of public lands, it struck the country a cruel blow on the very last day of the session (March 3) by enacting the tariff of 1857. This measure reduced duties all along the line of imports, and on leading articles almost to such rates as were wont to prevail before the war of 1812, and had prevailed at no time since except at the end of the sliding scale (1841) provided by the act of 1833.*

The electoral count in February showed 174 votes for Buchanan and Breckinridge; 114 for Fremont and Dayton; 8 for Fillmore and Donelson. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1857. The candidates elect were sworn into office, March 4, 1857.

XVIII.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1857—March 3, 1861.

JAMES BUCHANAN, PA., *President.* JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, KY., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.	1, December 7, 1857—June 14, 1858. 2, December 6, 1858—March 3, 1859.
THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.	1, December 5, 1859—June 25, 1860. 2, December 3, 1860—March 3, 1861.

* This year (1857) occurred a great financial panic, during which there were 5,123 commercial failures. The administration was compelled to borrow money at a discount of 8 to 10 per cent.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 93,423.	Vote.	Democrat. James Buchanan, Pa.	Democrat. J. C. Breckinridge, Ky.	Republican. John C. Fremont, Cal.	Republican. Wm. L. Dayton, N. J.	American. Millard Fillmore, N. Y.	American. A. J. Donelson, Tenn.
Alabama	7	9	9	9	..	..	..	..
Arkansas	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
California	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	..	..	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..
Florida	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..
Georgia	8	10	10	10	..	..	..	..
Illinois	9	11	11	11	..	..	..	..
Indiana	11	13	13	13	..	..	..	..
Iowa	2	4	..	..	4	4	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	12	12	..	..	..	..
Louisiana	4	6	6	6	..	..	..	..
Maine	6	8	..	..	8	8	..	..
Maryland	6	8	..	.	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts	11	13	..	..	13	13	..	..
Michigan	4	6	..	..	6	6	..	..
Mississippi	5	7	7	7	..	..	..	..
Missouri	7	9	9	9	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	3	5	..	..	5	5	..	..
New Jersey	5	7	7	7	..	..	..	..
New York	33	35	..	..	35	35	..	..
North Carolina	8	10	10	10	..	..	..	..
Ohio	21	23	..	.	23	23	..	..
Pennsylvania	25	27	27	27	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	..	..	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	6	8	8	8	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	10	12	12	12	..	..	..	..
Texas	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..
Vermont	3	5	..	..	5	5	..	..
Virginia	13	15	15	15	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	3	5	..	..	5	5	..	..
Totals	234	296	174	174	114	114	8	8

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....Lewis Cass, Mich.
Secretary of Treasury.....Howell Cobb, Ga.
Secretary of War.....John B. Floyd, Va.
Secretary of Navy.....Isaac Toucey, Conn.
Secretary of Interior.....Jacob Thompson, Miss.....Continued.
Attorney-General.....Jeremiah S. Black, Pa.
Postmaster-General.....Aaron V. Brown.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—A glance at the electoral vote shows that the persistent effort of the pro-slavery leaders to unify the Democratic party in their interest had at last succeeded.

* The popular vote was, Buchanan, 1,838,169—19 States; Fremont, 1,341,264—11 States; Fillmore, 874,534—1 State.

Buchanan's election was a triumph for the South. The large vote for the Republican nominee showed the possibilities of the new party. The popular vote of the country was largely against the Democrats. The American or Fillmore vote represented those who wished to ignore the Slavery question. As things were shaping they must swing to some positive position ere long. It but remained for the Republicans to take a firm stand on the Slavery question. The agitation was sure to go on, and that in a way which must weaken Democracy by schism, for the extreme Southern leaders were beginning to see that the "Squatter Sovereignty" idea was not one which would bring them slavery extension, but would in the end defeat their long cherished intentions. They found that they were not natural colonizers, and that to establish a plantation in Kansas, or any Territory, and stock it with slaves, was a very different thing from taking up a small tract by a free-footed young farmer, ambitious to plow, sow and reap for himself. This was where "Squatter Sovereignty" was proving deadly. Not much wonder that when the extreme Southern Democrats saw their mistake—or rather repented of their commitment to it, for they never favored it except as a means, perhaps their only means then, of capturing the entire Democratic organization—they backed away from it, charged its recognized authors or expounders, Douglas and others, with weak, unfair, and even treacherous, dealing, and finally resorted to the plan of a separate confederacy.*

DRED SCOTT DECISION.—The decision of the U. S.

* Two other methods of adding to the diminishing political importance of the South had been broached. One was to reopen the African slave trade. This would provide a means of pouring into the Territories an unlimited stream of slave immigrants, and thus competing with the greater numbers and resources of the North. The other was to conquer and annex Cuba and Central America. This was the meaning of the Lopez filibustering expedition which started from New Orleans (1851) for Cuba. And so with the Walker filibustering expedition, from the same place (1855), which operated on Central America. As encouragement to this idea of conquest and annexation, the Ostend Manifesto was proclaimed by our American ministers in England, France and Spain, citing that the safety of the United States required the acquisition of Cuba.

Supreme Court, delivered by Chief Justice Taney, March 6, 1856, in the Dred Scott case, awakened intense interest, and begat feelings of alarm thoughout the North. Its political effect was to bring the position of the extreme pro-slavery Democrats into bold relief. When Calhoun, years before, asked that the Constitution be extended to the Territories, he had two lines of thought: (1) That the Constitution sanctioned slavery. (2) That its extension would extend slavery, for a slave was property as anything else material was property. As we have seen, he was driven from this ultra position, or rather his position became untenable, by reason of the growth of the "Squatter Sovereignty" idea. But now the Supreme Court had come squarely to his position, and even gone beyond it.* Notwithstanding the slave was by the Constitution and for purposes of representation three-fifths of a freeman, he became by the decision a chattel "without rights or privileges except such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant him." The plaintiff, Dred Scott, was not even a plaintiff in court, but a mere thing without status, and his case was dismissed for want of jurisdiction. Further, the Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional, and no act of Congress could be passed under the Constitution

* As this important case was the last pro-slavery effort to sustain itself by form of law, and as the drift thenceforth is toward armed arbitrament, it is well to know its history. The case opened:

DRED SCOTT	U. S. Circuit Court, Dist. Missouri.
vs.	To April T., 1854.
JOHN F. A. SANFORD.	Trespass *Vi et armis.*

The plaintiff, Dred Scott, was an original slave of J. F. A. Sanford, of Missouri. His owner resided in Illinois, a free State, with him from 1834 to 1838. He further resided with him in Minnesota Territory, free soil also, as being north of 36° 30′, the Missouri Compromise line of 1820. He then removed back to Missouri with him. The slave there resisted a flogging by bringing suit for damages, on the plea that residence in Illinois and Minnesota had made him a free man. The defense was that a descendant of slave ancestors could never be free, was not a citizen, had no status in court. The plaintiff won in the District Court. An appeal brought it to the Supreme Court. The opinion of the Chief Justice was not unanimous, but dissenting opinions were filed. At the time of the decision many of the free States had laws, and all were operating on the principle, to the effect that a slave leaving his slave State and entering a free one was no longer a slave, but free. For the opinions in full, see Howard's U. S. Supreme Court Reports, vol. 19, p. 393.

with a view to preventing a slaveholder from entering any State or Territory with his slave property any more than from entering it with his goods and chattels of whatever description.

The legal effect of the decision was not only to wipe out the Compromise measure of 1820, which had been done constructively by those of 1850, but to wipe out those of 1850 also, which had introduced the Squatter or Popular Sovereignty idea; that is, the idea of leaving the question of slavery to be decided by the people of the Territories when they came to form State Constitutions. It, in fine, opened all the Territories and all the free States, to the advent of slavery, no matter what their local laws might say on the subject. It nationalized the institution, by degrading the slave to the level of a horse, cow, plow or carriage, and overrode every sentiment of humanity respecting him, as well as the old and well-established notion that as an institution slavery was a creature of State, or local, enactments. The decision was all too plainly a reflex of the extreme Southern sentiment to meet with sanction from the North, and as it destroyed the hope of Douglas and his now important Democratic following for a settlement of the question on the basis of Popular Sovereignty, they began to drift away from the regular party organization.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1857. The Presidential election carried along with it a Democratic majority in both branches of the Congress. The Senate stood 39 Democrats, 20 Republicans, 5 Americans; the House 131 Democrats, 92 Republicans, 14 Americans. The tone of the parties was different also. The Republicans were squarely across the way of the Democrats. The Democrats were emboldened by recent successes, and by the fact that the administration was heartily with them. This latter they had been assured of by the message, which was all they could have wished. On the absorbing question of slavery as presented by the Kansas difficulty, the President took the ground that the State ought to be admitted at once under the Lecompton Constitution,* which sanctioned slavery.

* The pro-Slavery party had (1855) adopted the Pawnee Constitution, which was simply the Constitution of Missouri, with a criminal code added raising numerous

The House organized by electing James L. Orr, S. C., Democrat, Speaker. A contest immediately arose over a bill, framed in accordance with the President's suggestion, to admit Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution. For three months the contention was bitter, abusive, and sectional. The Republicans took the ground that the Lecompton Convention, having been called to frame a Constitution and having done so, the instrument must be ratified by the people before the State could ask for admission. In this they were supported by Douglas, Broderick, Adrian, Hickman, and other Democrats (called Anti-Lecompton Democrats), who saw their theory of popular sovereignty destroyed if the people were to be denied an opportunity to express their preferences for or against slavery in their Constitution, by direct vote on the instrument itself. The Southern Democrats stood solid for the bill and the President's position, that the delegates having been called to make a Constitution, there was no need of submitting it to the people. The bill passed the Senate. In the House it passed with the proviso that the Constitution should be first voted on by the people. A conference bill was finally agreed upon, which must be set down as an inexcusable, if not shameless, piece of legislation, inasmuch as it offered a bribe to the State to adopt the Lecompton Constitution. This bill admitted the State with the House proviso, and the additional proviso that in case it adopted the Lecompton Constitution, it should have a large grant of public lands. To the credit of the Territory this did not have the desired effect, and on the sub-

offences against slavery and imposing the death penalty. Not wishing to submit this to the people they called another Convention to meet at Lecompton to frame a Constitution. This was submitted to the people for ratification (December, 1857) by ballots printed "Constitution with Slavery," and "Constitution without Slavery." As this gave the voter who was opposed to other features of the instrument no opportunity to record his views, the Free State party refused to vote, and refused to consider it a submission of the instrument to popular verdict. They, therefore, through the Territorial Legislature, which body they had secured control of at a regular election in which both parties participated, ordered another election which would give the people an opportunity to vote for or against the Constitution, and not for or against a single clause in it. This was the election held in August, 1858, which repudiated the Constitution by nearly 10,000 majority.

mission of the Constitution to the people, Aug. 2, 1858, it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Minnesota became a State in the Union, May 11, 1858. Congress adjourned, June 14, 1858.

THIRTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1858. The session was barren of political results, though much discussion was had over slavery, the disposition of public lands among heads of families, afterwards known as the Homestead policy, and the appropriation of public lands for school purposes. Oregon entered the Union, Feb. 14, 1859. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1859.

AN EXCITING SUMMER.—The supreme topic was slavery, and Kansas was the pivot on which it turned. The rejection of the Lecompton Constitution with slavery gave opportunity for another convention, at Wyandot, July, 1859, which drafted the Wyandot Constitution without slavery. This was ratified by the people, by a majority of 4,000. It was the Constitution under which Kansas was afterwards admitted, Jan. 29, 1861. This verdict of the people of Kansas in favor of a free State showed that there was nothing in the popular sovereignty idea upon which slavery could rely.

The affair of John Brown at Harper's Ferry, Oct. 17, 1859, shocked sentiment both North and South. The audacity of his effort to stir up a slave insurrection, or to advance the anti-slavery cause by seizure of a town, and by armed force, awakened at first a feeling of repulsion. But the anger it begat, in the slave States, their eagerness to arm for defense, their desire to implicate the entire North in the raid, and their swift execution of the criminal, had the effect of eclipsing his crime by sympathy for the man, and by further animosity toward slavery itself. The hanging of John Brown, Dec. 2, 1859, at Charlestown, W. Va., marks the date when the discussion of the right and wrong of slavery passed all political limits, and became general in social circles, in jurisprudence, and in religion.

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1859. The Congressional elections had resulted favorably to the Republicans, and, though without a majority in the House,

they outnumbered any other party. Analysis of the respective branches showed, in the Senate, 38 Democrats, 25 Republicans, 2 Americans; House, 109 Republicans, 86 Democrats, 13 Anti-Lecompton Democrats, 22 Americans. This situation led to a protracted dispute over the organization of the House. Balloting was carried on two months, before it resulted in the choice of William Pennington, Republican, N. J., as Speaker.

The application of Kansas for admission under the Wyandot Free State Constitution opened the slavery discussion with all its accustomed severity and prolixity. The House admitted the State, but the Senate rejected it, and engaged in a lengthy and desperate attempt to get back to the old Calhoun position that slavery in the Territories was beyond the jurisdiction of either Congress or the Territorial Legislatures; in other words, that it must follow the Federal Constitution, and was inherent in the common law regarding personal property. An effort to pass a Homestead bill drew strictly party debate. The pro-slavery Democrats opposed the policy of cheap lands to immigrants. The Kansas experience had proved that the more populous North was the best colonizer, and that any extra inducement would only lead to an increased number of Free States. A spirited party discussion sprang up over the report of the committee appointed at the instance of Mr. Covode, Pa., and known as the "Covode Investigation," to examine into the conduct of the Administration respecting the admission of Kansas as a slave State. The report found the Administration guilty of bribing members and editors to advocate the admission of the State under the Lecompton Constitution. Congress adjourned, June 25, 1860.

ELECTION OF 1860.—The Democratic National Convention met at Charleston, S. C., April 23, 1860. Delegates were present from all the States, to the number of 303. Caleb Cushing, Mass., presided. An early division of sentiment respecting slavery arose. The Southern and all extreme pro-slavery Democrats held that, under the Dred Scott decision, slavery could not be interdicted in the Territories. The Douglas Democrats held squarely to the doctrine of squatter, or popular sov-

ereignty. The dispute over these positions was so grave and lengthy that balloting for a candidate did not begin till May 1st. After fifty-seven ineffectual ballots, no choice appeared. Stephen A. Douglas, Ill., stood highest, but never rose above 153 votes, 202 being necessary to a choice, under the two-thirds rule. A Douglas, or Popular Sovereignty platform had been adopted by the convention, and thereupon many delegates from the Southern States withdrew. Seeing that no choice was possible, the convention adjourned to meet at Baltimore, June 18. The places of the withdrawn delegates had, in the meantime, been filled by those favorable to Mr. Douglas. The nominees therefore became Stephen A. Douglas, Ill., for President, and Herschel V. Johnson, Ga., for Vice-President. A portion of this convention also seceded, and met the seceded Charleston convention on the 28th. The platform affirmed the Cincinnati platform of 1856, and added clauses pledging Democracy to a Pacific Railroad, and government aid therefor; favoring the acquisition of Cuba; denouncing State enactments designed to defeat the Fugitive Slave law; acquiescence in Supreme Court decisions, but construction of them in the vein of Popular Sovereignty.

The seceders from the Charleston Convention organized in Charleston and adjourned to meet in Richmond, June 11. They then adjourned to meet in Baltimore, June 28. Here they were reinforced by the seceders from the Baltimore Convention, under the lead of Butler and Cushing. The nominees became John C. Breckinridge, Ky., for President, and Joseph Lane, Oregon, for Vice-President. The platform affirmed the Cincinnati platform of 1856, and pledged the party to a Pacific Railroad; to the acquisition of Cuba; favored the execution of the Fugitive Slave law; announced that the unorganized territory of the United States was open to all citizens with whatever kind of property; that the federal government must protect the rights of persons and property wherever its authority extends; that the right of sovereignty begins when the settlers in a territory have a population adequate to the formation of a State constitution, and is consummated by the admission of the State, and that then its people stand on a par with the people of all the

States, and the State ought to be admitted with or without slavery, as its constitution provides.

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, May 16, 1860, in the "Wigwam," built for the purpose. Delegates were present from all the Northern States and from Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and Virginia, with scattering representatives from all the Southern States except the Gulf States. The work of the Convention ended in a single day by the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, Ill., for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, Me., for Vice-President. The platform announced: (1) the necessity of the Republican party; (2) maintenance of the principles of the Declaration; (3) denounced all schemes of disunion; (4) maintenance of the rights of States; (5) denounced the administration for attempting to force Kansas in as a slave State under the Lecompton constitution and contrary to the will of her people; (6) decried the extravagance of the administration; (7) the normal condition of the Territories is free, and no stock in the dogma that the constitution carries slavery there; (8) the admission of Kansas as a free State; (9) protection to American industry, a Homestead law, a Pacific Railroad, Internal Improvement.

The American party, under the title of "Constitutional Union," met at Baltimore, May 9, 1860. Twenty States were represented. John Bell, Tenn., was nominated for President, and Edward Everett, Mass., for Vice-President. Their only hope of success was in throwing the election into the House. The platform affirmed "the constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

The campaign was vigorously conducted. There was much argument over the respective attitudes of the parties on the slavery question. On the part of Republicans spectacular features were introduced after the manner of the Harrison campaign of 1840. Mr. Lincoln was pictured as "The Rail Splitter" of the West, with telling effect among farmers and the industrial classes. As the campaign advanced and the hopelessness of the pro-slavery Democrats increased, they began to turn their attention to the remedy which secession provided. The November

result was a choice of Republican electors from every free State, except New Jersey, which gave four for Lincoln and three for Douglas, and a consequent majority in the Electoral College. This led to prompt action on the part of South Carolina, whose Legislature was then (November) in session to choose electors. Instead of doing so that body called a State Convention, which, Dec. 17, 1860, passed the first "Ordinance of Secession."

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS— Second Session. — Met Dec. 3, 1860. Probably no session of Congress was ever called upon to meet so many new and grave propositions. Certainly none had ever convened amid such serious surroundings. The only situation analogous to it was in 1832, when South Carolina attempted to nullify the Tariff Act of 1828. Then Jackson took strong ground in his message against the right of a State to contravene national legislation, and promptly applied enough force to hold the dissatisfied State to her place in the Union. Mr. Buchanan's message took the Jackson view of the situation, but when it came to applying coercive means, he doubted if a State's obedience could be compelled, for the reason that compulsion meant war, and war on a State was not authorized by the constitution.

This message, so disappointing to the Union sentiment of the country and so encouraging to the Secession sentiment, brought a stream of compromising efforts, prominent among which was one introduced by John J. Crittenden, Ky., re-establishing the old line of 36° 30′ as a permanent constitutional boundary between slave and free States. This did not meet the favor of the Republicans, and without their endorsement the pro-slavery Democrats refused to entertain it.

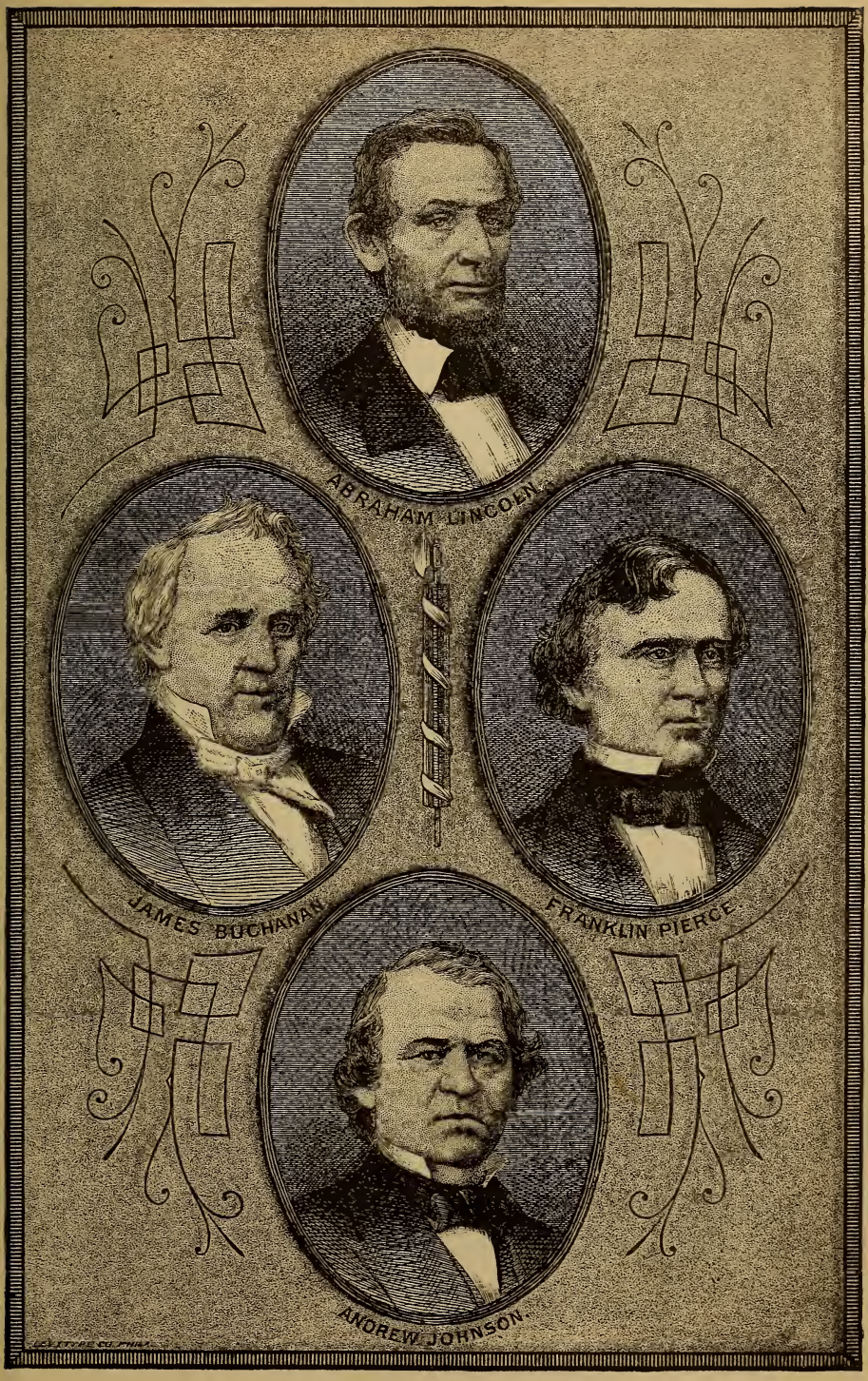
Legislation was virtually suspended for a time to await the action of the "Peace Congress," which assembled in Washington, Feb. 4, 1861. This had been called at the request of the Legislature of Virginia (Jan. 19), and was composed of delegates from thirteen Free and seven Border States. It affirmed by a close vote the Crittenden proposition, and made several concessions, chiefly with a view of keeping the Southern border States from falling into the secession whirlpool, and of inducing

some of the less hasty cotton States to retrace their steps. Congress did not accept its measures, but passed what was known as the Douglas amendment to the constitution, which affirmed the popular sovereignty method of dealing with slavery in the Territories, and raised a guarantee of non-interference with slavery in the States. This amendment was never submitted to the States or people, owing to the rapid secession of the States and the beginning of hostilities.

As the Southern States seceded (see below), their members of Congress withdrew. The Republican majority became strong in both Houses. Kansas was admitted as a free State under the Wyandot Constitution, Jan. 29, 1861. Other Territories, as Nevada, Colorado and Dakota, were organized, without mention of slavery, so as to avoid conflict with the Dred Scott decision. The Republican majority took advanced ground relative to the powers vested in the Constitution and Congress. The doctrine that this was a nation and not a league, and that a nation had a right to protect itself from within as well as without, took firm hold. The Tariff Act of March 2, 1861, which increased duties, affirmed the principle of protection. The kindred principle of Internal Improvement by the National government was so fully established as to be placed beyond future question by any party. Loans were authorized and an issue of Treasury notes ordered, thus carrying the implied powers of the Constitution to the limit which extreme necessity demanded.

In February the Electoral count was made, showing 180 votes for Lincoln and Hamlin, 72 for Breckinridge and Lane, 39 for Bell and Everett, and 12 for Douglas and Johnson. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1861.

SECESSION MOVEMENT.—Secession from the Union as a remedy for grievances, real or imaginary, had been made familiar by that school of statesmen who regarded the Constitution as in the nature of a compact between the States and Government, and who insisted on a strict interpretation of that instrument. They would tolerate no stretch of power on the part of the government, not even for the purpose of preservation, but claimed that in all matters of doubt the States should have the



PRESIDENTS FROM 1853 TO 1869.

benefit of it, and that where a grievance existed the State was to be the judge, preferring its own integrity and honor. The grievance now was that growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the country made manifest in political form by the election of Lincoln, which would forever crush further hope of slavery extension and prove a standing menace to the institution as it existed in the States.

South Carolina's call of a convention was the signal for similar action throughout the South. The movement was rapid and concerted. It did not even hesitate at the responsibility of armed trial to insure success.* The Southern Congress met at Montgomery, Alabama, Feb. 4, 1861, delegates being present from seven seceded States. It formed the Government of the Confederate States of America. Its Constitution was, in the main, the one it had repudiated, a clause recognizing slavery and one forbidding a protective tariff being the most radical differences. Officers were elected, a cabinet chosen, the machinery of independent government started, an attitude of war assumed. All government property was seized and confiscated, forts were erected, men were enlisted, equipped and drilled, and armies were actually on their feet, while the Congress and the States of the North were listlessly watching the unfolding of the terrible situation or wasting precious time in what proved to be idle schemes of compromise.

XIX.

LINCOLN'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1861—March 3, 1865.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ILL., *President.* HANNIBAL HAMLIN, ME., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.	1, July 4, 1861—August 6, 1861—Extra Session. 2, December 2, 1861—July 17, 1862. 3, December 1, 1862—March 3, 1863.

* For going and coming of the seceding States, see page 123.

Congress. *Sessions.*

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS. { 1, December 7, 1863—July 4, 1864. 2, December 5, 1864—March 3, 1865.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 93,423.	Vote.	Republican. A. Lincoln, Ill.	Republican. H. Hamlin, Me.	Democrat. S. A. Douglas, Ill.	Democrat. H. V. Johnson, Ga.	Democrat. J. C. Breckinridge, Tenn.	Democrat. J. Lane, Oregon.	Const. Union or Amer. J. Bell, Tenn.	Const. Union or Amer. E. Everett, Mass.
Alabama	7	9	..	..	..	..	9	9	..	..
Arkansas	2	4	..	..	..	..	4	4	..	..
California	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	1	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..
Florida	1	3	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..
Georgia	8	10	..	..	..	..	10	10	..	..
Illinois	9	11	11	11	..	..	..	..	..	..
Indiana	11	13	13	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	12
Louisiana	4	6	..	..	..	..	6	6	..	..
Maine	6	8	8	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	6	8	..	..	..	..	8	8	..	..
Massachusetts	11	13	13	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
Michigan	4	6	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi	5	7	..	..	..	..	7	7	..	..
Missouri	7	9	..	..	9	9	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	5	7	4	4	3	3	..	..	..	..
New York	33	35	35	35	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	8	10	..	..	..	..	10	10	.	..
Ohio	21	23	23	23	..	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	1	3	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	25	27	27	27	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	6	8	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..
Tennessee	10	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	12
Texas	2	4	..	..	..	..	4	4	..	..
Vermont	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	.
Virginia	13	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	15
Wisconsin	3	5	5	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
Totals	237	303	180	180	12	12	72	72	39	39

* The popular vote was, Lincoln, 1,866,352—17 States, N. J. divided; Douglas, 1,375,157—1 State, N. J., divided; Breckinridge, 845,763—11 States; Bell, 589,581—3 States.

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	W. H. Seward, N. Y.
Secretary of Treasury	Salmon P. Chase, Ohio.
Secretary of War	Simon Cameron, Pa.
Secretary of Navy	Gideon Welles, Conn.
Secretary of Interior	Caleb P. Smith.
Attorney-General	Edward Bates, Mo.
Postmaster-General	Montgomery Blair, Md.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—When Lincoln came to Washington to be inaugurated the Southern Confederacy was formed. Of it Alexander H. Stephens, its Vice-President, said, March 21, 1861: "The new Constitution (Confederate) has put at rest forever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institutions—African slavery as it exists among us—the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution. Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' . . . The prevailing ideas entertained by him (Jefferson) and most of the leading statesmen of the time were that slavery was a violation of the laws of nature, that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally and politically, and that somehow or other it would prove evanescent and pass away. . . . Those ideas were fundamentally wrong. They rested on the assumption of the equality of the races. This was an error. It was a sandy foundation, and the idea of a government built on it 'when the storm came and the wind blew it fell.' Our new government rests on exactly the opposite idea. Its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not the equal of the white man; that slavery —subordination to the superior race—is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first in the history of the world based on this great physical and moral truth."

To convert this Confederacy of form into one of fact was the Southern cause. The condition was one of war already, so far as the South was concerned. There had been for some time a systematic transfer of government arms and munitions of war from Northern to Southern arsenals, and these had speedily surrendered to insurgent demands. The naval vessels had been scattered in remote foreign parts, and were not immediately

available for either defensive or offensive purposes. The Federal soldiery within the Southern States had given up their forts and stations or were besieged therein. National finance was confused, the Treasury empty, the credit worthless. Seceded States were being reinforced by the secession of others. Officers in the army, navy and in places of trust and power were resigning every day to join their fortunes with those of their States, to the consternation of the loyal members of the government and to the utter demoralization of all machinery and system. No official knew whom to confide in, how to organize, what to do. It seemed as if secession had tainted everything and undermined everything. Let Union effort take what shape it would, it was confused by the uncertainty of its surroundings, or balked by ingenious constructions of laws and Constitution. The logic of Attorney-General Black, which led to the conclusion that "the Union must totally perish at the moment when Congress shall arm one part of the people against another for any purpose beyond that of merely protecting the general government in the exercise of its proper Constitutional functions," had resulted in fatal hesitation on the part of the government and was to paralyze it still worse. Add to all the real danger to life from deeply laid and widely ramified plots, and some faint idea of the situation may dawn, as President Lincoln was forced to see it on March 4, 1861.

His inaugural was conservative, assuring to the Southern States that slavery would not be disturbed in the States if they would seek a peaceful remedy for their grievances, invited Constitutional amendments for the troubles, and closed: "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail *you*. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. *You* have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to preserve, protect and defend it."

The President proceeded to supply the Union garrison in Fort Sumter. This was what President Buchanan had hesitated to do, the Confederates having said they would regard it as a coer-

cive act. They began a bombardment of the fort, April 13, 1861, and on April 14, after a fire of thirty hours, the flag was lowered in surrender. This first overt act of rebellion, and this first triumph of civil war, disillusioned the country, and resentment took the place of conciliation. For a time Democrats and Republicans united in demanding sturdy measures, not only to wipe out insult to the flag, but to force the erring States into the restraints imposed by the Constitution and laws. Armed attack must be repelled, the majesty of law vindicated, the dignity of order conserved, the unity of the nation restored, the supreme strength of the government asserted throughout its jurisdiction, and all in the now necessarily armed and forceful way invited by the magnitude, vigor and determination of the attack. The issue thus joined was the Great American Rebellion of 1861; or, The Civil War in the United States of America.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called for July 4, 1861. The President had promptly recognized the condition of civil war and called for 75,000 volunteers. These were plainly inadequate, for the Confederacy of seven seceded States had grown to eleven. The doubtful border States had become a raiding ground for Confederate forces. Armies, fully equipped, strong in numbers, ably officered, fierce in determination, were swarming into strategical places and centering on the Capital of the nation. Men must be had for defensive as well as offensive measures. Materials of war must also be provided—money, guns, ammunition, equipments. Hence this extra session, in which only the Northern and border States were represented. Both branches were Republican. The Senate stood 31 Republicans, 11 Democrats, and 5 War Democrats; the House 106 Republicans, 42 Democrats and 28 War Democrats. The House organized by electing Galusha A. Grow, Pa., Republican, Speaker. Happily for the country, there was a strong preponderance of the Union element, and such prevalence of the liberal construction doctrines, in the presence of dire necessity, as freed energetic war measures from the tedious debates which they had hitherto provoked. The disastrous affair of Bull Run (July 21, 1861) proved an additional incentive to speedy and vigorous

legislation, for it further disclosed the determination of the Confederates, helped the Unionists to understand the magnitude of the force they had to meet, and proved the imminency of the danger which hung over the capital.

The President was therefore empowered to call out 500,000 volunteers, a national loan was authorized, appropriations were made for the army and navy, an act was passed for the punishment of conspiracy and for the confiscation of all property used against the government, and as a means for additional revenue an amended Tariff act was passed, Aug. 5, 1861, which considerably increased the duties and contained distinctive protective features. The anti-war or peace Democrats interjected measures of negotiation and compromise into all the deliberations on war measures, but the hour for procrastination had passed, and it was not deemed expedient nor proper to further parley with armed, and thus far triumphant, rebellion. After resolutions pledging further men and money to the administration, should they become necessary to aid in the suppression of the rebellion and the execution of the laws, the Congress adjourned, August 6, 1861.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met December 2, 1861. Like the preceding, this was a War Session. The Democrats had somewhat recovered from the shock occasioned by the firing on Sumter, and had drawn their lines sufficiently close to make a party issue of many of the most vigorous war measures. Over the question of "what to do with captured slaves?" they took positive ground against the bills which were passed, forbidding the return of fugitives and declaring those free who were employed against the government and for insurrectionary purposes,* and so of the bill prescribing

* This is not said of the pronounced War Democrats, who were in concert with the Republicans on active war measures, nor even of those who, in official position, used the privilege of a minority to freely and intelligently criticise the acts of a majority. It is said of those who sought to hold the organization and to commit it to a decided anti-war policy; who even went so far as to encourage opposition to the war among their constituents, and keep up the spirit of the Confederates by aiding associations like the "Knights of the Golden Circle," "Sons of Liberty," etc., whose objects were to release prisoners of war, invite raids, engage in conspiracies

the "Iron-Clad Oath," whose design was to exclude from government service all who were engaged in rebellion or who sympathized with it. The session witnessed the passage of a bill giving public lands to the States for the endowment of Agricultural Colleges; also the passage of the Homestead Bill, which had been so frequently before Congress since the formation of the Republican party. An increase in Tariff rates was made by the act of Dec. 24, 1861. Congress adjourned, July 17, 1862.

THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1862. A War Session, in the midst of national necessity more imperative than ever. Large appropriations were made for army and navy purposes. The Treasury was authorized to negotiate further loans. But ready money was scarce. There was no currency adequate to the huge transactions of the war, and none uniform. In this strait the Congress sanctioned a National (Greenback) Currency, after long and able discussion involving its constitutionality, the meaning of the power "to coin money and issue bills of credit," the inherent right of the government to protect itself, the analogy furnished by the old National Bank, the respective attitude of parties on the question from the beginning.

Nor was the situation simplified when the question of more men came up. This involved the draft as a means of procuring soldiers, with all the technical objections which a strict construction of the constitution gave rise to. The act which passed provoked the hostility of anti-war Democrats throughout the entire North, and in several States the Courts held it unconstitutional. Its enforcement in New York gave rise to the riots of July, 1863, which were only suppressed by armed interference of the Federal authorities.

Another measure, made necessary by the exigency of the hour, was the act to suspend the writ of *Habeas Corpus*. This also excited the opposition and enmity of all who wished to be free to vindicate the Confederate cause, either by writing or speaking in its favor, or by any other act short of actual enlistment under

to resist drafts—as in New York—enlist men for the Southern army, and give aid and comfort to the enemy in various ways.

its banners. The peace Democrats vehemently opposed its passage, and it was perhaps the most unpopular of the stringent war measures, saving always the draft act. Dec. 31, 1862, the act to admit West Virginia passed, which took effect June 19, 1863. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1863.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—All the pledges of the free States were of an intent not to interfere with Slavery in the States where it existed. All the negotiations and compromises of 1861 embraced the same idea. Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural, gave it out that Slavery in the States had nothing to fear from his administration, if the issue of disunion were not further, or violently, pushed. The anti-slavery sentiment was not essentially an abolition sentiment. Even the revulsion of feeling occasioned by the firing on Sumter had not served to lift it to the point of interference with the institution of Slavery within State limits.

But the question of Slavery, ever complex, was, after the beginning of the war, more complicated than ever. It was forcing itself on the officers of the army at every step. In the field slavery was a part of the Confederate service, contributing to the strength of its armies, helping it to resist the Union troops, aiding it to win victories. It therefore was hostile, as much so as the armies themselves, or as cannon, muskets, ammunition, tents, stores, whose destruction war justified.

This the Administration saw. But it saw other things too: (1) A probability of holding the doubtful Border States and making their allegiance firmer by compensating them for their slaves in case they abolished slavery. This the President recommended to Congress, March 2, 1862. It was approved, but not accepted by the Border States as being impracticable. In fact it met the opposition of the entire Democratic party.

(2) He saw that to take any more decided step at that time would be to alienate the conservative anti-slavery sentiment of the Free States. That is, he did not yet regard the country as educated to the point of necessary or compulsory abolition.

(3) He saw that if the rebellion were allowed to drag because of a want of energy on the part of the administration, or fear to cripple any and all the resources which helped to sustain it,

the more determined anti-slavery sentiment of the Free States would rise against him and demand abolition as necessary to the suppression of civil war.

Congress had moved very cautiously, being content with a measure forbidding the return of fugitives, and one declaring free those slaves who were captured while aiding rebellion. General Fremont, in the Department of Missouri, had, Aug. 31, 1861, declared the slaves of rebels free, but the President overruled his order. General B. F. Butler, in Virginia, had declared slaves "contraband of war," and liable to confiscation. Most of the field officers were either returning them to their masters, or hesitating about what to do with them.

Rebellion was increasing in vigor, and slaves were part of that energy. By the laws of war the contraband property of the enemy is confiscate. By act of Congress "the property of persons engaged in treason or rebellion against the United States" was liable to seizure and confiscation. The time had come when the weapons of the enemy of whatever kind must be wrenched from his grasp, when the "Union must be saved with slavery," or, that failing, "without it."

On Sept. 22, 1862, the President issued his proclamation to the effect that he would emancipate "all slaves within any State or designated parts of a State, the people whereof shall be in rebellion against the United States on the 1st day of January, 1863." "If such sections are in good faith represented in Congress on that day, it shall be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not in rebellion against the United States."

No attention was paid to this. It was followed, Jan. 1, 1863, by the celebrated Emancipation Proclamation, for which the country now seemed ready, "as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing rebellion." It applied only to the States and portions of States actually in rebellion, and which were unrepresented in Congress, or were not in the possession of the Union armies. Two years afterwards (February 1, 1865) the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed the Congress, and was ratified by three-fourths of the States, so as to become effective

by Dec. 18, 1865. It is in almost the precise words of the historic ordinance of 1787 relative to the territory northwest of the Ohio. This amendment ended African slavery in the United States of America.

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1863. The House organized by electing Schuyler Colfax, Republican, Indiana, Speaker. The Senate contained 36 Republicans and 14 Democrats; the House 102 Republicans and 83 Democrats. Nine of the latter were from the Border States. The Union Democrats had mostly gone entirely over to the Republicans. Some, however, had gone back into the regular Democratic organization, which was now pretty squarely on an anti-war basis. The session was prolific of war measures, on most of which party lines were strictly drawn. That which excited most bitter debate was the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 by a vote of 27 to 12 in the Senate, and 86 to 60 in the House. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed the Senate, but did not pass the House by the requisite two-thirds till the next session. Among the revenue bills were those creating a system of Internal Revenue by a tax on domestic manufactures, one imposing a tax on incomes over $600 which was very unpopular and short-lived, and one creating the system of National Banks. All these were comparatively new measures, justified by the condition of the country and a state of war, yet at variance with the strict construction notions on which the Democrats based a determined opposition. On June 30, the Tariff Act of 1864 was passed, which increased the rate of duties, and made them still more protective. Congress adjourned, July 4, 1864.

ELECTION OF 1864.—The Republican National Convention met at Baltimore, June 7, 1864, and renominated for President, Abraham Lincoln,* Ill., and for Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, Tenn. The nomination of the latter was a recognition of the Union men of the South. The platform: (1) Pledged

* Mr. Lincoln had inclined to the one term idea, but by advanced endorsement for a second term among the Legislatures of the Northern States, as in the case of Jackson for his second term, he concluded to stand.

the party to aid the government in the suppression of rebellion. (2) No peace except one based on unconditional surrender of all armed rebels. (3) An amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery. (4) Thanks to soldiers for maintaining the flag. (5) Approval of the course of administration. (6) No violation of the laws of war. (7) Favored foreign immigration and a Pacific Railroad. (8) The national faith pledged to the redemption of the public debt must be kept inviolate. (9) Approval of the "Monroe doctrine."

The Democratic National Convention met at Chicago, Aug. 29, 1864, and nominated for President, George B. McClellan, N. J., and for Vice-President, George H. Pendleton, Ohio. The convention was dominated by the reactionary or peace wing of the party, called by their opponents "Copperheads." The platform announced: (1) Adhesion to the Union under the Constitution. (2) Demanded, "after four years of failure to restore the Union by war," a cessation of hostilities and a peace convention. (3) Denounced military interference with elections as revolutionary. (4) Objects of the party are to preserve the Union and the rights of the States unimpaired. (5) Denunciation of the war measures in general. (6) Administration denounced for disregard of duty to prisoners of war. (7) Sympathy of the party for soldiers and sailors.

A Convention of Radical Men met at Cleveland, Ohio, May 31, 1864, and nominated John C. Fremont, Cal., for President, and John C. Cochrane, N. Y., for Vice-President. They adopted a platform nearly like that of the Republicans, but with a clause endorsing the one term principle. This was designed to head off the renomination of Lincoln, who had given offense to them by his tardy action respecting slavery. The candidates withdrew in favor of the Baltimore nominees.

The position taken by the Democrats in their platform to the effect that the war was a failure, and that its cessation was demanded by the country, presented an issue which the Republicans met squarely, and with confidence. The result was a popular verdict in their favor, not only in the Presidential but in the Congressional contests.

THIRTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1864. Necessary war measures were passed, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution by the House, and the bill creating the Freedmen's Bureau. The status of the rebellious States came up in the proceedings attending the electoral count in February. Both Houses regarded them in such a condition as to make a valid election for President within their borders and under our laws impossible. Their vote was, therefore, not considered. The count showed 212 votes for Lincoln and Johnson, and 21 for McClellan and Pendleton. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1865. On March 4, Lincoln and Johnson were sworn into office.

XX.

LINCOLN'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION, AND JOHNSON'S.

March 4, 1865—March 3, 1869.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, ILL., *President.* ANDREW JOHNSON, TENN., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*	
THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS.	1, December 4, 1865–July 28, 1866. 2, December 3, 1866–March 3, 1867.	
FORTIETH CONGRESS.	1, March 4, 1867–March 30, 1867. 2, July 3, 1867–July 20, 1867. 3, November 21, 1867–Dec. 2, 1867. 4, December 2, 1867–July 27, 1868. 5, December 7, 1868–March 3, 1869.	Extra session with recesses.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 127,381.	Vote.	Republican. Abraham Lincoln, Ill.	Republican. Andrew Johnson, Tenn.	Democrat. Geo. B. McClellan, N. J.	Democrat. Geo. H. Pendleton, Ohio.
†Alabama	6	8	..	..	..	..
†Arkansas	3	5	..	..	..	..
California	3	5	5	5	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
†Florida	1	3	..	..	..	..

* The popular vote was: Lincoln, 2,216,067—22 States; McClellan, 1,808,725—3 States; not voting, 11 States.

† In a state of rebellion. Not voting. 81 votes lost.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 127,381.	Vote.	Republican. Abraham Lincoln, Ill.	Republican. Andrew Johnson, Tenn.	Democrat. Geo. B. McClellan, N. J.	Democrat. Geo. H. Pendleton, Ohio.	
*Georgia	7	9	..	..	..	..	
Illinois	14	16	16	16	..	..	
Indiana	11	13	13	13	..	..	
Iowa	6	8	8	8	..	..	
Kansas	1	3	3	3	..	..	
Kentucky	9	11	..	..	11	11	
*Louisiana	5	7	..	..	..	..	
Maine	5	7	7	7	..	..	
Maryland	5	7	7	7	..	..	
Massachusetts	10	12	12	12	..	..	
Michigan	6	8	8	8	..	..	
Minnesota	2	4	4	4	..	..	
*Mississippi	5	7	..	..	..	..	
Missouri	9	11	11	11	..	..	
Nevada	1	3	2	2	..	..	1 vacancy.
New Hampshire	3	5	5	5	..	..	
New Jersey	5	7	..	..	7	7	
New York	31	33	33	33	..	..	
*North Carolina	7	9	..	..	..	..	
Ohio	19	21	21	21	..	..	
Oregon	1	3	3	3	..	..	
Pennsylvania	24	26	26	26	..	..	
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..	
*South Carolina	4	6	..	..	..	..	
*Tennessee	8	10	..	..	..	..	
*Texas	4	6	..	..	..	..	
Vermont	3	5	5	5	..	..	
*Virginia	8	10	..	..	..	..	
West Virginia	3	5	5	5	..	..	
Wisconsin	6	8	8	8	..	..	
Totals	242	314	212	212	21	21	

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....W. H. Seward, N. Y .....Continued.
Secretary of Treasury....Hugh McCullough, Ind.
Secretary of War.....Edwin M. Stanton, Pa.....Continued.
Secretary of Navy.....Gideon Welles, Conn..... "
Secretary of Interior.....James Harlan, Iowa.
Attorney-General.....James Speed, Ky.....Continued.
Postmaster-General.....William Dennison, Ohio... "

THE INAUGURAL.—Gettysburg, July 2, 3, 4, 1863, turned the tide of rebellion. It had fallen backwards, and was, March 4, 1865, hemmed in and under control. The President's inaugural was full of gratitude for past success, of hope for final success, and of that kindliness of spirit and gentleness of disposi-

* In a state of rebellion. Not voting. 81 votes lost.

tion which had gotten to be accepted as characteristic of the man and official. In it he said, "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in right, as God has given us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and orphans—to do all which may achieve a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

On the 9th of April, 1865, General Lee surrendered to General Grant, at Appomattox Court-House, the remnant of the Confederate army, 26,000 men, and the great rebellion was practically ended. On the night of April 14 (Good Friday), 1865, President Lincoln was shot by J. Wilkes Booth, and died on the morning of the 15th. On the same day Andrew Johnson was sworn in as his successor.

RECONSTRUCTION.—It was hoped by North as well as South that President Lincoln had mapped in his mind a policy of reconstruction. But such did not appear. The exact relation a seceded State, which had failed to establish its secession by force, occupied toward the other States, and how it could be reinstated, were new and delicate points, requiring the skill of a master to handle. Much more was involved. The place of the negroes, now free and citizens, had to be considered. The Northern mind inclined to a probationary period for the rebellious States, during which time they could adjust themselves to a new situation, give guarantees, through provisional governments that they would assure freedom to the negroes, wipe out their obnoxious codes, repeal their secession laws, rescind their adhesion to the Confederacy, and, repledged and prepared anew, re-enter the Union, on the condition of any fully equipped State, with the consent of Congress.

President Johnson signalized his administration by adopting a hastier policy of reconstruction, one which imposed no probation on the States, but invited them to reform State governments and apply for admission at once. He belonged to the old Southern school of strict interpreters or State Rights, and his policy invited the supremacy in the new States of the most active sup-

porters of rebellion. This policy did not receive the support of the Republican party. An antagonism therefore sprang up between the administration and the majority party, which was fiercer even than that between Tyler and the Whigs. The President however forced his measures as best he could, and carried with him what was known at the time as the "Amnesty sentiment" of the country and also the Democratic sentiment. He was squarely outside of the party which had elected him Vice-President, from the very beginning of his term as President.

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1865. The favorable turn of the rebellion, and the emphatic endorsement of Lincoln's administration by the country, had greatly increased the Republican majority in both Houses of Congress. The Senate stood 40 Republicans and 11 Democrats; the House 145 Republicans and 40 Democrats. The House organized by re-electing Schuyler Colfax, Republican, Ind., Speaker.

The passage of an amended Freedmen's Bureau bill drew from the President a veto, in which he foreshadowed his intention of opposing reconstruction legislation where it involved favors to the negroes, and, in general, until the whites, who were most concerned, were again represented in Congress. Another bill, similar in terms, providing for the education and military protection of the negro race, was passed in July. This was also vetoed, on the ground that the civil courts were open for their protection, and that the matter was one entirely within the control of the States. It became a law over the veto.

The passage of the Civil Rights bill, in March, which was designed to secure to the negroes some of the rights of citizenship by enabling them to enforce their contracts in the United States Courts, was vetoed, on the ground that it was an attempt to confer citizenship on men just released from bondage and overrode the State laws and State tribunals. Though the bill was passed over the President's veto, the Congress proceeded to clarify the question of citizenship by passing the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, June 16, 1866, which became operative, July 28, 1868. This measure the President also opposed, as did the Democrats. The Homestead laws were extended to public

lands in the South, the army was reduced, some internal taxes were abolished. Congress adjourned, July 28, 1866.

THIRTY-NINTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1866. The President's attitude to the majority in Congress had become hostile and defiant. By his vetoes of Congressional enactments he had given proof of his intention to reduce the power of Congress over the work of Reconstruction to a minimum. By his repeated proclamations to the Southern States he had as fully shown that he intended to make the work of Reconstruction as purely an executive one as he could, and this though his attention and that of the country had been called, by an address of the Republican National Committee, to the fact that no provisions existed in the Constitution or outside of Congress for the re-establishment of States which had broken their allegiance by secession and failed to establish secession by force.

The situation was not conducive to deliberate legislation. If the President was vindictive, the majority was retaliatory. Moreover, fear began to dawn that if he carried his defiance much further it might end in an executive *coup de main* on the very existence of the legislative branch of the government. Retaliative thus assumed the virtue of protective steps. A threat of impeachment was made by the appointment of a House committee to take testimony. The time had not yet come for decisive action.

By act of July, 1862, the President had been empowered to extend amnesty to those who ceased to be rebellious. The President had used his power under this act to what was considered an inordinate extent. In January, 1867, the act was repealed. He still continued his amnesty proclamations, claiming a right to do so under the Constitution. To prevent the possibility of his taking the advantage of Congress during a recess, the meetings of the next Congress were fixed so as to succeed each other immediately. This lasted only during his term of office. His claim to issue orders directly to the army was met by an act compelling him to issue them through the general in command. This was squeezed in with the Appropriation bill,

so that he could not veto it without defeating the whole measure. He vetoed the Nebraska act, which provided for the admission of that State on the condition that suffrage should exist without reference to race or color. This was passed over his veto, and Nebraska was admitted, March 1, 1867.

Hitherto the President had possessed one advantage. His inclination was his policy of Reconstruction; or, if policy he had, it was not so systematic as to prevent his forging ahead without much regard to legal forms and technical obstructions. The Republican majority had all along been hampered by Constitutional difficulties and baffled by their party opponents and the Executive. But they had at last formulated a policy. It divided the States which had seceded into military districts, and placed each under an officer of the army, who was empowered to keep the peace and protect person and property until a State convention could be chosen and a State government formed which recognized citizenship without regard to race, color or previous condition, and contained a ratification of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Then only would Congress agree to readmit the State. This was the bill "To Provide Efficient Governments for the Insurrectionary States," and designed to secure to the country some of the fruits of the war, which, it was thought, the President was fast frittering away. It was passed, vetoed, and passed over the veto, March 2, 1867.

Here was a carefully outlined Congressional policy against a loose unsystematic Executive policy. To make the conflict sharper, the same day witnessed the passage of the Tenure of Office bill, also over the veto, by a strictly party vote in the Senate of 35 to 11, and in the House of 138 to 40. It made the Senate, which was a recognized part of the appointing power, a party also to removal from office by providing that the President's removals during recess should not be final unless approved by the Senate, and that if appointees during recess were not approved by the Senate, the old incumbent held his place. The design was to prevent wholesale removals during recess and the setting up of a Cabinet and Department officers who might fur-

ther frustrate the will of Congress. Violation of its provisions was declared a high misdemeanor. This somewhat original and summary work of Congress now went before the country for approval or rejection, as did the conduct of the President. A Tariff act was passed March 2, 1867, which made the duties on wool and woollen goods highly protective. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1867.

FORTIETH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met March 4, 1867, according to act passed at second session of Thirty-ninth Congress. The issue between the Congress and President had been carried into the Congressional campaign, and the result was a return of a Republican majority. The Senate stood 40 Republicans to 14 Democrats, the House 138 Republicans to 47 Democrats. House organized by re-electing Schuyler Colfax, Republican, Indiana, Speaker. Positive legislation was not the design of the meeting. It was a session for the emergency, a policing of a critical situation, an overseeing of previous legislation, that it might be executed, at least not frustrated. The continuity of the session was secured by an adjournment on March 30, 1867, to meet July 3, 1867. A second adjournment was had July 20, to meet Nov. 21. A third adjournment was had Dec. 2, 1867.

FORTIETH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1867. Before legitimate work could begin, the President renewed his contest by removing Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War, Feb. 21, 1868, and appointing Lorenzo Thomas in his place, contrary to the provisions of the Tenure of Office Act. The Senate resolved that "the President had no power to remove the Secretary of War and designate any other officer to perform the duties of the office." On the 24th the President sent a message to the Senate claiming the right of removal on the ground that Stanton was an appointee of his predecessor, and was now holding only by sufferance, and that therefore he was not removing an appointee under the Tenure of Office Act.

A resolution to impeach the President passed the House on the 24th, by a vote of 126 to 47. Articles were drawn bearing on his violation of the act in question, which passed the House

on March 2. On the 5th, the trial began, and lasted till May 16, when a test vote was taken on the Eleventh Article, a leading one. The result was, for conviction, 35 Senators; for acquittal, 19 Senators, 14 of the latter being Democrats and 5 Republicans. The Constitution requiring a two-thirds vote to convict, the verdict was acquittal on this article. On May 26, a vote was had on the first and second articles, with the same result. It being evident that conviction could not be had, no other votes were taken and the Court of Impeachment adjourned *sine die.*

The political differences between the President and the Republican party were not softened by the impeachment trial, yet singularly enough the party did not suffer by its failure to convict, nor did the President cease to pursue his policy of Reconstruction, save where he was hedged by Congress, till the end of his term, when he retired to his native State, quite restored to the favor of his old political associates, with whom he had broken on the questions which gave rise to the rebellion.

Congress adjourned, July 27, 1868.

ELECTION OF 1868.—The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, May 20, 1868, and nominated Ulysses S. Grant, Ill., for President, and Schuyler Colfax, Ind., for Vice-President. The platform (1) congratulated the country on the success of the reconstruction policy of Congress. (2) Approved of equal suffrage to all loyal men in the South, and of the doctrine that it was a question properly belonging to the loyal States. (3) No repudiation of the National promises to pay. (4) Equalization and reduction of taxation. (5) Reduction of interest on National debt, and gradual payment of same. (6) Improvement of our credit. (7) Denounced the corruptions of the Johnson administration, and urged economy. (8) Lincoln's death regretted; Johnson's treachery denounced. (9) Protection of the rights of naturalized citizens. (10) Honor to the soldiers. (11) Encouragement of foreign immigration. (12) Sympathy for all oppressed people struggling for their rights; commendation of those who served in the Rebellion, for their co-operation in securing good government in the South.

The Democratic National Convention met at New York, July 14, 1868, and nominated for President, Horatio Seymour, N. Y., and for Vice-President, Francis P. Blair, Mo. The platform (1) recognized the question of secession and slavery as settled by the war. (2) Demanded immediate restoration of the Southern States, and the settlement of the question of suffrage by the States themselves. (3) Amnesty for all past offences. (4) Payment of the public debt in lawful money, where coin is not called for. (4) Equal taxation; one currency. (5) Economy; abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau; a Tariff for revenue, with incidental Protection. (6) Reform of abuses in administration; independence of Executive and Judicial branches; subordination of military to civil power. (7) Maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens. (8) General arraignment of the Republican party, and gratitude to Johnson for "resisting the aggressions of Congress."

The campaign was an active one. The leading topics were the Reconstruction measures of the Republican party, and equal suffrage. The latter was a new question, given prominence by the condition of the freedmen, and by the probability that they would not be able to maintain their rights as citizens without the ballot. It may be said that the verdict of the campaign led to the proposal and adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment. Grant's apothegm, "Let us have Peace," did much to tone the severities of a campaign which would else have been very bitter, owing to the hostility of the Republicans toward the Administration. And as to the merits of the issue between the Congress and President—that is, as to whether the Congress or President had a right to fix the terms on which a revolting State could be readmitted—the verdict was in favor of Congress and its plan of approving of the Constitution of the applicant States, just as in case of Territories when they first applied for admission. The November result was a decided Republican victory.

FORTIETH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1868. The leading political measure was the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which conferred the right of suffrage on all citizens, without distinction of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." It passed Feb. 25, 1869, and by March

30, 1870, was ratified by three-fourths of all the States. In Congress it was a distinctive party measure, drawing full Democratic opposition. Before the country, it met with a conservative Republican opposition, partly because it was regarded as too radical an advance, and partly because it got complicated with the question of amnesty, as advocated by Mr. Greeley and a school of statesmen who thought that "universal amnesty" ought to precede, and be a consideration for, "universal suffrage."

The Electoral count showed 214 votes for Grant and Colfax, and 80 for Seymour and Blair. A question was raised over the 9 votes of Georgia, but as they did not affect the result, it was not urged. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1869. Grant and Colfax were sworn into office on March 4.

XXI.

GRANT'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1869—March 3, 1873.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, ILL., *President.* SCHUYLER COLFAX, IND., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS.	1, March 4, 1869–April 10, 1869, extra session. 2, December 6, 1869–July 15, 1870. 3, December 5, 1870–March 3, 1871.
FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS.	1, March 4, 1871–April 20, 1871, extra session. 2, December 4, 1871–June 10, 1872. 3, December 2, 1872–March 3, 1873.

ELECTORAL VOTE. *

States.	Basis of 127,381.	Vote.	Republican. Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.	Republican. Schuyler Colfax, Ind.	Democrat. Horatio Seymour, N. Y.	Democrat. Francis P. Blair, Mo.
Alabama	6	8	8	8	..	..
Arkansas	3	5	5	5	..	..
California	3	5	5	5	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Florida	1	3	3	3	..	..
Georgia	7	9	..	..	9	9
Illinois	14	16	16	16	..	..

* Popular vote—Grant, 3,015,071—26 States; Seymour, 2,709,613—8 States; not voting, 3 States.

States.	Basis of 127,381.	Vote.	Republican. Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.	Republican. Schuyler Colfax, Ind.	Democrat. Horatio Seymour, N. Y.	Democrat. Francis P. Blair, Mo.
Indiana	11	13	13	13	..	..
Iowa	6	8	8	8	..	..
Kansas	1	3	3	3	..	..
Kentucky	9	11	..	..	11	11
Louisiana	5	7	..	..	7	7
Maine	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland	5	7	..	..	7	7
Massachusetts	10	12	12	12	..	..
Michigan	6	8	8	8	..	..
Minnesota	2	4	4	4	..	..
*Mississippi	5	7	..	..	..	..
Missouri	9	11	11	11	..	..
Nebraska	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada	1	3	3	3	..	..
New Hampshire	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey	5	7	..	..	7	7
New York	31	33	..	..	33	33
North Carolina	7	9	9	9	..	..
Ohio	19	21	21	21	..	..
Oregon	1	3	..	..	3	3
Pennsylvania	24	26	26	26	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	4	6	6	6	..	..
Tennessee	8	10	10	10	..	..
*Texas	4	6	..	..	..	..
Vermont	3	5	5	5	..	..
*Virginia	8	10	..	..	..	..
West Virginia	3	5	5	5	..	..
Wisconsin	6	8	8	8	..	..
Totals	243	317	214	214	80	80

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....E. B. Washburne, Ill.
Secretary of Treasury.....Geo. S. Boutwell, Mass.
Secretary of War.....John A. Rawlins, Ill.
Secretary of Navy.....Adolph E. Borie, Pa.
Secretary of Interior.....Jacob D. Cox, Ohio.
Attorney-General.....E. R. Hoar, Mass.
Postmaster-General.....J. A. J. Creswell, Md.

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Met March 4, 1869, with a very large Republican majority in both branches. The Senate stood 58 Republican, 10 Democrat, and 8 vacancies; the House, 149 Republican, 64 Democrat, and 25 vacancies; Mississippi, Texas, Virginia and Georgia not being represented. The House organized by electing James G. Blaine, Me., Speaker.

* These States not yet readmitted. 23 votes lost.

This brief session was made interesting by a strictly party struggle over the admission of Texas, Virginia and Mississippi, before they had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. On April 10 a bill passed which required them to submit their constitutions as they stood to the people, and their Legislatures to ratify both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, after which they would be readmitted. The extra session adjourned April 10, 1869.

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met December 6, 1869. The lot of President Grant had not thus far been a happy one. Unlike his predecessor, he had no policy of Reconstruction aside from the acts of Congress, and these he declared he would enforce, on the principle that the best way to secure the repeal of such as were objectionable was to show their defects by actual and literal enforcement. But in this he was largely headed off by a condition of affairs in the late rebellious States, which was then attributed to the mistaken policy of President Johnson. From whatever cause, a party arose in the Southern States which prided in the name of "Unreconstructed" and "Irreconcilable." It opposed the Reconstruction acts of Congress, and especially the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. Further, many Northern men had settled in Southern States. These, being in favor with the negroes, and naturally supporters of the government, gained a control of local politics which made them enemies of the "Unreconstructed." They were denounced as "Carpet-Baggers," and the State governments they erected and supported as "Carpet-Bag Governments." But as they were operating under color of local law, and insisting on rights for the citizen which the Constitution plainly gave him, they could hardly be ousted by regular forms. Ousted they must be, however. The plan of terrorizing the negroes was hit upon. This was perfected and carried out by those secret organizations which became known as the Ku-Klux-Klan. Their operations were so effective as not only to intimidate the negroes but to drive out the Northern immigrants. This achieved, the doctrine of "a white man's government" became popular, and under it the regime of the respec-

tive States passed back into the hands of those who had made, supported and controlled them before the rebellion.

The operations of the Ku-Klux-Klan had not only been locally violent, but defiant of the Reconstruction acts of Congress. Hence the President found his authority practically ignored. All the time, too, questions arose as to the constitutionality of the Reconstruction acts. These occasioned delays and invited dangers. In the latter part of 1869 the Supreme Court came to his assistance and greatly strengthened his hands by a decision to the effect "that Congress had the power to re-establish the relations of any rebellious State to the Union." This decision sustaining the policy of Congress and the Republican majority modified the tone of the Democrats, and in a great measure changed their purpose to make Reconstruction a central party feature.

The above situation gave rise to the Enforcement act, passed May 31, 1870, by a party vote, which endowed the President all needed powers to protect the freedmen and punish the perpetrators of outrages against white and black. Enforcement of this act did much to awaken Southern sentiment to the extent and danger of the "Klan" and to correct its abuses. It fell into disrepute, but was succeeded by other more open and ingenious, yet not less effective, means of intimidation, some of which took the shape of "Rifle Clubs," the "White League," and so on, all of which were harder to meet by legal processes than the more violent "Klan."

Before the close of this session the halting States of Virginia, Georgia, Texas and Mississippi had complied with the conditions of reconstruction and were readmitted. This practically completed the work of reconstruction so far as the States were concerned; that is, they had complied with the forms of law, but much remained to be done to insure equitable enforcement of law. By July 15, 1870, the date on which Georgia was received, after hanging back with her ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, the happy spectacle of a restored Union was again presented, though the votes of Arkansas and Louisiana were not received on account of technical objections in 1872.

The other leading political acts of the session were one to enforce the Fifteenth Amendment, and one to amend the naturalization laws. The latter law made penal the issue of fraudulent naturalization papers, and authorized Federal supervisors of Congressional elections in cities of over 20,000 inhabitants. The Democrats opposed it on the ground that it was unconstitutional; the Republicans favored it on the charge of frauds in New York by which the State had been carried for Seymour. They used with effect the language of Horace Greeley that "more votes had been cast for Seymour in one of the warehouse wards of the city than there were men, women, children, cats and dogs in it."

In March, 1870, the Constitutionality of the Legal Tender Act of 1862 came before the Supreme Court as newly organized. It was decided to be constitutional. This was a partisan issue from beginning to end. The Republicans pleaded absolute necessity as a support for the law; the Democrats claimed that it was an inexcusable stretch of constitutional power. The former were consistent with that liberal interpretation of the Constitution on which they based their ideas of Internal Improvement, Protection to American Industries, and scores of measures relating to war and reconstruction. The latter were hardly so consistent, for very many of them, when members of the Confederate Congress, had for reasons of imperative necessity advocated the issue of similar money, and that too, with the "promise to pay" extended to a period beyond which the independence of the Confederacy should be recognized.

The decision, notwithstanding its opposition, soon won popularity, and greatly increased the national credit. The popularized "Greenback" soon after became the banking capital of a new party. The Tariff Act of July 14, 1870, had the effect of greatly enlarging the free list. Congress adjourned, July 15, 1870.

FORTY-FIRST CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 5, 1870. Reconstruction being completed in form, all the States were represented for the first time since 1861. The Senate stood 61 Republicans; 13 Democrats; the House, 172 Republicans; 71

Democrats. The President's message advocated the annexation of San Domingo. This gave rise to a bitter opposition on the part of Charles Sumner, which took the shape of direct attack on the administration. A commission was appointed which reported favorably, and the matter was dropped.

A supplement to the enforcement act was passed, Feb. 28, 1871. It incurred the usual Democratic opposition, and was passed by a strict party vote. It extended the power of supervisors and marshals, and gave the Federal Courts jurisdiction of cases arising out of violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. On March 3 the first civil service act in the history of the government was passed. Under it a commission was appointed, whose recommendations were not cordially received. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1871.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS — Extra Session. — Met March 4, 1871. The Republicans had suffered somewhat in their representation. The Senate stood, Republicans, 57; Democrats, 17; House, Republicans, 138; Democrats, 103. House organized by re-electing James G. Blaine, Me., Speaker.

The leading political act was that of April 20, 1871, known as the Ku-Klux Act. It was aimed directly at the secret organizations existing in Southern States, which could not be effectually reached under the enforcement acts of the previous session. Indeed, these acts were proving weak in all respects, and in view of the opposition they were meeting with, their propriety was beginning to be questioned. Congress adjourned, April 20, 1871.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 4, 1871. This session gave rise to two acts, both of which became noteworthy. The first was The Amnesty Bill. In its earliest shape it was a Democratic measure, formulated so as to secure the influence of Mr. Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, soon to be the Democratic candidate for President. It was baffled by the Republicans for a long time by amendments adding Mr. Sumner's Supplementary Civil Rights Bill. But it finally passed, May 22, 1872. Its effect was to remove the disabilities imposed by Sec. 3 of 14th Amendment to the

Constitution, from all but about 350 participants in the rebellion.*

The second was a Supplementary Enforcement act. The former acts of Enforcement, including the Ku-Klux act, were not strengthening the hands of the Executive in preserving order and securing the rights of citizens, as they were designed to. The Democrats were squarely opposed to them, and so was a strong minority within the Republican ranks. It became a question whether the Congress should retreat or experiment further with a doubtful question. A majority sentiment favored another trial. Consequently the bill of June 10, 1872, was passed, which gave any citizen deprived of his rights access to the Federal courts, made it a penal offense to deprive, or conspire to deprive, any citizen of his rights under the amendments, placed the United States troops at the call of the States to suppress conspiracies, and further declared such conspiracies rebellions, to be suppressed by Federal force if the States failed. This was regarded as the last stretch of Constitutional power in time of peace, even by the advocates of the bill. If its effect was to hasten the final disintegration of the annoying, defiant and cruel "Ku-Klux-Klan," the same cannot be said of those more ingenious and popular methods of opposition which were relied on as supports of the idea of "A White Man's Government." The Tariff Act of June 6, 1872, made a material reduction in duties and added largely to the free list. Congress adjourned, June 10, 1872.

ELECTION OF 1872.—The first party in the field was a new one, styling itself "Liberal Republican." This misnomer originated in Missouri, in 1870. A Liberal Republican would naturally be one who favored a liberal construction of the Constitution. But the new Liberal Republicans were those who thought the Republicans had already exceeded, in their legislation, the powers contained in the Constitution. They were therefore not so liberal as the Republicans, but stricter in their interpretations, sufficiently strict to draw the Democratic support, as we shall

* Subsequently other acts removed these disabilities from all who participated in the rebellion, except Jefferson Davis.

see. A considerable Republican sentiment had been inclining to this movement for some time. It was encouraged by the "General Amnesty" idea, advocated by Mr. Greeley and by others who were at the time called "Sentimentalists." The failure of so many of the Reconstruction measures of Congress to bring about desired results, the opposition they all excited, the growing thought that they were of doubtful propriety, and even of doubtful constitutionality, considering that they had no longer the imperative necessity of war as a basis of vindication, further encouraged the movement.

In 1870 the Republican party, then in control of the Legislature of Missouri, split over the question of the removal of disabilities from Confederates, under the State Constitution. Those favoring removal, headed by B. Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz, called themselves Liberal Republicans; those opposing removal accepted the name of Radical Republicans. The former triumphed. This was the nucleus around which kindred sentiment gathered throughout the country. It gained headway by accessions in several States, as Mr. Greeley and Mr. Fenton in New York, Curtin in Pennsylvania, Trumbull in Illinois, and Charles Francis Adams in Massachusetts. The Democrats in Congress had fostered the sentiment. In the spring of 1871 there had been an actual fusion of the Liberal Republicans and Democrats in Ohio. The leaders denounced the Enforcement acts of Congress and the efforts of the administration to bring about Reconstruction under them. On the basis of a common feeling it was thought the Democratic party could be captured by the movement. A call was issued from Missouri, Jan. 24, 1872, for a National Convention of Liberal Republicans, at Cincinnati, on May 1. It nominated Horace Greeley, N. Y., for President, and B. Gratz Brown, Mo., for Vice-President. The platform (1) recognized the equality of all men; (2) pledged the party to Union, emancipation, enfranchisement, and to oppose the opening of any question settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments; (3) demanded the immediate removal of all disabilities; (4) local self-government with impartial suffrage, for the nation a return to the methods of peace; (5) Thor-

ough reform of the civil service, no President a candidate for re-election; (6) modest revenue for all the needs of the government; on the matter of a tariff, the question relegated to the people of the Congressional districts for discussion; (7) maintenance of public credit, return to specie payments, honor for the soldier, no more land grants to railroads, fair dealing with foreign powers.

The Republican National Convention met at Philadelphia, June 5, 1872, and renominated for President Ulysses S. Grant, Ill., and nominated for Vice-President Henry Wilson, Mass. Its platform (1) pointed, as the result of Republican policy, to a suppressed rebellion, emancipation, equal citizenship, universal suffrage, no punishment of men for political offences, a humane Indian policy, a Pacific railroad, public lands freely given to actual settlers, protected immigration, uniform national currency, high national credit, careful collection and expenditure of revenue, large reduction of taxes and of public debt; (2) enforcement of the new amendments to Constitution; (3) enjoyment of civil and political liberty by all, no discrimination as to citizenship on account of race, color or previous condition; (4) an improved civil service; (5) no more land grants to corporations, but free homes for the people; (6) gradual reduction of the public debt, Tariff for protection; (7) honor to soldiers and sailors, abolition of franking privilege, reduction in rate of postage, approval of the administration, repudiation denounced, additional rights for women, amnesty approved, respect for the rights of States.

The Democratic National Convention met in Baltimore, July 9, 1872. By pre-arrangement and with the hope of triumph through the Republican schism it accepted the platform and nominees of the Liberal Republicans, and thus stood fully committed to "emancipation and enfranchisement, and to oppose any reopening of the questions settled by the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution," and to the further doctrine "that it is the duty of the government to mete out exact justice to all, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political."

A Straight-out Democratic National Convention met at Louis-

ville, Ky., Sept. 3, 1872, and nominated for President Charles O'Conor, N. Y., and for Vice-President John Quincy Adams, Mass. The platform was a plea for the rights of the States and a repudiation of the Baltimore Convention as a betrayal of the Democratic party "into a false creed and a false leadership."

The Temperance, or Prohibition, party met in National Convention, for the first time as a nominating body, at Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 22, 1872, and nominated for President James Black, Pa., for Vice-President John Russell, Mich. The platform declared that as all political parties had proved unwilling to adopt an adequate policy on the question of traffic in intoxicating drinks; therefore (1) the party pledges itself to the principles of the Declaration and Constitution; (2) that effective legal prohibition, State as well as national, is the only means of suppressing traffic in intoxicants; (3) that existing party competition for the liquor vote is a peril to the nation; (4) dissuasion from the use of intoxicants, competency, honesty and sobriety as qualifications for office, no removals from office for political opinion, prevention of corruption and encouragement of economy, direct vote of the people for President, a sound national currency, redeemable in gold, labor reform, suffrage without regard to sex, fostering of the common schools.

The campaign was peculiar in every respect. The Republicans were sanguine, and scarcely needed to use ordinary campaign energies. The Democrats were cold toward their nominee, and mistrustful of the situation from the start. The Liberal Republicans bore the "heat and burden" of the day, their candidate even taking the stump, or rather making long railroad jaunts for the purpose of meeting with and inspiring his admirers.

The November result was not a realization of Liberal Republican hopes. They had not captured the Democratic party. The strength they brought to that party was far more than offset by Democratic desertions to the Republicans or outright refusals to vote. Nor was it any more a realization of Democratic hopes. The expected profit from Republican schism was not forthcoming at the polls. "Fusion had resulted in confusion," was wittily said of the after-election situation.

FORTY-SECOND CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1872. An interesting measure of the session was the creation of the Credit Mobilier commission by the House. It was created at the instance of Republicans to inquire into the truth of charges made against prominent men during the campaign by Democratic orators. The commission, consisting of two Republicans, one Liberal Republican, and two Democrats, made a full investigation and practically exonerated the members charged, except Oakes Ames and James Brooks, who received the condemnation of the House.

The Franking privilege was abolished, the President's salary raised to $50,000, and the salary of Senators and Representatives to $7,500. This was the offensive "salary grab" which met with such condemnation as to defeat many of the members who participated in its passage. It was speedily repealed.

The electoral count in February showed 286 votes for Grant and Wilson. Mr. Greeley died in November. The 66 Democratic electors therefore voted for other persons. Of these 42 voted for Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind., for President, with 24 scattering. Three of the scattering were for Greeley. They were rejected. B. Gratz Brown received 47 for Vice-President, with 19 scattering. A grave question arose over the vote of Louisiana and Arkansas. Two sets of Returning Boards existed in these States, each of which had forwarded returns. The result was that both were rejected, and these two States lost their vote.

Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1873. On March 4 Grant and Wilson were sworn into office.

XXII.

GRANT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1873—March 3, 1877.

ULYSSES S. GRANT, ILL., *President.* HENRY WILSON, MASS., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS.	1, December 1, 1873–June 23, 1874. 2, December 7, 1874–March 3, 1875.
FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.	1, December 6, 1875–August 15, 1876. 2, December 4, 1876–March 3, 1877.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 131,425.	Vote.	Republican. Ulysses S. Grant, Ill.	Republican. Henry Wilson, Mass.	Lib. Republican. Horace Greeley, N. Y.	Lib. Republican. B. Gratz Brown, Mo.
Alabama	8	10	10	10	..	..
Arkansas	4	6	..	..	..	.. Not counted.
California	4	6	6	6	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	3	3	..	..
Florida	2	4	4	4	..	..
Georgia	9	11	..	..	6 for Brown. 2 for Perkins, Dem., Ga. 3 for Greeley (not counted).	
Illinois	19	21	21	21	..	..
Indiana	13	15	15	15	..	..
Iowa	9	11	11	11	..	..
Kansas	3	5	5	5	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	..	..	8 for Hendricks., D., Ind. 4 for Brown, Mo.	
Louisiana	6	8	..	..	..	.. Not counted.
Maine	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland	6	8	..	..	..	.. 8 for Hendricks.
Massachusetts	11	13	13	13	..	..
Michigan	9	11	11	11	..	..
Minnesota	3	5	5	5	..	..
Mississippi	6	8	8	8	..	..
Missouri	13	15	..	..	8 for Brown. 6 for Hendricks. 1 for Davis.	
Nebraska	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada	1	3	3	3	..	..
New Hampshire	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey	7	9	9	9	..	..
New York	33	35	35	35	..	..
North Carolina	8	10	10	10	..	..
Ohio	20	22	22	22	..	..
Oregon	1	3	3	3	..	..
Pennsylvania	27	29	29	29	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	5	7	7	7	..	..
Tennessee	10	12	..	..	..	.. 12 for Hendricks.
Texas	6	8	..	..	..	.. 8 for Hendricks.
Vermont	3	5	5	5	..	..
Virginia	9	11	11	11	..	..
West Virginia	3	5	5	5	..	..
Wisconsin	8	10	10	10	..	..
Total	292	366	286	286		

* The death of Mr. Greeley before the Electoral count caused the casting of his 66 votes as scattering. The above table indicates the way they went for President. For Vice-President the vote was still more scattered. Brown, Liberal Republican, Mo., received 47; Julian, Democrat, Ind., 5; Colquitt, Democrat, Ga., 5; Palmer, Democrat, Ill., 3; Bramlette, Democrat, Ky., 3; Groesbeck, Democrat, O., 1; Macken, Democrat, Ky., 1; Banks, Liberal Republican, Mass., 1. The 14 votes

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State	Hamilton Fish, N. Y.	Continued.
Secretary of Treasury	William A. Richardson, Mass.	
Secretary of War	William W. Belknap, Iowa	Continued.
Secretary of Navy	George M. Robeson, N. J.	"
Secretary of Interior	Columbus Delano, Ohio	"
Attorney-General	Geo. H. Williams, Oregon	"
Postmaster-General	J. A. J. Creswell, Md	"

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1873. The Republican majority was still large. Senate: 50 Republicans, 19 Democrats, 5 Liberal Republicans. House: 198 Republicans and 91 Democrats, with a sprinkling of Liberal Republicans. House organized by re-electing James G. Blaine Speaker. The business depression which culminated in the panic of 1873 made cautious financial legislation necessary. An act increasing the national currency to $400,000,000 was vetoed as tending to inflation at a time when the tendency should be toward resumption of specie payments. The bill could not be passed over the veto for want of the necessary two-thirds, though a strong minority in both parties thought inflation the proper remedy. This idea became the basis of the Greenback party, which began to figure about this time.

Lengthy debates which took a party turn were indulged over a Republican measure to regulate inter-State commerce. So with Sumner's Civil Rights bill, which was designed to secure to the colored citizens the rights comprehended in the Fourteenth Amendment. It passed the House, but got no further.

An act was passed Sept. 14, 1872, which referred all matters in dispute between this country and England to what became known as the Geneva Commission. This Commission now reported that the sum of $15,500,000 was due the United States for damages occasioned to American commerce by privateers fitted out under British auspices, bearing the British flag, or permitted to sail from British ports. At this session a Commission was raised to distribute this award (June 23, 1874).

of Arkansas and Louisiana were not counted on account of frauds in the elections and duplicate counts by two opposing Returning Boards. The popular vote was: Grant, 3,597,070—31 States; Greeley, 2,834,079—6 States; O'Conor, 29,408; Black, 5,608.

What was known as the Poland Utah Bill became a law. It created a District Court for the Territory, and excluded polygamous persons from the jury-box when bigamy cases were being tried.

The Tariff Act of June 22, 1874, was passed. It was an effort to correct the tendency of the act of 1872 toward low rates of duty. The act of 1872, as well as the preceding one, had been in the line of reduction. The panic of 1873 had taught the folly of too rapid a reduction of rates, or too wide a departure from the protective idea. The act of 1874 stiffened rates on dutiable articles, clung to the protective idea, and at the same time allowed a liberal free list, mostly of raw or unmanufactured articles.

Congress adjourned, June 23, 1874.

FORTY-THIRD CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 7, 1874. The Administration was pinched in its Southern policy. In Louisiana, for instance, two hostile State governments were in existence, the one favorable to the rights of all citizens, the other working under the auspices of the White League. They had gotten to blows. Blood had run in the streets of New Orleans. The riots there, not to dignify them as war, threatened to culminate in a war of races. The President had been appealed to. The time had passed for that active interference which the early period of reconstruction might have warranted. Yet he could do no less than make some kind of effort for peace, and naturally in behalf of the government which recognized the largest liberty and secured the amplest rights to all citizens. Such interference was turned greatly to his hurt by politicians. It was somewhat of an unfortunate juncture, for the President's Private Secretary, O. E. Babcock, came to trial for complicity with the "Whisky Ring," but was acquitted and resigned. Then came the impeachment of Belknap, Secretary of War (July 26, 1876), on the charge of selling an Indian trading establishment. He, too, was acquitted. But by this conspiracy of circumstances the Administration suffered, and perhaps unjustly, for though the efforts of its enemies were desperate to bring some of the alleged irregularities home to the White House, they in no case succeeded. All these things, however,

had their effect on public sentiment and contributed to bring about that political whirl which made the Forty-fourth Congress Democratic.

This session was marked by the passage of the Civil Rights bill, by a strict party vote. It secured the approval of the President, March 1, 1875. It is the bill which the Supreme Court decided to be unconstitutional (October, 1883), on the ground that the authority conferred on Congress by the Fourteenth Amendment to give such amendment effect by appropriate legislation, was not an authority which took away from States the power to do the same thing, or interfered with their right to do it.

On Feb. 24, 1875, House bill to permit Colorado to form a State government was passed by a strict party vote, and so, or nearly so, of the Resumption Act of Jan. 14, 1875. In this instance, the Republicans strove to crown their financial career by looking to a period when the National promises to pay should reach par in gold and silver. They were antagonized by the Democrats, who, for the time being, seemingly forgot their hard money notions of the Jackson era.

The Tariff Act of Feb. 8, 1875, stiffened the rates on silks, wines, tin-plates, and some other articles.

Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1875.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1875. The House was Democratic and the Senate Republican. The former organized by electing Michael C. Kerr, Ind., Speaker. This lengthy session was barren of far reaching political results, owing to the attitude of the two Houses. The Democrats in the House cultivated their majority situation, so as to stand well before the country during the next presidential campaign, by advocating a reduction of appropriations, taxation, etc. In most of their efforts they were met half way by the Republicans. Congress adjourned, August 15, 1876.

ELECTION OF 1876.—The year 1875 had been one of political turmoil, especially in the Southern States. It had been a year of political reverses for the Republicans in all sections—a "tidal wave" year, to use a popular expression. It was evident

that a close election was impending. By the extermination of what were called the "carpet bag" governments in the South, the Republicans lost much ground there, and could not hope to control more than two or three of the States. Owing to side parties, the reverses of the previous year, the general feeling of weariness over Southern agitation, and especially the hard accountability to which a dominant party is naturally held during financial crisis, many Northern States hitherto strongly Republican had become debatable.

The new party calling itself "The Greenback Party," or rather "The Independent Party," met in National Convention, at Indianapolis, May 17, 1876. This was an attempt to give coherency to a movement which had for its object relief of the financial stringency and business depression which prevailed. It would reach its end by using the credit of the government in the shape of Greenbacks, and insisting on a sufficient issue of them to relieve all stringency and depression. The thought naturally dated from 1873, the beginning of the financial crisis. It received encouragement from the fact that the greenback was popular, and would ere long be redeemable in gold. But it may be said to have received its greatest impetus from the date of the Resumption Act of 1875. The Democratic party, contrary to its traditions, arrayed itself squarely against that measure. It was therefore in a position to ally itself with the Greenbackers. These alliances were made in several States, and in some the coalitions were successful. Standing alone, the Greenback party obtained a hold only in industrial districts, and there more on account of the pleasing delusion of unlimited money than of any deeply imbedded principle. It nominated for President, Peter Cooper, N. Y., and for Vice-President, Samuel F. Carey, Ohio.

The platform (1) arraigned both the Republican and Democratic parties for refusing to foster "financial reform and industrial emancipation." (2) Demanded the repeal of the Specie Resumption Act of Jan. 14, 1875. (3) The United States note as a circulating medium, and a legal tender, and insistence on Jefferson's theory that "bank paper must be suppressed and the circulation restored to the nation to whom it belongs." (4) The

government to legislate for the full development of all legitimate business. (5) No further issue of gold bonds. (6) No further sale of bonds with which to purchase silver as a substitute for fractional currency.

The American National Party met as early as June 9, 1875, in mass meeting, at Pittsburg, and nominated for President, James B. Walker, Ill.; for Vice-President, Donald Kirkpatrick, N. Y. Its platform favored a Sabbath; prohibition; opposed secret societies; favored the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments; arbitration as a means of averting war; the Bible in schools; return to specie payments; a sound Indian policy; a direct vote of the people for President.

The Prohibition Party met in National Convention at Cleveland, May 17, 1876, and nominated for President, Green C. Smith, Ky.; for Vice-President, G. T. Stewart, Ohio. The platform invited (1) prohibition in all places under control of the government, and opposed all traffic in alcoholic drinks. (2) Equal suffrage and eligibility to office. (3) Lands to actual settlers; reduction of postage, and land and water transportation. (4) No lotteries nor stock gambling. (5) Abolition of polygamy; National observance of Sabbath; Free public schools; Free use of Bible; Separation of sect from government and schools; Arbitration; direct vote of people for President; redemption of paper money in gold; economy.

The Republican party met in National Convention at Cincinnati, June 14, 1876. A significant feature of the Convention was the controversy over the method of casting the voice of the States. Hitherto the State delegations had voted as a unit, the sentiment of a majority of the delegates being the sentiment of the State. This rule was now broken and the delegates voted their choice directly. Rutherford B. Hayes, Ohio, was nominated for President, and William A. Wheeler, N. Y., for Vice-President. The platform declared (1) the United States is a nation, not a league; (2) Republican work is not finished until the principles of the Declaration are acknowledged in every State; (3) protection of all citizens; rigorous use of all constitutional powers to that end; (4) redemption of U. S. notes in coin; (5) improved

civil service; (6) rigid responsibility in office; (7) no sectarian control of schools; sufficient revenue with protection; no more land grants to corporations; protection to emigrants; enlarged rights for women; extirpation of polygamy; honor to soldiers; deprecation of sectional lines; arraignment of Democrats for preferring Confederate to Union soldiers in public places; approval of the Administration.

The Democratic party met in National Convention at St. Louis, June 28, 1876, and nominated for President, Samuel J. Tilden, N. Y.; for Vice-President, Thomas A. Hendricks, Ind. The platform (1) affirmed a need of reform and pledged the party to the Union and to acceptance of the amendments as a final settlement of the controversies of civil war; (2) denounced the reconstruction policy of Congress; the failure to make good the legal tender notes; the high taxes and extravagance; the financial imbecility which had made no advance toward resumption; the Resumption Act of 1875 as hindering resumption; demanded its repeal; (3) demanded a "judicious system of economics;" reform in taxation; (4) the existing tariff denounced as a "master-piece of injustice, inequality and false pretence;" (5) Reform in public land system; reform in treaties with China; reform in civil service; in higher grades of service; in abuses of Republican party.

DISPUTED RESULT.—The result of the election, Nov. 7, 1876, gave rise to a prolonged dispute which involved many grave questions of law, and necessitated the raising of a special tribunal for its final determination. Up to the meeting of Congress the condition of affairs was thus: The election returns showed that the Republicans carried all the Northern States except New York, Connecticut, New Jersey and Indiana, and that the Democrats had carried all the Southern States except Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina. Owing to lack of faith in the Returning Boards of these three States, the result was disputed by the Democrats. Owing to a similar lack of faith in the methods of the Democrats in those States, the Republicans were suspicious of their interference with the Returning Board counts and reports.

Committees of both parties visited the scenes of strife. Whether their presence and advice helped a just conclusion has never been definitely ascertained. But it did not take much investigation to find that the vote of South Carolina was Republican, and this the Democratic members of the Congressional Investigating Committee conceded. This disposed of one of the doubtful States.

The Returning Board of Florida gave 926 Republican majority for the Republican electors. It was cited before the Supreme Court of the State, and a recount was ordered. This gave 206 Republican majority. But before this recount was finished the electors had met and cast their votes for the Republican nominees.

The Returning Board of Louisiana, appointed by Gov. Packard, made up from the confused returns at their command a Republican majority of 3,931. The Returning Board appointed by McEnery, who claimed to be Governor, made up from the same confused election returns a Democratic majority of 7,876.

The trouble in Oregon was not one of popular majority, which was admittedly Republican, but was over the claim that one of the three electors was a Federal office-holder. The Democratic Governor of the State therefore certified to two Republican electors and one Democratic (Mr. Cronin). The Secretary of State certified to the three Republican electors, he being the legal canvassing officer.

FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS — Second Session. — Met December 4, 1876. The Speaker, Mr. Kerr, having died, Samuel J. Randall, Pa., was elected to that position. The disputed Electoral count occupied almost the entire time of the session. The inadequacy of all laws regulating the count was painfully manifest. Both parties were firm. The situation was such that a false step might have led to an outbreak. The Republicans claimed that the President of the Senate had, under the law, the sole authority to open and announce the returns in the presence of the two Houses. The Democrats claimed that the two Houses acting as a joint body could control the count under the law. Some Democrats went so far as to say that the House

alone could decide when an emergency had arrived in which it was to elect a President.

Danger was avoided by the patriotism of prominent members of Congress, of both parties, who after several conferences agreed to report the Electoral Commission Act. It passed, and was approved Jan. 29, 1877. The Senate vote for it was 47 to 17 against. Of this 47, 21 were Republicans and 26 Democrats. Of this 17, 16 were Republicans and 1 Democrat. It therefore had an almost unanimous Democratic support in the Senate. The House was Democratic. It passed there by a vote of 191 to 86. The act created an Electoral Commission, composed of five Representatives, five Senators, and five Judges of the Supreme Court, 15 in all. Each of these bodies was to select its representatives on the Commission. To this Commission were referred the disputed returns. Its decision was to be final unless overruled by both Houses. The decisions of the Commission on all the disputed returns were to the effect that the electoral vote as certified and sent to the Speaker of the Senate by the regularly constituted authorities in each State must be accepted as conclusive and beyond investigation or question by any authority outside of that State.* The final count as thus ascertained gave the Republican nominees 185 Electoral votes, and the Democratic 184. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1877. On March 4, Hayes and Wheeler were sworn into office.

* A remarkable feature of this controversy was the fact that the Republicans were standing on old-time Democratic ground and relying on rigid Democratic doctrine. They were, for the time being, construing the Constitution strictly and insisting on the right of the State to ascertain its own vote and certify and forward it in its own way, all of which was to be conclusive on outside tribunals. The Democrats on the other hand combated their old rigid interpretation theories by urging that the Congress should reject the certificates from a State Returning Board. Happily the political complexion of the two Houses, one Democratic, the other Republican, prevented any successful appeal from the decisions of the Commission. If *both Houses*, under the terms of the act, could have agreed to upset any one of the Commission's decisions, then riot, if not civil war, must have ensued. But the act was wisely framed with a view to the entire political situation.

XXIII.

HAYES' ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1877—March 3, 1881.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, OHIO, *President.* WILLIAM A. WHEELER, N. Y., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.	1, October 15, 1877–December 3, 1877. Extra Session. 2, December 3, 1877–June 20, 1878. 3, December 2, 1878–March 3, 1879.
FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.	1, March 18, 1879–July 1, 1879. Extra Session. 2, December 1, 1879–June 16, 1880. 3, December 6, 1880–March 3, 1881.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 131,425.	Vote.	Republican. R. B. Hayes, Ohio.	Republican. W. A. Wheeler, N. Y.	Democratic. S. J. Tilden, N. Y.	Democratic. T. A. Hendricks, Ind.
Alabama	8	10	..	..	10	10
Arkansas	4	6	..	..	6	6
California	4	6	6	6	..	..
Colorado	1	3	3	3	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	..	..	6	6
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Florida	2	4	4	4	..	..
Georgia	9	11	..	..	11	11
Illinois	19	21	21	21	..	..
Indiana	13	15	..	..	15	15
Iowa	9	11	11	11	..	..
Kansas	3	5	5	5	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	..	..	12	12
Louisiana	6	8	8	8	..	..
Maine	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland	6	8	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts	11	13	13	13	..	..
Michigan	9	11	11	11	..	..
Minnesota	3	5	5	5	..	..
Mississippi	6	8	..	..	8	8
Missouri	13	15	..	..	15	15
Nebraska	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada	1	3	3	3	..	..
New Hampshire	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey	7	9	..	..	9	9
New York	33	35	..	..	35	35
North Carolina	8	10	..	..	10	10
Ohio	20	22	22	22	..	..

* The popular vote was: Hayes, 4,033,950—21 States; Tilden, 4,284,885—17 States; Greenback, Cooper, 81,740; Prohibition, Smith, 9,522; American, 539; scattering, 14,715.

Electoral Vote—Continued.

States.	Basis of 131,425.	Vote.	Republican. R. B. Hayes, Ohio.	Republican. W. A. Wheeler, N. Y.	Democratic. S. J. Tilden, N. Y.	Democratic. T. A. Hendricks, Ind.
Oregon	1	3	3	3	..	..
Pennsylvania	27	29	29	29	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	5	7	7	7	..	..
Tennessee	10	12	..	..	12	12
Texas	6	8	..	..	8	8
Vermont	3	5	5	5	..	..
Virginia	9	11	..	..	11	11
West Virginia	3	5	..	..	5	5
Wisconsin	8	10	10	10	..	..
Totals	293	369	185	185	184	184

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....William M. Evarts, N. Y.
Secretary of Treasury.....John Sherman, Ohio.
Secretary of War.....Geo. W. McCrary, Iowa.
Secretary of Navy.....Richard W. Thompson, Ind.
Secretary of Interior.....Carl Schurz, Mo.
Attorney-General.....Charles Devens, Mass.
Postmaster-General.....David M. Key, Tenn.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The President's inaugural was pacific. He visited the South, and the tone of his speeches there was very conciliatory. There was a general departure from Republican ideas respecting the questions which had disturbed the reconstructed States. They were given over to such rule as seemed inevitable for a long time, in case the Federal troops were withdrawn. While the President's conservatism gave rise to criticism among his party friends, very many thought it proper that he should pursue an intermediate political course in view of the circumstances surrounding his election and the seeming desire for a breathing spell after the excitement attending the electoral count.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called Oct. 15, 1877. This Congress, like the Forty-fourth, was Democratic in the House, and Republican in the Senate. The latter body stood 38 Republicans; 37 Democrats; 1 Independent. The House stood 156 Democrats, and 136 Republicans. The House organized by re-electing Samuel J. Randall, Pa., Speaker. Party lines were strictly drawn over a determined effort of the Democrats to repeal the Resumption Act. The platform of 1880

pledged the party to repeal. Their measure failed in the Senate. The same effort was made in the first regular session of this (Forty-fifth) Congress, with no better success. Congress adjourned, Dec. 3, 1877.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 3, 1877. From this time on financial legislation largely occupied the respective sessions. Government income was ample for every purpose. The national credit was high. Efforts to defeat resumption, fixed for 1879, were made by the Democrats this session, but failed owing to the Republican majority in the Senate. The era of refunding was beginning, and was to be carried on till it became evident that the entire public debt could be turned into bonds bearing no more than three per cent. interest, if such an end should prove desirable. As a consequence bitter partyism was not indulged in as during slavery times and the period of reconstruction, though even these financial and business topics could not altogether escape modest party colorings when an advantage was likely to accrue.

An act to remonetize silver and coin $2,000,000 (Bland) a month was passed and received the President's veto, Feb. 28, 1878. It was passed over the veto. This legislation was not of any party, but was thought to be in the interest of the Pacific or mining States. On May 28, 1878, the Bankrupt Act was so amended as to virtually work its repeal. The River and Harbor Bill of this session (April 23, 1878) appropriated the large sum of $8,000,000 for this class of coast and internal improvements. This was extraordinary, not only on account of the sum involved, but because it came from a Democratic House which had started on an economic career, and further because the old Democratic constitutional objections to appropriations of this kind were no longer heard. Both parties were now fully committed to appropriations of this character, and all for the worse unless a check be provided, which, as we shall see, soon came in the shape of executive veto. Congress adjourned, June 20, 1878.

FORTY-FIFTH CONGRESS—Second Regular Session.—Met Dec. 2, 1878. The President's message referred with favor

to the process of funding now rapidly and successfully going on, by which so many millions were being saved in annual interest. It was much firmer as to the Southern situation than his former message, and the party became assured of his fealty, began to harmonize in the several States and to recover from what, at one time, seemed to be permanent factional estrangement.

An important, though not strictly party measure, was the Anti-Chinese bill, which was vetoed by the President as being against the Burlingame Treaty. It was passed over the veto, Feb. 22, 1879. It prohibited the immigration of Chinese as laborers.

The Republicans in the House made a determined effort to stop the coinage of Bland dollars. Their measure was defeated by an almost solid Democratic vote.

The great bone of party contention was the old Republican measures which provided for keeping peace at the polls in the respective States during Congressional elections. These bills authorized the appointment of United States Marshals, and even the calling out of troops in case of danger. The Democrats used their power over the Appropriation bill of this session, to work their repeal, by withholding pay for Marshals and for the army, except on the condition that troops should never be used at elections. Two Army Appropriation bills were vetoed by the President on the ground that Congress could not deprive the Executive of the power to keep the peace, and that judicious use of troops was still necessary to suppress riotous demonstrations in certain sections. The end of the session came before an appropriation was made for the army. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1879.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—Extra Session.—Called March 18, 1879, to pass the Army Appropriation bill which the Forty-fifth Congress failed to do. Now both Houses were Democratic. The Senate contained, Democrats, 42; Republicans, 33; Independent, 1. The House, Democrats, 148; Republicans, 130; Greenbackers or Nationals, 15.

This was a stormy session. The Democrats had their way in both Houses. They passed the Army Appropriation bill, with

the same "riders" as before, providing pay for the troops in case they were not used for preserving peace at the polls. The excitement had the effect of uniting the Republicans and stimulating the administration, who regarded the withholding of appropriations as an attempt to coerce the Executive branch by starving the government. The President vetoed the bill, and thus stated his position: "The army and navy are established by the Constitution. Their duty is clearly defined and their support provided for by law. The money required for this purpose is now in the Treasury. It was not the intention of the framers of the Constitution that any single branch of the government should have the power to dictate conditions upon which this money should be applied to the purpose for which it was collected." The bill could not be passed over the veto. The offensive riders were therefore removed and the bill, as amended, passed.

The Republicans made an ineffectual effort to pass a measure for insuring peace at Congressional elections by imposing a penalty on carrying fire-arms or concealed weapons. The Democrats in the House passed the Warner Silver bill providing for the unlimited coinage of silver dollars. The members of their party in the Senate, under the lead of Bayard, refused to recognize it. Congress adjourned, July 1, 1879.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—First Regular Session.—Met Dec. 1, 1879. The summer had witnessed an exodus of the colored population of the South, and a movement toward kinder localities. It gave rise to much discussion in the journals of all sections, and those of the South advised more liberal treatment of the blacks in matters of education, labor contracts, etc. The President's message was the firmest and ablest he had yet presented. It spoke of the success of resumption and the great saving thereby effected; took decided ground against further coinage of the Bland dollar; urged the necessity of organizing an effective Civil Service Reform Commission, and favored the retirement of the Legal Tender notes.

The Democrats again brought up their measure to prevent the use of the army to keep the peace at the polls. After receiving

what was known as the Garfield amendment to the effect that the "bill should not be construed so as to prevent the Constitutional use of the army to suppress domestic violence in a State," it was passed and approved.

The same offensive "riders" were, however, attached to the Army Appropriation bill, which was again vetoed. Before the end of the session the Democrats modified their hostility to the Congressional Election Law, owing to a decision of the Supreme Court affirming its constitutionality. A long discussion was had on a bill to regulate the electoral count. A bill to this effect had been in many previous Congresses. Imperative as some such legislation seemed, nothing came of it. The River and Harbor bill of the session appropriated $9,000,000. Congress adjourned, June 16, 1880.

ELECTION OF 1880.—The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, June 5, 1880. There was much excitement in the party ranks over the candidacy of ex-President Grant, whose friends were urging him for a third, but not consecutive, term. After 36 ballots, James A. Garfield, Ohio, was nominated for President, and Chester A. Arthur, N. Y., for Vice-President. The platform recited, as Republican party history, the suppression of rebellion, reconstruction of the Union, manumission of 4,000,000 slaves, raising of a paper currency from 38 per cent. to par, payment in coin of all national obligations, raising of government credit from where 6 per cent. bonds sold at 86 to where 4 per cent. bonds sold at par, increase of railways from 31,000 miles in 1860 to 82,000 in 1879, increase of foreign trade from $700,000,000 to $1,150,000,000, and of exports from $20,000,000 less than our imports in 1860 to $264,000,000 more than our imports in 1880, revival of depressed industries. (2) Pledge of similar action for the future; to pay soldiers' pensions; to further reduce the debt, to encourage commerce. (3) The Constitution the supreme law; boundary between reserved and delegated powers to be determined by the nation, not by the States. (4) Favored popular education; no appropriation of school funds to sectarian uses. (5) Protective duties; no land grants to corporations; extinction of polygamy; internal improvement; obliga-

tion to soldiers and sailors. (6) Limitation of Chinese immigration; approval of Hayes' administration; charges of corrupt practices and vicious principles on the Democratic party; radical civil service reform.

The National (Greenback) Convention met at Chicago June 9, 1880, and nominated James B. Weaver, Iowa, for President, and E. J. Chambers, Texas, for Vice-President. The platform adhered to the principle of a large legal tender currency; opposition to refunding of the debt; abolition of national banks and their currency; favored unlimited coinage of gold and silver; enforcement of the eight hour law; opposed the immigration of Chinese; land grants to actual settlers only; regulation of inter-State commerce by Congress; a graduated income tax; no restriction on suffrage; no bondholders' government; no sectionalism.

The Prohibition Reform Party met in National Convention at Cleveland, June 17, 1880, and nominated for President Neal Dow, Me., and for Vice-President H. A. Thompson, Ohio. A very lengthy platform took the usual ground against traffic in intoxicants and arraigned both political parties for shirking the question.

The Democratic Party met in National Convention at Cincinnati, June 22, 1880, and nominated Winfield S. Hancock, N. Y., for President, and William H. English, Ind., for Vice-President. The platform (1) pledged the party to Democratic traditions and doctrines. (2) Opposed centralization and sumptuary laws; favored separation of church and State; fostered common schools. (3) Home rule; honest money; maintenance of public credit; "tariff for revenue only;" subordination of military to civil authority; reform of civil service. (4) A free ballot. (5) Denunciation of Hayes' administration and Republican party. (6) Eulogy on Tilden. (7) Free ships; no Chinese immigrants; public land for actual settlers; protection of laboring man against "cormorant and commune;" congratulations over work of the Democratic Congress.

The campaign opened disastrously for the Republicans, Maine

having gone Democratic, or Coalition, in September. The loss of Indiana to the Democrats in October threw the advantage to the Republican side. The Democrats felt, as the canvas advanced, the weight of their commitment to "a tariff for revenue only," a Protective Tariff being the issue directly pushed by the Republicans. "The Morey letter," circulated for the purpose of injuring Garfield in the Pacific States, was a conspicuous campaign sensation. The impression that it was a malicious invention served to deaden its effect, if not to turn it to the disadvantage of the Democrats. The result in November was favorable to the Republicans. The Congressional elections were also favorable to that party, reversing the Democratic majority.

FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met Dec. 6, 1880. The President's message was a strong paper. It took high ground in favor of the inviolability of the Constitutional amendments; favored an appropriation to perfect a civil service code; opposed political assessments; asked that polygamy be punished by excluding those who practiced it from the jury box; and that a silver dollar be coined equal in value to the gold dollar. An effort was made to pass a law regulating the electoral count. It failed as usual. The count in February (9th) showed 214 votes for Garfield and Arthur, and 155 for Hancock and English. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1881. On March 4 Garfield and Arthur were sworn into office.

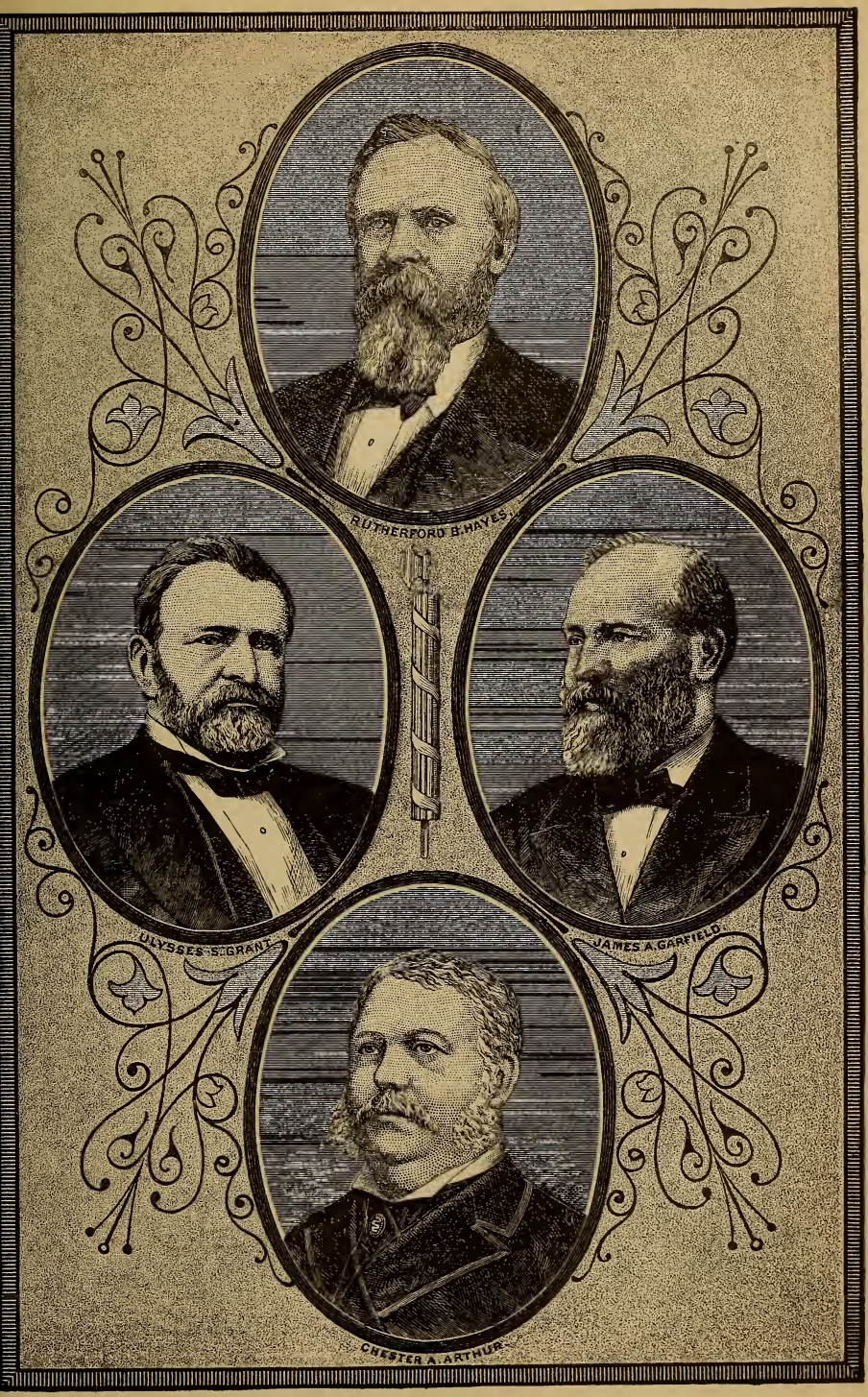
XXIV.

GARFIELD'S AND ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

March 4, 1881—March 3, 1885.

JAMES A. GARFIELD, OHIO, *President.* CHESTER A. ARTHUR, N. Y., *Vice-President.*

Congresses.	*Sessions.*
FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS.	1, December 5, 1881–August 8, 1882. 2, December 4, 1882–March 3, 1883.
FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS.	1, December 3, 1883–



PRESIDENTS FROM 1869 TO 1884.

*ELECTORAL VOTE.**

States.	Basis of 131,425.	Vote.	Republican. James A. Garfield, Ohio.	Republican. Chester A. Arthur, N. Y.	Democrat. Winfield S. Hancock, N. Y.	Democrat. William H. English, Ind.
Alabama	8	10	..	..	10	10
Arkansas	4	6	..	..	6	6
California	4	6	1	1	5	5
Colorado	1	3	3	3	..	..
Connecticut	4	6	6	6	..	..
Delaware	1	3	..	..	3	3
Florida	2	4	..	..	4	4
Georgia	9	11	..	..	11	11
Illinois	19	21	21	21	..	..
Indiana	13	15	15	15	..	..
Iowa	9	11	11	11	..	..
Kansas	3	5	5	5	..	..
Kentucky	10	12	..	..	12	12
Louisiana	6	8	..	..	8	8
Maine	5	7	7	7	..	..
Maryland	6	8	..	..	8	8
Massachusetts	11	13	13	13	..	..
Michigan	9	11	11	11	..	..
Minnesota	3	5	5	5	..	..
Mississippi	6	8	..	..	8	8
Missouri	13	15	..	..	15	15
Nebraska	1	3	3	3	..	..
Nevada	1	3	..	..	3	3
New Hampshire	3	5	5	5	..	..
New Jersey	7	9	..	..	9	9
New York	33	35	35	35	..	..
North Carolina	8	10	..	..	10	10
Ohio	20	22	22	22	..	..
Oregon	1	3	3	3	..	..
Pennsylvania	27	29	29	29	..	..
Rhode Island	2	4	4	4	..	..
South Carolina	5	7	..	..	7	7
Tennessee	10	12	..	..	12	12
Texas	6	8	..	..	8	8
Vermont	3	5	5	5	..	..
Virginia	9	11	..	..	11	11
West Virginia	3	5	..	..	5	5
Wisconsin	8	10	10	10	..	..
Totals	293	369	214	214	155	155

THE CABINET.

Secretary of State.....James G. Blaine, Me.
Secretary of Treasury.....William Windom, Minn.
Secretary of War.....Robert T. Lincoln, Ill.
Secretary of Navy.....W. H. Hunt, La.
Secretary of Interior.....Samuel J. Kirkwood, Iowa.
Attorney-General.....Wayne McVeagh, Pa.
Postmaster-General.....Thomas L. James, N. Y.

* The popular vote was, Garfield, 4,449,053—19 States; Democrat, Hancock, 4,442,035—19 States; Greenback, Weaver, 308,578; Prohibition, 10,305; American, 707; scattering, 989.

POLITICAL SITUATION.—The conservatism of the Hayes' administration, always manifested save on extraordinary occasions, had softened party asperities and allayed sectional feeling. It had given play to two currents within the Republican party, the one conservative, like the administration, the other radical. The new administration had the support of both during the campaign. It therefore opened auspiciously. The inaugural was an able, patriotic paper, in which the President took a high stand on the question of suffrage, education, morals, public faith and civil service reform.

The Senate sitting in extra session confirmed the Cabinet officers, but the minor appointments, especially those for New York State, gave rise to much feeling, which ended in the resignation of the Senators from that State, May 17, 1881. This was the date of a disastrous division in the Republican party which led to the "tidal waves" of opposition in 1882–83. The conservative sentiment of the party strove to purify and popularize the methods of party management. It took the shape of "Independent" revolt in many States. In others it administered quiet rebuke to those it was pleased to designate as "Bosses" by refraining from voting.

THE ASSASSINATION.—The President was shot at the Baltimore and Potomac depot, Washington, on July 2, 1881, at 9.20 A. M., by Charles J. Guiteau, a persistent seeker of political places far beyond his ability to fill, and a maliciously disposed, cowardly semi-idiot, in whom disappointment had stirred natural diabolism to the point of assassination. The President rallied from the effects of the shot, lingered hopefully for a long time, but finally died at Elberon, N. J., at 10.35 P. M., Sept. 19, 1881, amid the tears of a nation and the sympathies of a world.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.—The Cabinet at once telegraphed Vice-President Arthur of the death of President Garfield and suggested that he take the oath of office. He did so at 2.15 A. M., Sept. 20, 1881, at New York city, before Judge Brady; and again at Washington, Sept. 22, at 12 M., before the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

THE CABINET.—He did not reorganize his Cabinet at once, but when the changes were complete it stood as follows:

Secretary of State.....Fred. T. Frelinghuysen, N. J.
Secretary of Treasury.....Charles J. Folger, N. Y.
Secretary of War.....Robert T. Lincoln, Ill., continued.
Secretary of Navy.....William E. Chandler, N. H.
Secretary of Interior.....Henry M. Teller, Col.
Attorney-General.....Benjamin Harris Brewster, Pa.
Postmaster-General.....Timothy O. Howe, Wis.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met December 5, 1881. The Republican party had control of the House, there being Republicans, 150; Democrats, 131; Nationals, 10; Readjusters, 2. The Senate stood Republicans, 37; Democrats, 37; Independent, 1; Readjuster, 1.* The House organized by electing Warren B. Keifer, Ohio, Speaker. A conspicuous measure of this session was the Edmunds Polygamy bill, which was not a party measure, but singularly enough met with only Democratic opposition. It became final March 23, 1882. Its gist was the disfranchisement of those practising polygamy. On May 15, 1882, the bill to create a Tariff Commission was signed. This Commission sat at various places during the summer and fall. The Tariff act of the next session was based on their report. An amended anti-Chinese bill was passed, prohibiting their immigration for a period of twenty years. Questions of banking and refunding took up a great part of the session. It was now an easy matter to place government bonds bearing interest as low as 3 per cent. An immense appropriation was made for River and Harbor purposes. It was vetoed by the President, but was passed over the veto by a vote of 41 to 16 in the Senate, and 122 to 59 in the House, showing that both parties were of the same spirit respecting this question of Internal Improvement. The veto took the ground that this species of legislation, as exemplified by this particular bill, had passed beyond the only warrant to be found for it, viz.: the authority "to provide for the common defence and general welfare," and

* This was Senator Mahone, Va., who stood at the head of a State party called "Readjusters" of the State debt.

had become the means by which money was taken for small streams and purely local improvements, with which the people at large had no concern and through which they could receive no benefit.* Feb. 25, 1882, an apportionment bill passed. It fixed the number of Representatives, under the census of 1870, at 325. Congress adjourned, Aug. 8, 1882.

FORTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS—Second Session.—Met December 4, 1882. This Congress seemed to be a point at which an immense amount of previously prepared and debated work culminated. It was prolific of important and far-reaching measures, many of them political but most of them of general moment. The Tariff Commission had made its report and both Houses had it under discussion. The outcrop was the Tariff Act of March 3, 1883, which lowered duties on most of the leading imports, but whose main feature was to equalize rates and abolish the incongruities of existing Tariff laws. It cannot be said that the act was a success in this respect. Interests to be consulted were so conflicting that it was impossible to avoid crudities and hardships. Demand for lighter duties on raw materials made by manufacturing sections worked to the injury of producing sections, and *vice versa*. The act was in the nature of a compromise. It served to show, however, that the entire country had come to regard this class of legislation as vital. The act went into operation as to sugar and molasses on the 1st of June, 1883; as to its other provisions on the 1st of July, 1883.

The Civil Service Reform Bill passed at this session. It was introduced in the Senate by Geo. H. Pendleton, Democrat, of Ohio, and authorized a commission to devise a plan of civil service and put it in operation. Though this bill was introduced by a Democrat and ably sustained by him, the Democrats were its active opponents. Its final passage in both Houses was by

* The rapid growth of this class of appropriations after they began to receive the favor of both parties appears thus: 1870, $3,975,900; 1875, $6,648,517; 1880, $8,976,500; 1881, $11,451,000; 1882, $18,743,875, the amount in vetoed bill. Since the beginning of the government there has been expended in the respective States for river and harbor improvements the total sum of $108,796,401.

an almost solid Republican vote against an almost solid Democratic opposition.*

An act of March 3, 1883, reduced letter postage to two cents for each half ounce and authorized a Postal note whose value should not exceed five dollars. Large reductions were made in Internal taxes. Congress adjourned *sine die*, March 3, 1883.

FORTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS—First Session.—Met December 3, 1883. The political "tidal wave" of 1882, partially repeated in 1883, had been very disastrous to the Republican party. They lost governors and legislators in many of their strongest States, and the National House of Representatives was Democratic. The Senate stood, Republicans, 40, to Democrats, 36. The House was composed of Democrats, 195; Republicans, 126; Independent, 1; vacancies, 3. Much interest was felt in the election of a Speaker. The Democrats, as a party, seemed to be composed of two wings, one in favor of quiet respecting existing Tariff legislation, the other in favor of reduced duties. Mr. Carlisle, Ky., exponent of the latter idea, became Speaker.

The President's message recommended closer commercial and political relations with Mexico; an extension of our trade interests to South America and to the new Congo country; called attention to the national surplus of $132,874,444.21, and recommended reduced tariff and internal taxation, with a partial appropriation of the surplus to the building of a navy; advised the redemption and recoinage of the trade dollars; a settlement of the Mormon question by repeal of the Territorial act and establishment of a government through a Commission; reduction of postal rates in cities to one cent for every half ounce; provisions for Inter-State traffic or commerce; new legislation respecting civil rights under the Fourteenth Amendment. The country regarded the paper as plain, practical, business-like and assuring.

* Politicians attribute the defeat of Senator Pendleton for re-election to the Senate by the Democratic Legislature of Ohio, in January, 1884, to his advocacy of this bill.

PART III.
LIVING QUESTIONS.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

ITS NATURE.—The Civil Service properly embraces all officials, outside of the army and navy, engaged in administering a government, National or State.

In our government a part of these officials are elected by the people, as the President and members of Congress. Senators are elective, but by Legislatures. So in the States, Governors and various State officers are elective. Whatever their importance, their number is smaller than the appointive officials. Whether elective or appointive, all these officials go to make up the civil service; that is, they carry on the civil administration.

But elective officials are responsible directly to the people. They do not constitute a part of the civil service in its narrower sense. In this narrower sense the civil service embraces only the appointive officials. But before we reach that part of the civil service which is now the object of reform, we must still further narrow it to those officials who are appointive and whose duties are subordinate to the heads of the various departments in which they serve. The heads of all important departments, and especially those ranking as Cabinet officers, are so closely identified with the elective officials, and their function has still so much of a political caste that they are not yet regarded as within the scope of statutory civil service reform, though they may be if the reform is ever carried to completion.

The theory of civil administration which prevailed in all the feudal countries of Europe was that office, from king to lowest retainer, was a right and a property. It was, therefore, used in a selfish, arbitrary way, not to advance the welfare of the State or citizen, but in the interest of the official and his party. All office became a source of corruption, tyranny and positive danger. This, more than anything else, was what broke the back of feudalism. The battle carried on for centuries between the people and titled officials was really a battle for reform in the administration of civil affairs. The death of feudalism meant the substitution of a new for the old doctrine respecting office and officials. Office was no longer a right nor its possessor a despotic owner. It was a trust, and its possessor a trustee for the people. The change was not immediate, but civil administration came to mean something vastly different from before. It was no longer a system for the perpetuation of party or men in power, nor for the subjugation of sentiment to their uses. The civil service was not a machine organized for personal and ambitious ends, but an agency for conducting the business of the State or people on honest and economic principles. All this in theory at least.

Ever regarding the problem of civil administration with anxiety, and ever wishing to profit by the wisest experience and best examples of the old world, our early statesmen held with the utmost tenacity to the doctrine that office was a trust, sacred in proportion to its dignity and responsibility, whose administration in order to be effective must be wholly in the interest of the entire people, and into which there should creep as little of the selfishness and personalism of the holder or the ambitions of his party as possible. This doctrine characterized, if it did not dominate, all civil administration prior to the formation of the Constitution. After that it was conspicuous in every national administration up to that of President Jackson. Without much drift toward the opposite, with, as it were, a skip and a bound over all precedent, there was then a sudden return to the exploded doctrine of feudal times. With a simple wave of his presidential wand Jackson called up out of the recesses of a

hoary past what became, in its newly vitalized form, the dogma that "to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy." It was as if civic administration had been thrown back four hundred years by some giant of retrogression. It was the incorporation of a principle into modern civil procedure, which crowned king and titled retainer had used for a thousand years to perpetuate war-like power at the expense of the people's manhood and ability, of all political progress, and even of liberty itself. It was strange that such a thing could happen at a time so remote from the feudal ages, and amid institutions which had grown out of opposition to feudal practices. It was stranger still that it should find ready acceptance by politicians and all political classes, and become so popular as to require years of organized reform to check and banish it.*

The practical application of the Jacksonian doctrine resulted in the removal of all civil service officials and the substitution of those who professed a politics in accord with the Administration. He justified his action by the charge that he found himself surrounded by political enemies, and by the claim that he had a right to be surrounded only by political friends if a perfect administration of civic affairs were expected. What political opinion had to do with mere clerical or administrative ability; why he chose to regard personal or party allegiance as preferable to supreme allegiance to the government; whether subserviency of mind or conviction was a guarantee of business qualification and pure civil methods; these were questions he did not ask, or if so, did not answer.

Administration has followed administration in recognizing the right to make a clean sweep of civil service officials. Every head of a department feels that it is incumbent on him to cast his eye along the civil service lines and spy out hostile heads for

* "From that hour (Jackson's administration) this maxim has remained an inviolable principle of American politicians, and it is owing only to the astonishing vitality of the people of the United States and to the altogether unsurpassed and unsurpassable favor of their natural conditions that the State has not succumbed under the onerous burdens of the curse."—*Von Holst's Constitutional History of the United States.*

the political guillotine. A change is expected with every administration, and failure to make it is not only a disappointment but a source of unpopularity. If such change were made in order to secure greater official merit, it would be desirable at all times. But there is no such plea, nor any test to insure it. On the contrary, the popular plea is now justification by precedent and reliance on the feudal dogma, "to the victor belong the spoils." And as to test, it is, what has he done? what can he do, for the party or the patron? The entire civil service is a farming ground for political leaders and their lieutenants. Promises of place are the incentives for prior political exertion; places themselves the rewards of such exertion, if success ensue. Thus there is always an army of aspirants for civil places who have no merit except ability to manipulate a ward or district in the interest of a prospective patron. They become henchmen rather than competent, trustworthy officials, and rely for their places more on allegiance to men than on the honesty and capacity which alone could sustain them in business circles.

The effect of a system like this—called by some the "system of rotation," by others the "spoils system"—cannot but be dangerous in the end to all purity, economy and efficiency in civil administration. It finds no countenance in any business, nor in any place outside of the civil service of the country. It tends directly to the destruction of confidence in the method of popular government through and by means of parties, whose real will it as often thwarts as carries out. It gives rise to closely corporate and mercenary political classes, to cliques and juntas of stipendiaries; to despotic machines which run away with higher party instincts and pervert the sober judgments of the people. Popular election fails to be a faithful registry of studied sentiment and abiding conviction, but is a record simply of the desires of a scheming and ambitious few, at odds, as like as not, with every interest except their own. And these demoralizing effects are not limited to civic administration of National affairs. They are felt in all the States, in all the larger cities, in fact, wherever civic officials are sufficiently numerous, and civic affairs sufficiently intricate, to pass beyond the direct scrutiny and knowledge of the individual voter.

It is the province of Civil Service Reform to overcome these dangerous tendencies and break up this demoralizing system by substituting the principles of civic administration which prevailed in the early days of the Republic, and so embalming them in the forms of law and practice as to make it impossible for President, Governor or any elective official to set them aside at his pleasure. Since the subject of this reform has been broached, it has grown in proportion to its importance, and has already taken the substantial form of experimental law in the National and some of the State governments, upon which law has been based an intelligent civil service procedure, destined to secure appointive civic officials without regard to their political opinions, but with regard solely to their merits, and to give them a tenure and term of office based on manhood and administrative excellence.

HISTORY ABROAD.—A fuller understanding of the subject of Civil Service Reform may be had by brief reference to its history, especially in Great Britain, whose civil service is the largest in the world, has engaged most profoundly the attention of her statesmen, and has taken the most perfect reformatory shapes. During the feudal periods in England and every other European country, power over the civil service, which was equivalent to the King's service, was arbitrary. Neither character, capacity, economy, justice, duty, nor responsibility of any kind was recognized by the ruler, if demanded by the subject, in connection with civil appointments and removals. King and chieftain held universal, unchallenged, despotic control over all subordinates, and regarded them and their places as appendages and perquisites of their own paramount authority.

Against this came early revolt. *Magna Charta*, to which we trace many of the principles of our Constitution, contained the first civil service rule in English history. King John was made to promise that he "would not make any justices, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, but of such as know the law of the realm and mean to truly observe it." Not a State in our Union insists on a similar qualification for its magistrates. As soon as the rebellion which forced *Magna Charta* from John died away, this high

qualification for then important offices was neglected and scorned, and the old abuses were renewed. Office again became a perquisite and justice a farce. What the King and the favored officials chose to barter became authority, whose merchandise vitiated and benumbed the moral sense of the nation till reform was ten times harder than before. Not only in matters of State were offices dealt out to servile holders, but church offices were sold to the highest bidder, or disposed of so as best to secure favorites or placate enemies. This venality, running along for centuries, and over times when the moral sense was not active, begat a public opinion which looked upon it as inevitable. It was so in France, in Germany, and wherever feudalism had left its impressions. Besides, those who sanctioned this corruption were the ruling caste, the high-born, the titled, the educated, Kings, nobles, priests, lawyers. If ever reform was to come it must be looked for from sources far below these. The people themselves must move. It must be a battle of the masses against the privileged few, and the cause one of equal rights and personal merit against the arrogant and narrowing assumptions of political officials.

This spoils system, nurtured in despotism, injustice, and even violence, gave rise to a second rebellion in 1377. It was the Wat Tyler rebellion. A third followed in the fifteenth century, known as the Jack Cade rebellion. Both were protests against official and partisan tyranny; both attempts to secure civil service reform. They did but scatter a little wider the seeds of wholesome public sentiment. In all else they were failures. Plantagenet and Tudor adhered to their arbitrary disposition of offices, though in the face of a people whose fears of feudal practices were gradually growing less. Yet power felt the weakness of its position, for amid the religious furore from Henry VIII. to James II., it bolstered itself with the dogma of the "divine right of kings," and James I. announced, "As it is atheism and blasphemy in a creature to dispute what the Deity may do, so it is presumption and sedition in a subject to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power." During his reign official corruption became more shameless than ever before.

Popular intelligence was growing apace. Pym, Elliot, Hampden and Puritanism were possible. So was Cromwell, the latter not a mere administrative reformer, but an impersonation of a new spirit in both religion and politics. He stood for the people, as against rank, privilege and the entire spoils system. He disrupted, overthrew, abolished, purified, in the name of economy, merit and reform. It was a magnificent outburst of the people's power, and a mighty lesson in political history. Cromwell did not fail in the means to precipitate revolution, but when it came to perpetuating it, not unmixed with his own personalism, he resorted to the official tests against which his whole movement was a protest. His death was the rapid decline of the revolution. He reformed a wicked and daring system only in part. But he left an army of bold thinkers on political questions, and the system he struck at was never to regain its old prestige.

The Bill of Rights which settled William Prince of Orange on the throne (1688) was very nearly a set of Civil Service Rules. It saved the judiciary, even down to the magistrates, from all political interference, and greatly modified patronage in every department of civic administration. A few of the higher officials whose intimacy with the king was unquestioned and whose advice and confidence he ought to have, were still to be his own appointees. These became his especial ministers, and the body together his Cabinet. Thus the old Privy Council was superseded, and the new body became that upon which our own Cabinet is modelled. Henceforth in England the personalism of power was lost, and the politics of the realm was vested in parties of the people. Would they prove any purer and better than kings, nobles, and the central juntas? Not a whit. Parties in Parliament resorted to the same old means of securing and retaining power. Partisan appointments to office, illegal use of patronage, the raising up of an army of political adherents by distribution of spoils, these were to be sources of corruption and disgrace for a hundred and fifty years more. The only difference was they were more visible, and parties could be more readily rebuked. The people had, or could

have, temporary redress. Parliament and parties could not be so effectively tyrannical and dangerous, such complete robbers of rights, as kings and privileged classes had been.

The old reform battles between the people and the privileged classes were therefore to be renewed between the people and the Parliaments. Manfully was the struggle carried on. The fall of Lord North and the Independence of America mark its culminating point. After that, from 1800 to 1853, the monopoly of patronage in the Parliament witnessed a decline. Reform statutes began to crowd the books. Notions of civil administration on a business basis took deep hold. The people held mass meetings and demanded economic service and their right to recognition on the ground of merit. Public opinion in favor of mental and moral tests of fitness for civil places grew rapidly, and the political leaders were forced to bow to it. The English civil service was then the largest in the world, the East Indian branch alone requiring an army of officials. In 1853 the efforts of reform were crowned with success by the opening of the civil service to free competition, and the acceptance of all minor officials on the basis of merit established by actual examination. A permanent Civil Service Commission was established, whose business was to complete the reform. The work has gone on from reform to reform, ever since. Official monopoly of nomination has been broken up. Report after report has been made by the commission in proof of the signal superiority of the new over the old service. The political atmosphere is purer everywhere. The young of all classes are stimulated to qualify for examination. Certainty of civil position, without a barter of manhood, sale of principle, or promise of subserviency, renders place desirable and honorable. Then after the holder is worn out with labor, or bowed with years, he is taken care of by the government he has faithfully served. There is no leading English statesman to-day who does not testify to the value of this great reform. It is permanently incorporated on the civic administration and for its great purity and elevation. Says Sir Charles Trevelyan, "You cannot lay too much stress on the fact that the making of public appointments by open competi-

tion has been accepted by all our political parties, and there is no sign of any movement against it from any quarter."

HISTORY AT HOME.—The first Congress had under consideration the subject of civil service. It refused to limit the term of civic offices, for the reason that the power of executive removal rendered such a limitation unnecessary. This was clearly in accord with the constitutional intention, for that instrument when it fixes a term and tenure for non-elective officials—judges for instance—extends it over a period of efficiency and good behavior. Judgment as to a like period for subordinate civic officials was left with the President. They were appointive for public considerations—not private—and for such term as they proved adequate to the discharge of duty properly and satisfactorily.

As to the higher offices—cabinet offices and those intimately advisory—Washington said, "I shall not, while I have the honor to administer the government, bring a man into any office of consequence, knowingly, whose political tenets are adverse to the measures which the general government is pursuing, for this in my opinion would be a sort of political suicide." The Republican Jefferson and Federalist Bayard both reiterated this doctrine in 1800, and took care to exclude from it all subordinate ministerial officials. Woolsey in his Political Science says, "When the Democratic (Republican) party came into power with Mr. Jefferson, the removals were so few that single cases excited a sense of wrong through a whole State." John C. Calhoun, in his speech in the Senate (1835) on Jackson's removals, said, "Then (Jefferson's administration) the dismissal of a few inconsiderable officers, on party grounds as was supposed, was followed by a general burst of indignation; but now the dismissal of thousands, when it is openly avowed that the public offices are the spoils of the victors, produces scarcely a sensation." Buchanan said in the Senate (1839), "I should not become an inquisitor of the political opinions of the subordinate office-holders who are receiving salaries of some $800 or $1,000 a year."

When the subject was up in the First Congress (1789) Madi-

son laid down the principles which were generally accepted by his contemporaries and uniformly enforced till 1820. They were to the effect that the power and duty of making removals were equally vested in the President alone, with an authority on the part of the House of Representatives to impeach him if he should either allow an unworthy officer to continue in place or wantonly remove a meritorious officer. Fidelity and efficiency were the measure of tenure, as character and capacity were the tests of appointments. There was no fixed term and apparently no need of any. Washington made only nine removals, and all for cause. John Adams made only nine removals, and none, so far as is known, for political reasons.

Jefferson confronted a situation somewhat novel. There had been a political revolution. He saw, or chose to see, something obnoxious in a few of Adams' appointees, and so removed several, among whom was the collector of New Haven. The fact that his successor was old and inefficient drew a remonstrance from the citizens, and this a reply from Jefferson, in which he said, "Is it political intolerance to claim a proportionate share in the direction of public affairs? If a due participation of office is a matter of right, how are vacancies to be obtained? Those by death are few, by resignation none. I proceed in the operation with deliberation and inquiry that I may injure the best men least, and effect the purposes of justice and public utility with the least private distress, that it may be thrown as much as possible on delinquency, oppression, intolerance, and ante-revolutionary adherence to our enemies." Then lamenting the fact that he found none of his party friends in office, he proceeds, "I shall correct the procedure, but that done, return with joy to that state of things when the only question concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?" This is worthy of notice as the first announcement by a President of a civil service method to be applied to subordinate officials. It has been variously construed, some choosing to see in it the enunciation of a principle which in Jackson's time became the cry of "to the victor belong the spoils," others the doctrine that only honesty, capacity

and patriotic fidelity should prevail in determining appointments and removals, perhaps obscured a little by impatience over the slowness of time to made desirable vacancies. He made only thirty-nine removals, and none of them, as he declared, for political reasons.

Madison made only five removals; Monroe only nine; John Q. Adams only two; and all these for cause. Of course defalcations and inefficiency in office were not wholly unknown, but, in general, civic administration was able, pure and respectful. No other government had then reached so high a plane of fairness in dealing with those who served it, nor exhibited greater regard for character and fitness in its subordinate employés.

It seems almost impossible that this early system, so fully agreed upon by statesmen and parties, so strongly entrenched in our institutions, so supported by custom and practice, should shake and crumble. Let it be said with pride that the national government, however responsible for its downfall later on, was not at first to blame. The blight of the spoils system spread to it from the States, and notably from New York. That State had gained unenviable fame in the political contests of 1808, in which Van Buren traded his services to Tompkins for a judgeship. The Clintonian school was equally reckless. The judiciary was dragged down into the mire of politics. Before 1830 no State judge had ever gained office by popular vote. After that the infection spread, and now the judges of twenty-four States are selected at the polls for short terms, though the average term has gradually lengthened during later years and under the influence of a reaction which was inevitable.

Profiting by the power which judicious use of patronage bestowed, Burr completed the system of political spoils in New York by requiring short terms of office, strict partisan tests, and servile obedience to leaders on the part of all officials. Even Clinton winced under the organized interference of Federal officials with the politics of the State. Civic affairs there were characterized by the most desperate and unscrupulous management. The new system was not without fascination for

the ambitious. It never has been. Even Jackson, during his early aspirations for the Presidency, said, "I am no politician, but if I were, I would be a New York politician." All this was before 1820.

In that year the infection of the New York system passed from the States to the Federal government. A law was enacted which was credited to the joint ingenuity of Crawford and Van Buren, both aspirants for the Presidency, and which was clearly designed to open political patronage to ambitious and personal uses. It was the first law which fixed a term for minor civil offices. Changing their constitutional or customary tenure, it gave to district attorneys, collectors, naval officers, surveyors, paymasters and several other officers of like or lesser grade a term of four years. It declared the commissions of all officers dated Sept. 30, 1814, vacant on the same date of September, 1820. Thus by retroactive legislation a full line of vacancies was secured on the very eve of a Presidential election. The act further provided that all these officers should subsequently be removable at pleasure. This was rotation for the mere sake of rotation, and further it was decided revolution, so far as all precedent and all constitutional construction went. Such an act must have been impossible, but for the fact that there were no party lines at the time, and only a set of political factions or cliques, each with aspiring leaders, and each leader anxious to circumvent the other. A marvellous accompaniment of the bill was that there never was any previous thought of its introduction, no allegation of civic wrong-doing which it was to correct, no charge that the President could not or would not remove unworthy officials, not a word of debate over it, not a record of votes made on its passage. It moved through both Houses with the stealth of a serpent, and brought a civic revolution as disastrous as it was degrading. Calhoun on hearing of its passage declared it "one of the most dangerous bills ever passed, and that it would work a revolution." Jefferson wrote to Madison in November, 1820, condemning the act as introducing fatal intrigue and corruption. Madison replied that the law was certainly pregnant with mischiefs, and that if the error be not at

once corrected, relief will be difficult, for it is of a nature to take deep root. John Quincy Adams, President Monroe's Secretary of State, gave it out that the President signed the bill unwarily and without perceiving its real character, and that in spite of it he adhered to the only just and constitutional practice of renominating every officer at the expiration of his commission unless some official delinquency or unfitness was proved. He further said, "if the principle of the statute is sound, Congress may limit the term of appointments to a single year, to a week or a day, and so annihilate the executive power."

Six years after its passage (1826) an effort was made to repeal it, but the spoils system had gotten a hold and was gaining cankerous headway in the body politic. The act was clearly emboldening the spirit which gave it birth. Van Buren, who ranked as the greatest party manipulator of his time, did not hesitate to show to what uses it could be put. More cautious men still continued to deprecate party tests for office. Even Jackson, as late as 1824, in a letter to Monroe, declined to favor such tests.

By 1828 Jackson, then President, was a thorough convert to Van Buren's idea and to the spoils system. So full of the spirit of that system was he, that his administration was signalized by the removal of twenty times more officials, for partisan purposes, than all who had been removed for any cause since the foundation of the government. Nor was he even yet satisfied. Thirsty for other vacancies, he recommended in his first message, "a general extension of the law which limits appointments to four years." Even his most admiring followers shrank from his suggestion. That message further declared "rotation a leading principle in the Republican (Democratic) creed." Three years later (1832) Senator Marcy, in the Senate, and in answer to Clay's taunt that the New York system was fully abroad in the national government, entered upon its defense, and used these memorable words: "When they (the New York politicians) are contending for victory, they avow the intention of enjoying the fruits of it. If they are defeated, they expect to retire from office. If they are

successful, they claim as a matter of right the advantage of success. *They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victor belong the spoils of the enemy.*"

This language seems to have set the seal of political approval on the new revolutionary and degrading system of official spoils. It was the end of the great leap which civic administration had taken backward into the feudal ages. The system at full play meant, no tenure for more than four years; office and salaries the spoils of party warfare; removals at pleasure; rotation in order to give office to as many personal or party followers as possible; appointments and removals for political reasons; official duty to mean servility to partisan leadership and willingness to work for the party. Political assessments were of later growth, but a natural outcrop of the ingenious, tyrannical and iniquitous system. Such was the origin and spirit of the spoils system.

On account of its "great and alarming strides," Calhoun again (1835) moved the repeal of the four years' law. The debate was memorable. Webster and Calhoun were arrayed against Madison, as to the dangerous enlargement of official power, but they agreed in condemning the act of 1820. Webster was "for staying the further contagion of this plague. Men in office have begun to think themselves mere agents and servants of the appointing power." White, a supporter of Jackson, declared that "under the present state of things, society will become demoralized, the business of office-seeking will become a science, office-hunters will come on with one pocket full of bad characters, with which to turn out incumbents, and the other full of good characters, with which to provide for constituents." Calhoun said, "that the most certain road to honor and fortune is servility and flattery." Southard declared that the act of 1820 "had tended to make office-holders servile supplicants, destitute of independence of character and of manly feeling." Benton said, "the act had become the means of getting rid of faithful officers, and the expiration of a four years' term came to be considered as the vacation of all officers on whom it fell." The bill for repeal passed the Senate by a vote of 31 to 16, but that was the end of it.

There has been no later attempt to wipe out this four years' law. The Whigs, on their accession to power in 1840, might have been expected to correct a system they had ridiculed, opposed and despised. But they adopted it, and from that time on it grew apace until it finally came to be regarded as indispensable to party success and government. The sons seemed not to be alarmed at the dangers which the fathers had apprehended from an extended and corrupt official patronage. It remained for the grandsons, in view of a vastly extended country and a mighty swelling of official numbers, in view of greater tyranny on the part of masters and greater dependence on the part of subordinates, to strike an effective blow for manhood tenure, merit term, non-partisan place, and only patriotic fealty. The anti-feudal doctrine is that public office is a solemn trust, whose most important condition is to choose the best possible men for the different places. And this has found sanction in our highest judicial tribunal, whose language is, "The theory of our government is that all public stations are trusts, and that those clothed with them are to be animated in the discharge of their duties solely by considerations of right, justice, and the public good." *

THE FIRST REFORM.—We have seen that by 1853 civic appointments in England were based on competitive tests made through open examination. In that year a law was passed by our Congress dividing the Clerks of the Treasury, War, Navy, Interior, and Post-office Departments into classes, and declaring that "no clerk shall be appointed until found qualified by a board of three examiners." In 1855 the act was extended to the State Department. This was known as the "pass examination." It was not necessarily open nor at all competitive. In practice, it was no examination at all. We speedily fell away from the policy which the law was designed to establish, and were soon as much at sea as before.

THE SECOND REFORM. In 1868 Mr. Jenckes, chairman of the Joint Select Committee on Retrenchment, presented in his report a mass of information bearing on the workings of the reformed civil service in England. His speeches on the subject

* Trist *vs.* Child, 21 Wallace R. 450.

arrested the attention of Congress and led to much newspaper discussion. His efforts were crowned by the act of 1871 authorizing inquiry into our civil service. President Grant appointed a commission for the purpose. A set of rules governing future subordinate appointments were proposed by the Commission and accepted by the President. They were to take effect Jan. 1, 1872.

Meanwhile interesting history was being made in the New York Custom House. To anticipate it a little, it had been found that from 1858 to 1861 the Democratic Collector had removed 389 out of 690 appointees. Subsequently, in three years, a Republican Collector removed 830 out of 903, and another, in sixteen months, had removed 510 out of 892. Every removal involved a long and demoralizing struggle for place. The feeling that any day might be his last in civic service, and that merit could count as nothing against political favor or intrigue toward securing retention or insuring promotion, repelled the most worthy and correspondingly destroyed the manhood and reduced the efficiency of those who were successful. The same results were manifest in the Post-office, and they were visible in all the large cities containing elaborate Federal offices. Governor Cornell declared that one-third of the officials of New York could be mustered out with advantage to the public. The late President Garfield said, in Congress, that under a judicious civil service the government could be carried on at one-half its usual cost. President Arthur became Collector in 1871. He was soon convinced that a stable tenure was absolutely essential to a reform of the customs administration. In five years he removed only 144 officials, and certified to the Secretary of the Treasury, Nov. 23, 1877, that "Permanency in office, which, of course, prevents removal except for cause, and secures promotion based upon good conduct and efficiency, is an essential element of correct civil service," a conviction he reiterated in his letter of acceptance as Vice-President, in which he says: "The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should, so far as practicable, be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers."

The system proposed by the Grant Commission was based on merit, to be ascertained, in a limited way, by competitive examination. It was not received warmly in official circles, though it had the President's endorsement. It was therefore placed at a great disadvantage, though its good effects were clearly apparent. In 1874 the Commission made a report which showed that, as far as tried, the system had secured for the service persons of superior capacity and character, and had tended to exclude unworthy applicants; that officials were more ambitious to acquire information; that unreasonable solicitation, on the part of applicants and their friends, of the heads of departments had diminished; that unworthy persons could be more readily dismissed, that intriguing pressure for place was less noticeable. The President concurred with the Commission's report, and sent a special message to Congress asking for $25,000 with which to continue the work, which met with refusal.

That this did not arrest the reform sentiment was shown by the fact that it exerted a greater influence in the next Presidential election than ever before. The platforms of the leading parties distinctly announced the doctrine that office was a public trust and should be administered only with a view to economy and the highest good, and without reference to partisanship and spoils In his inaugural President Hayes said: "I ask the attention of the public to the paramount necessity of reform in the Civil Service . . . a reform that shall be radical, thorough and complete—a return to the principles of the founders of the government." Though no general and uniform system of determining minor appointments was adopted during his administration, it witnessed, as he was forced along by a growing public sentiment, an abatement of the abuse of Congressional dictation of nominations, the overthrow to a great extent of the custom of Senatorial control of State patronage, prohibition of political assessments, and prevention of interference in caucusses and conventions by Federal office-holders. His administration also witnessed the special application of the merit system, and the tests provided by competitive examination, to applicants for place in the New York Custom House and Post-office, by which

means removals among subordinates for political reasons have well-nigh ceased, and a much higher, purer and abler service has been secured.

The Republican platform of 1880 contained a square acceptance of the radical civil service reform announced in President Hayes' inaugural. The Democratic platform declared for "a general and thorough reform of the civil service." President Garfield reiterated the sentiments of his predecessor, but the Congress was very perverse. The elections of 1881 and 1882 were reminders that there was a sentiment abroad which would not longer tolerate existing political methods. There were pending in Congress several bills all looking to civil service reform, the most conspicuous of which was that in the Senate, introduced by Senator Pendleton, of Ohio. On Dec. 4, 1882, President Arthur sent in a message urging the passage of this bill, or some other equally effective. On Jan. 16, 1883, it became a law by a large majority of the Congress, and went into effect July 16, 1883. Since its passage the Legislatures of several of the States have had under discussion a similar enactment, and one or two have passed laws looking to reform in their civil service.

THE PENDLETON LAW.—The act creates a commission, composed of three members, appointed by the President and Senate, to be known as the United States Civil Service Commission. They are to provide rules for open competitive examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for the public service. Their duties are fully laid down in the act, which also prohibits all political assessments, and provides for the apportionment of officials among the States in proportion to their population.

The Commission was duly appointed and published a set of rules in time to put the law in operation, July 16, 1883. They divide the subordinate Civil Service of the country into three classes, excluding, of course, laborers and workmen, to wit: the Department Service at Washington, the Customs Service, the Postal Service. This division is not made, nor do the rules apply to cities or places, where the officials of any of the last

two classes do not number fifty. Examining boards are created at certain places, mostly in the large cities, before whom candidates for place must appear for examination. By addressing these Boards, or the Commission at Washington, any applicant can find out the conditions on which he will be permitted to enter the contest and the manner of conducting the same. The examination embraces spelling, penmanship, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history and the principles of our government. The candidates are graded. All falling below an average of sixty-five for all the subjects fail. All securing an average of sixty-five or over are booked with the Commission for appointment. When a clerk is wanted in any place to which the law applies, the names of the four highest on the list are sent to the chief official, who selects one. And so with other vacancies. Examinations are held once a year, or oftener if necessary. The clerk accepted or selected is a probationer for six months. If then acceptable his appointment becomes complete. Promotions are provided for. There is no inquiry into the politics or religion of the applicant, but he must give certified assurance of his moral and physical character.

Though the system thus devised is new and somewhat crude it promises to develop into substantial reform. The Commission have made one report on its results, which is altogether favorable. It cannot be doubted that the reform has a substantial hold on the higher sentiment of the country and a secure lodgment in the better judgment of political parties. That it will go on in this country, as in England, till it becomes a substitute for a system both heartless and rotten is the conviction of its originators and friends. What monarchy ripened without example and against caste, a Republic should perfect beneath the rays of experience and amid the encouragement of a pronounced sentiment.

ARGUMENTS FOR.—Observe, the reform thus started does not bear on elective officials, nor on Cabinet officers, nor yet on a long line of minor appointees who may be called heads of the sub or smaller departments both at Washington and throughout the country. All these are as yet recognized as belonging to

the political side of civic administration. The reform is not so far on as to attempt to say where the line of separation shall be drawn between purely civil and purely political administration. Nor does the reform go to the bottom of the Civil Service. Where, say a Collector of Customs or a Postmaster has only a few clerks he is supposed to know sufficiently about the ability of each to judge of their fitness. The reform only begins when the clerks number fifty, and it applies to the great intermediate body of clerical employés or minor civic officials. Bearing these facts in mind, and remembering what room there is yet for the extension of the reform system, the arguments relied on by its friends are: (1) Public office is a trust to be managed on business and not on political principles. (2) It is the right of the people to have the worthiest citizens in the public service for the general welfare. (3) Personal merit is the highest claim upon office. (4) Party government and the salutary effect of party activity are purer and more efficient under a merit system of office. (5) A partisan system of appointments and removals enfeebles and debases government by parties. (6) Patronage in the hands of legislators usurps the executive function and increases the expense of administration. (7) Non-partisan and actual fitness for public place can only be ascertained by competent examination. (8) Competitive examination ends partisan coercion and official favoritism, and, as has been proved, gives the best public servants. (9) Such methods leave to parties their true function and use. (10) The new system has raised the ambition and increased the self-respect of civic officials. (11) Open competition is as fatal to bureauocracy as it is to patronage, nepotism and spoils. (12) The merit system raises the character of the entire subordinate service, tends to economic administration, invigorates patriotism, heightens the standard of statesmanship and causes political leaders to look for support to better sentiments and a higher intelligence. (13) It is a standing rebuke to imbecility and indolence. (14) It is a return to the constitutional methods of the early Presidents and statesmen. (15) It is as practical in a Republic as under any other form of government. (16) Elections would turn only on questions of

pure men and pure measures, and not on the ability of politicians to secure places for themselves or their friends.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST.—(1) Party ascendency would be jeopardized if public patronage were not turned to its account. (2) Party success at the polls means preference for its men and measures, which carries by implication the right to partisan distribution of the spoils. (3) Administration can only do the will of the majority effectively through its political friends. (4) A line cannot be drawn between purely civic and purely political administration. (5) Patronage is an inducement for parties to exist and continue in active work. (6) The holder of political place should contribute to keeping his place. (7) Political activity is proper, and there is always a necessity for men trained in politics and political methods, who cannot be had if the inducement of patronage is removed. (8) Civil Service tends to bureauocracy; that is, to a class of officials who would grow indifferent and insolent if their places were permanent.

POLYGAMY.

POLYGAMY presents an intricate problem. There is almost a solid moral and political sentiment against it, but the problem is of such a nature as to escape this and still avoid solution. The truth is there is yet a great deal to be learned about it. After one dwells upon it long enough to begin to see that it has ingenious, if not plausible, religious support, his wits are taxed to the uttermost to know whether a direct and heroic remedy is easy or possible. It is or is not polygamy; that is, it is or is not a crime amenable to law and removable by statute, just as it is or is not an essential part of a religion—Mormonism. The moment it chooses to sit under the panoply of Mormonism, or use it for an ægis, it boldly claims the exemption from interference accorded to other religions under Article I. of the Amendments to the Constitution, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

HISTORY OF MORMONISM.—According to Mormon belief, the Lord appeared to Joseph Smith, then fourteen, at Manchester, New York, in 1820. Seven years later an angel delivered to him certain metal plates on which were engraved in Egyptian characters the Book of Mormon. Two transparent stones were with the plates, by whose help Smith translated the characters into English. The book professed to be an inspired record of God's dealings with the ancient inhabitants of America. Its style is that of the Old Testament Chronicles. In 1829, John the Baptist, and, shortly after, Peter, James and John appeared to Smith and a follower, Oliver Cawdrey, and consecrated them to the priesthoods of Aaron and Melchizedek. The church was

first organized at Seneca, N. Y., 1830. The next year the church was removed to Missouri. They called themselves Latter-Day Saints. Driven from place to place in Missouri, they were finally expelled from the State in 1838, and took refuge in Illinois, where they founded the town of Commerce. Here also they were the frequent victims of mob violence, and their town of Nauvoo was raided, resulting in the killing of Smith and his brother. Brigham Young, Smith's successor as Prophet, resolved to lead the community, which all the while throve amid persecution, into a new Canaan west of the great desert and in the recesses of the Rocky Mountains. In 1846 the Mormon migrants were at Council Bluff, where in compliance with a call of the Federal government they sent a battalion of 500 men to the Mexican war. In the spring of 1847, Young with 143 converts started for the new Canaan, to be followed later by a train of 700 wagons and the main body of pioneers. The journey of 1,000 miles, through a country as little known and as hostile as the Arabian desert was to the Jews under Moses, was made with success. They pitched their camp at the mouth of the cañon where Salt Lake City now stands. The new Canaan was anything but a land of promise. Lieutenant Sherman with a band of surveyors nearly perished on the shores of Salt Lake in 1850 for want of water. The Latter Day Saints were, in their imagination, the Israelites of old. They had fled from Egyptian persecution, crossed a trackless desert, met with miraculous preservations. In their Canaan, to the south, was Lake Utah, their Sea of Galilee. Flowing north was their Jordan, which emptied into the Great Salt Lake, their Dead Sea. The site selected for their new Zion was Jerusalem surrounded by mountains. The Indians were Philistines. They were hardy, industrious, frugal and enthusiastic. Cut off from outward food supply, they planted for themselves and fed rather than fought the Indians. They built, redeemed the soil by irrigation, and throve.

By 1857 they were a little independent State, though within a Territory organized as early as 1850. False knowledge of the situation drew the ire of the Federal government. An army

was sent out to crush them or compel allegiance to the central sovereignty. This monumental junketing tour was a farce. The Mormons were not the enemies they were supposed to be. The troops found nobody to fight. The money, arms and provisions they introduced helped to advance the struggling colony. Their coming was regarded by the Mormons as a providence.

The opening of the Union Pacific Railway in 1870 connected Utah with the outside world. Since then the Mormon country has rapidly developed. Brigham Young died in 1877, and the community lost the prophet, priest and president under whose rule Salt Lake Valley had been transformed from a desolate, uninhabited wilderness to a richly cultivated and fertile land, the home of a prosperous, contented people numbering over 100,000 souls.

THEIR CONDITION.—In settling the question of polygamy or even in entertaining opinion respecting it, care must be taken to disabuse our minds of the thought that Mormons are outcasts or heathens. The census shows that they have long since reached the respectability which numbers give. Utah has more people than any other Territory, more than Nevada, and as many as Delaware. Mormon colonies exist in Arizona, New Mexico, Idaho and Colorado. Their capital is the finest town of its size in the West. It is literally embowered in gardens and orchards, and streams of flowing water refresh its streets. Their villages and farm-houses are models of neatness and beauty. They have built 10,000 miles of irrigating canals, and turned every mountain stream to the account of agriculture. They built 400 miles of the Union Pacific Railway, and 600 miles of the first transcontinental telegraph line, besides 500 miles of local railroad and 1,500 miles of telegraph. They have extensive manufactures. They mine largely, and cultivate fruits and the cereals with success. Their farms are small and the price of improved land high. They have a good school system, and over 400 schools, with an average daily attendance of 44 per cent. of the school population. The per cent. of illiterates is lower than that for the United States at large. They have a university, a female seminary and a normal school.

It is universally admitted by the Gentile population of Salt Lake City that the Mormon people are honest, straightforward and faithful to business contracts. They are temperate beyond any Christian people, temperance in some instances being carried to abstinence from alcohol, tobacco and tea. Under a pure Mormon regime drinking saloons and other places of vice were prohibited. Not a dozen of the 200 saloons now in Utah are kept by professing Mormons, and these are held in disgrace. Of the population of Salt Lake City 75 per cent. is Mormon and 25 per cent. non-Mormon, yet the arrests in 1881 were:

Mormons.		Non-Mormons.	
Men and boys.....	163	Men and boys	657
Women.....	6	Women.....	194
Totals.....	169		851

A census of the prisoners in the winter of 1881 showed in the city prison twenty-nine convicts, and in the county prison six, all non-Mormon. Out of fifty-one in the penitentiary, only five were Mormons, and two of these were there for polygamy, and of 125 in the lock-ups only eleven were Mormons, some for polygamy. Says a Mormon publication in 1878: "Oaths, imprecations, blasphemies, invectives, expletives, blackguardism, were not heard in Utah till after the advent of the anti-Mormon element, nor till then did we have litigation, drunkenness, harlotry, political and judicial deviltries, gambling and kindred enormities." Among the Mormons all are equal. From the President down it is the duty of every man to work for a living. This was the Puritan idea, and this Captain Smith enjoined on the Virginia colonists by his edict, "he that does not work may not eat." Outside of their religion, therefore, the Mormon Community is a pious and socialistic organization, if by Socialism in practical form is meant a community where each may enjoy the benefit of labor and each labor to live, where the weak are not trampled upon, and the unfortunate in the battle of life are cared for by the community. In all the respects spoken of they resemble a dozen other communities toward which greater tolerance exists, though not a whit more moral nor less peculiar.

THE MORMON CREED.—With the exception of polygamy

the Mormon doctrines do not differ from those of other Christians. They rest their claims for non-interference and protection on the fact that theirs is not only a religion, but a truly Christian religion. Their Church is the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints." Its leading articles are:

"We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in his Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

"We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

"We believe that these ordinances are: First, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; Second, Repentance; Third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; Fourth, Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

"We believe that a man must be called of God by prophecy, and by laying on of hands by those who are in authority, to preach the gospel and administer the ordinances thereof.

"We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church, viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.

"We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc.

"We believe the Bible to be the Word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the Word of God.

"We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and that He will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of God.

"We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiac glory.

"We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where or what they may.

"We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law.

"We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say we follow the admonitions of Paul: We believe all things, we hope for all things; we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things."

Respecting polygamy the Mormon Confession of Faith merely declares: "That marriage, whether monogamic or polygamic, is honorable in all, when such marriage is contracted and carried out in accordance with the law of God."

The Church admits the freedom of individual action. There is no compulsion beyond public opinion. Apostacy is not a crime, nor is it attended with proscription. Members pay tithe as among the Hebrews, and afterwards a tenth of their increase for the advancement of God's work. The tithes are devoted to the relief of the poor and needy, the building of the Temple, and the conversion and transportation of immigrants. The officials are the first presidency, with three members; second, the twelve apostles; third, the councils of seventy; of elders, composed of ninety-six members; of priests, forty-eight; of teachers, twenty-four; of deacons, twelve. The first presidency and the twelve apostles rule the whole Church. The Territory is divided into twenty-two "Stakes of Zion," each having its council of seventy, of elders, priests, teachers and deacons. All are elected annually. Missionaries are sent to all quarters of the globe. A missionary goes without salary or travelling expenses. If without means of his own, he must support himself and work his way in his field during his mission, which covers from one to two years. From 2,000 to 3,000 Mormon immigrants arrive in Utah annually, as the result of missionary solicitation. They come from all the countries of Europe, but latterly largely from Germany and Sweden and Norway. The Central Church is the Tabernacle at Salt Lake City, a monument of engineering skill and choice workmanship, 250 feet long by 150 wide. Near it is the Temple, which has been under process of erection for thirty years, and will take four more for completion. It is of hewn stone, unpretentious in design, and is destined to be a permanent reminder of what is deemed an imperishable faith. As a church organization Mormonism is closely and adroitly cemented. It is calculated to gather and hold with a vigor by no means common, especially in a field so isolated as Utah, or wherever the enthusiasm of religion assumes, as a matter of necessity it may be, to make partnership with the social and business sides of life. It is organization all through, and religion all through, from the least to the highest interest. As a force, it has fervor and coherency. It is questionable whether any other organization could have made the same conquests over

rugged and forbidding nature in the same time, or could have maintained so steady a front amid apparently insurmountable obstacles.

POLYGAMY PROPER.—This was not an original Mormon practice, though the creed, as we have seen, does not prohibit it. Reverence for the Bible and respect for its exact letter led to its sanction theoretically. Circumstances led to its general adoption. The drafting of 500 men from the converts on their way to Utah, thereby leaving the women in a majority, or without legal protectors, may have suggested the propriety of its actual practice. The necessity for a more rapid propagation of the species than the monogamic marriage afforded, and the desirability of patriarchal families in the new Canaan, may have hastened the growth of the practice. Once fully embraced, it is easy to see that it must be defended as a duty, for it concerned the social weal and all domestic happiness and comfort. They therefore pointed to the Old Testament examples. They asked what was meant by the great excess of females in the Eastern States and in all full and ripe communities. They declared it to be a natural remedy for the evils of prostitution, and a cure for marital infidelity. They dropped the term polygamy as offensive, and dignified the estate as one of "plural marriage," a contract for earth and sky, time and eternity. They threw around this plural and celestial marriage all the solemnity of monogamic ceremony, and lest its practice should become unworthy or dangerous, they limited the privilege of undertaking it to the virtuous, honest and upright, whom the bishop and the president of the stake should certify as worthy. They gave it a paradisiac glamor like the Mohammedans, and as one well-educated Mormon was heard to say, "You cannot take your money, your railway or mining stocks into the next world with you; but our marriage is not only for life but for eternity, and we shall have our wives and our children with us, and so make a good start in the world to come."

If the vows of plural marriage are as sacredly taken as those of monogamic marriage, and as sacredly observed, both of which Mormons declare them to be, there is a possibility that, in their

hands and under their practices, it is less objectionable than the polygamous estate of the ancient Jews or that of modern Mohammedanism. It is certainly true that they regard adultery, fornication and bigamy as among the abominable evils, and visit on any member known to be guilty of them the penalty of excommunication; that is, he is cut off from the communion of the saints and all fellowship in the Church. President Taylor boldly asserts "that there is not to-day a more virtuous community in the world, or one where female chastity is more highly regarded or more vigorously protected."

Mormons take great pains to controvert the popular notion that the plural or polygamous marriage is illegal. They say the Constitution does not touch the subject, but leaves all matters relating to marriage to the people of the States. They do not admit the right of Congress to regulate these matters. in the Territories, but claim that they are of purely local concernment, and of right belong to the Territorial Legislative Assemblies; and in this connection they point to the organic act of Utah, "That the legislative power of said Territory shall extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the Constitution of the United States and the provisions of this act." Resting on this they further claim that Congress, acting according to the genius of our institutions, cannot interfere with matters in the Territories, which in the States are left to the States, and that it should not pass a law for a Territory which a State Legislature cannot pass for its State. When Congress vindicates itself for attempting to regulate social affairs in the Territories by pointing to British interference in India for the suppression of the suttee (widow burning), the Mormons answer that such interference was justified because the suttee brought about destruction of life. But they say polygamy means the propagation and perpetuation of the human species under the same solemn forms as monogamy, and they turn the argument on their opponents by showing that Great Britain not only tolerates, but has legislated to protect in her Indian institutions, upwards of 240,000,000 polygamous subjects.

Mormons are equally sensitive about the error of confounding

bigamy with plural marriage. They, in common with all persons, look upon bigamy as a grievous crime, whose essence is fraud of the very worst type—first vows broken, first wife deserted, second vows falsified, second wife betrayed, officiating officers deceived. In plural marriage there is no such flagrant deception. All the parties know it to be a doctrine of the Church, and all accept the obligations with that understanding. First, second, third and all subsequent wives, together with all interested in the arrangement, are acquainted with previous and existing facts, have a full conception of the nature of the estate, and supposably believe in its religious rectitude, its social and domestic advantages, its inducements in this and the next world. The obligations of the man extend to all his wives alike, and to all his children. He is expected to meet them all. That he does do so may not be fully proved by the absence of waifs and strays in a strictly Mormon community, nor any more by absence of a stream of children gravitating unerringly toward the poor house—Mormons have no such institution—but wherein he fails, the Church or system comes to his relief with its endowed charities, administered through bishops and various societies.

The legal status of husband and wife under the plural marriage is thus set forth by Geo. Q. Cannon, formerly Delegate to Congress from Utah: "There is an impression among the uninformed that the man who enters into patriarchal marriage in Utah has but little, if any, responsibility connected with it; that upon his partners rest all the burdens and unpleasant features of the relationship; that they, in becoming his wives, become the creatures of his will, and that, therefore, their civil rights are interfered with. This view is wholly incorrect. It is the women, under the system of patriarchal marriage, who have liberty and not the men. When once marriage has taken place between the parties, be the woman ever so poor or friendless, ever so much an unprotected stranger in the land, the man who knows her takes upon him a life-long obligation to care for her and the fruit of the union. For a man to seek for a divorce is almost unheard of: the liberty upon this point rests with the

woman; and as regards a separation, if her position should become irksome, or distasteful to her even, and she should desire a separation, not only is the man bound to respect the expressal of her wish to that effect, but he is bound also to give her and her offspring a proportionate share of his whole property. They are no longer under his yoke; but while he and they live, they have a claim upon him from which he is never completely absolved."

Again, Mormons are touched with the charge, inherent in much of the Congressional action respecting them, to the effect that they are not competent to manage the local affairs of their Territory in a proper way. They claim that they are honorable, peaceful, industrious, intelligent and religious citizens of the United States, and as such entitled to the rights and privileges accorded to the same class of citizens elsewhere. They repudiate all thought of hostility to our institutions, or of an attempt to establish a hierarchy unrepublican in spirit and inimical to the central government. They point with much pride to the character of their Territorial legislation and invite a comparison of it with that of other Territories, or even States. And when such legislation is impartially examined much will be found in it that is commendable. There is no Territorial debt, and the tax rates are low. In 1882 Utah petitioned Congress for admission into the Union as a State. The Constitution, agreed upon in a nine days' Convention of seventy-two delegates, was liberal on all political, social and religious questions, and might safely be taken as a model by any of the Territories. It provided that the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience should never be infringed; that no interference with liberty of conscience should be permitted; that no religious test or property qualification should be required for any office of public trust, or vote at any election, and that no person should be incompetent to testify on account of religious belief; that every citizen of the age of twenty-one should be entitled to vote at State elections; that women were citizens and might not only vote but hold elective offices, being disqualified only as judges, jurors and members of the executive department. Liberal as

all this was, Congress refused the application, though the vote of the Territory on the Constitution was well-nigh unanimous, being 27,814 for, to 498 against.

What has thus far been said of the peculiar institution of Mormonism and of that blot upon it known as polygamy, will, it is hoped, serve to give the reader an idea of it when viewed in its most favorable light. The data used has been drawn largely from Mormon sources, or from writers adjudged to be without prejudices and impartial. The object in thus presenting it is to avoid the charge often made by Mormons, and too often with truth, that there is a disposition abroad among anti-Mormons to misrepresent them. There is nothing gained by this. No solution of the serious problem of polygamy can prove satisfactory that proceeds on false information or false premise. Nor can the government do justice to itself or to that overwhelming monogamic and Christian sentiment of the country, if in dealing with what is deemed the odious or criminal side of a religious institution it indiscriminately and cruelly crushes all its possibilities of doing good.

CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION.—The first anti-Polygamy law was passed in 1862. It simply disfranchised those who had contracted plural or bigamous marriages. It was of no practical use. Only a small per cent. of Mormons were, and are, in the polygamic estate. The next important measure was the "Poland Polygamy Bill," which passed the Forty-third Congress, First Session, 1874. It created a District Court for the Territory, and in addition to the disqualifications of the former acts, excluded polygamous persons from the jury box when bigamy cases were being tried. Like all other acts thus far it failed to have any perceptible good effect. Meanwhile public sentiment became more urgent. Polygamy was denounced in many of the political platforms. In 1882 the celebrated Edmunds Act was passed. It was by far the most radical step the Government had yet taken. It defined polygamy and provided for its punishment. It laid down a code of criminal procedure applicable to the trial of polygamous cases. It took away the elective franchise from polygamists, male and female.

It provided a commission of five persons, appointive by the President and Senate, to enforce the provisions of the act. It was thought to be a well-digested and effective act. In its practical application it has fallen as short as the others, though it has served better than all others to show the country the intricacies and true inwardness of the Mormon problem. Its constitutionality is now being contested before the Supreme Court. The Commission under it succeeded in disfranchising some 16,000 polygamic electors, male and female, but the monogamic Mormons still constitute an overwhelming majority of the voters, and control Utah public sentiment as much as ever.

Other bills have been conceived, and are now pending, looking to a still more heroic treatment of the situation. But many of our best statesmen despair of this species of legislative remedy. It is not, thus far, apparent that the true seat of the cancer has been reached. Mormonism is not seemingly discouraged. On the contrary it is, if anything, more ingenious and defiant than ever. It is, in all probability, not unlike other religions, and especially those of a fanatical type, which court rather than dread persecution, and thrive rather than die under it. Taking the views of President Arthur as a criterion, some more direct and far-reaching remedy must be devised. All previous surgery has been too tame—nothing more than coquetry with a grave situation. He said in his last message, December, 1883, "I am convinced that polygamy has become so strongly entrenched in the Territory of Utah that it is profitless to attack it with any but the stoutest weapons which Constitutional legislation can fashion. I favor therefore the repeal of the act upon which the present government of the Territory depends, the assumption by the National Legislature of the entire political control of the Territory, and the establishment of a commission with such powers and duties as shall be delegated to it by law."

SENTIMENT.—It is likely that this conviction and these recommendations of the President are the beginning of a new order of thought and action respecting polygamy. They cer-

tainly reflect the ideas of a large and respectable class, who are thoroughly tired of piecemeal attack upon an institution which they regard as opposed to the spirit of the age and dangerous to morality and religion. The merit of the plan would consist in its attempt to undermine the genius of the institution. This was partly the merit of the Edmunds law, whose central thought was to prefer Mormon monogamists, in matters of office and administration, to Mormon polygamists, well knowing that a majority were monogamists. But this preference for monogamists did not disparage polygamists at all. On the contrary they were prouder of the fact that they "lived their religion" amid disqualification. Moreover the discrimination had a horrible color, for one must ever fail to see how a monogamic Mormon who upholds, defends and supports an institution that outrages virtue and the law is any better, or as good, as the man who, professing a belief, is consistent enough to practice it.

As against this heroic method of treatment Mormonism urges (1) That it would be the destruction of republican liberty in Utah. (2) That the destruction of the local Territorial government would not affect the institution of polygamy, which even now is not recognized by Territorial laws, nor yet by the civil law, but which exists ecclesiastically, perpetually and eternally, as part of a faith, and with the sanction of the Almighty who established it for the benefit of his people and the fulness of his glory. (3) That the government cannot so interfere with the local affairs of a Territory.

The first two objections are argumentative, the last legal. And as to the last the Constitution says, "Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory or other property belonging to the United States." The Supreme Court has said, 1 Peters, 511: "In legislating for them (Territories) Congress exercises the combined powers of the general and of a State government." Again, 11 Otto, 129: "The Territories are but political subdivisions of the outlying dominion of the United States. Their relation to the general government is much the same as that

which counties bear to the respective States, and Congress may legislate for them as a State does for its municipal organizations. The organic law of a Territory takes the place of a Constitution as the fundamental law of local government." And again, 18 Watt, 317: "The government of the Territories of the United States belongs primarily to Congress, and secondarily to such agencies as Congress may establish for the purpose. During the term of their pupilage as Territories, they are mere dependencies of the United States. Their people do not constitute a sovereign power. All political authority exercised therein is derived from the general government. Strictly speaking there is no sovereignty in a Territory but that of the United States itself. Crimes committed therein are committed against the government and dignity of the United States."

It would appear therefore that the power of the general government to deal with polygamy or any other question in the Territories is ample. It is only its methods that have been faulty. The method proposed by the President seems like a last resort; or, at least, one which involves the experience derived from the failure of all former methods. Some minds favor the application of direct force. This would be brutal in the extreme, and unworthy the age. Mormons are numerous, and fixed. They are not hostile, except as their institution on its polygamic side is not in keeping with the spirit of the time and law of the realm. The century cannot afford to repeat, in enlightened America, either the banishment of the Moors from Spain, or the massacre of the Huguenots in France. Another set of minds, among which is Mr. Beecher's, favor letting the Mormons alone, and sending teachers and preachers to establish schools and churches in their midst. They argue that if it is possible to convert the people of Asia and Africa, it is surely possible to help Utah by gospel influences. These forget the fact that Utah is already in possession of as good schools as there are in the country, and that there already exist there Episcopal, Catholic, Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and possibly other churches; but that the latter are dwarfed by the dominant faith, and converts are less frequent from than to

Mormonism; and that the former are prosperous only as they suit the genius of the people who support them. Joaquin Miller, who has given much study to the problem, is of the opinion that education will finally eradicate both polygamy and Mormonism, but that the Federal government must take the system of schools into its own hands, and must at the expense of much time and money make it the most enlightened spot in the country. Then and then only will the institution wane and perish.

Mr. Barclay, a member of the English Parliament, who made a visit to Utah recently, for the purpose of investigating Mormon institutions, thinks it is quite unnecessary to get angry over polygamy, or to take any doubtful constitutional measures for its suppression. He regards its establishment as due to exceptional circumstances, which have long since passed away, and whose results will be gradually overcome by the contact of Utah with the outer world. He further says, that woman's nature is not different there from what it is in other parts of the world, and that with the ballot in her hands, she will speedily settle the question of polygamy, in which she is more largely concerned than the opposite sex, if it should appear to her that it deprives her sex of any of its rights, and especially the exclusive right to a husband.

The present Governor of Utah, E. H. Murray, regards the entire government of Utah, organized under the act of 1850, which created the Territory, as an unlawful government, because it is not republican in spirit, but a mixed religious and political institution, designed to perpetuate a hierarchy. He charges that the Mormons have ingeniously used the republican forms of government given them under the organic act, and the political rights therein assured, for the purpose of building and perpetuating their objectionable faith and protecting their obnoxious practices, and that in this respect they themselves are violators of the Constitution and the laws of Congress, none of which sanction special religions, or can be turned directly to their account. If this view be correct, and he supports it with much convincing argument, it is easy to perceive why all efforts to uproot Mor-

monism or banish polygamy by penal or prohibitory legislation have failed, and why they must prove abortive in the future. They do not touch the genius of the institution, are not down to its tap-roots. Moreover, if the whole political organization of the Territory is thus infected with the religion, exists only to perpetuate it and its practices, is unrepublican in spirit and fact, and therefore inimical to our institutions, not actively but secretly, it is difficult to conceive of a remedy short of the heroic one proposed by the President, unless, forsooth, we cease entirely to make polygamy and the peculiar religion which supports it a prominent question, and give it over for solution to the agency of time and circumstance.

A concluding thought is, that the charge made by the Mormons that all this Congressional interference springs from an unholy desire to get the Territorial offices and patronage for Federal appointees, as well as the combined Gentile and Mormon charge that the failure of remedial legislation is due to unworthy and inefficient agents appointed to carry it into effect, would be met by a withdrawal of the entire system of Territorial government, and the substitution of a new one to be framed and carried on under the auspices of an intelligent and impartial Commission until such time as the people themselves could give a guarantee that it would be conducted in a republican spirit and according to the statutes prohibiting polygamy and every class of crime.

PROHIBITION.

WHAT IT IS.—Temperance in general is as old as morals. As restricted to intoxicating liquors, it has ever been a profound sentiment among wise and good men, which has found oft and eloquent expression. It runs through every grave philosophy, and is a part of every prominent religion.

The sacred books of the Hindoo urge total abstinence from intoxicants. One of the Buddhist commandments reads: "Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquors." The Koran forbids the use of wines and liquors, and Mohammedans carry practical temperance further than any other people. Christianity inculcates temperance, but in no dogmatic form, and quite too generally to escape entirely the charge that Christian peoples are not essentially temperate.

No truth is better established nor more universally accepted than that intemperance is an evil. There can be no successful denial of the fact that it injures mind and body, depraves the moral nature, conduces to crime. It is the pronounced enemy of the home establishment, introducing neglect, discord, estrangement, bankruptcy and want. It is equally the foe of society and the political state, degrading the one and brutalizing and endangering the other.

Its evil extent is shown in the formidable figures of pauperism in this and other countries, four-fifths of which are credited directly to strong drink. It is similarly shown in the statistics of crime, a like proportion of which is attributed to drunkenness. While these figures are startling, they convey but a slim impression of the pernicious results of intemperance. Leaving out the annual expenditure for drink, which can only be measured by hundreds

of millions of dollars in this country alone, and which in its most favorable light is sheer waste, if not worse; there are deeper seated, and therefore incomputable, results which men and women only witness inside of their homes and in the social circle, and which are secretly mourned as something worse than death itself.

So long as intemperance was regarded as simply a misfortune of the victim, as something over which he had, or ought to have, control, and for which he alone was individually responsible, it was treated as a question of pure morals. Society, relying on the aid of the church and on such other agencies as were at command for convincing men of their error, and establishing in them a control of their passions, rested her case on the argument of moral suasion. The argument took many forms, was always earnestly pressed, and led to much practical good. It certainly elevated the plane of temperance sentiment, fortified individuals and communities against drink temptation, and threw into stronger contrast the viciousness of intemperance and the virtue of abstinence. To this end it is still effectually used.

But there sprung up the advanced thought, possibly from the seeds of long experience, that the victim of intemperance was not the only party responsible for the vice, and that his reformation, however gratifying personally or socially, was not reaching a cause which operated beyond him, and was dragging others down. In the new light thrown on the situation, it appeared that if temperance agencies were only to be used for the reformation of the drunkard, they must have never-ending and hopeless employment, for the victim, being weakened in his moral sense, is to a certain extent beyond reach of those agencies; or looking on him from a scientific standpoint, he has contracted a disease (dipsomania), and is a fitter subject for a doctor than a moral reformer. It further appeared that however high, wide, and pure the sentiment against drinking might be built by those agencies, it was being continually undermined by perpetual inducement to drink provided by the constant manufacture and general sale of liquors.

Therefore, under the new thought, temperance got to mean

vastly more than oratory, pleading and pledges. It left its prayerful, expostulating, persuasive abode in the domain of results, and, passing over, took a high, inquiring, critical, threatening seat in the midst of causes. It grouped the victim, vendor and manufacturer of liquors in a common category, and chose to see in them all combined the very power for evil it sought to smite. This power it would hold responsible as an entirety.

But this was no longer old-fashioned, simple temperance. It was "prohibition," and by this name it came to be known. Prohibition does not exclude temperance means and arguments. It still persuades and instructs, but in addition it invokes political aid, seeks to secure prohibitive laws through triumphant party agency. It is political temperance.

Its direct advocates do not as yet embrace all temperance people, for prohibition was a virtual breaking of new ground. In a certain sense it was a bold, forward step in the face of many prejudices, and squarely in front of a host of novel and difficult questions. It was a confession of lack of faith in the absolute efficacy of time-honored and purely moral cures for a great evil. It very naturally startled temperance advocates when it asked them to shake off ancient party affiliations, renounce political creeds, and join an organization whose cardinal tenet may have had the charm of novelty, but whose practicability remained to be proved. It sought political coherency for thoughts which former generations had declined to associate with the ballot. It invoked the power of direct law against a manufacture which had all along been considered legitimate, and against an occupation which had ranked as an industry. It defied the odium of sumptuary enactments and interference with personal liberty, and claimed all legislative measures as justifiable which society needed and demanded for its purification and preservation. It provoked constitutional objections and met them by the heroic remedy of constitutional amendments, in the name of peace, prosperity and morality. It ceased to regard the liquor problem, from the still to the almshouse or drunkard's grave, as one to be treated on the basis of an evil simply, but charged it up as a crime to be prevented, abated, or punished by vigorous statutes.

Prohibition had thus much to contend with. But it began hopefully and worked energetically. Its voice in the beginning was smaller than that first heard against involuntary servitude. It lost ten years by the civil war and its after questions. It may have lost more time than this by early attempts to carry too many reforms at once. It has latterly unloaded its side issues, and taken a more central aim. Prohibition, to-day, is an unqualified theme.

Is there in it or about it that which so commends it to the judgment of men as to incline them to make it the basis of a great party? If all issues were dropped except that of prohibition, could it triumph on its political merits? Can it ever so engage the popular mind as to overshadow all other party questions? If triumphant, could it permanently engraft prohibition on our political system? Is it more to be relied on for effective temperance reform than the usual non-political agencies? These questions must be asked, and prohibition must answer. Upon the answer hangs its future success. It ought to be encouraged by the growing frequency of the questions, and further by the fact that, whether they are asked or answered, there is deep down in the bosom of the masses a sentiment not by any means averse to a fair test of the prohibitive idea. There is no telling at what moment this sentiment may respond to some timely and masterly touch, or break forth in answer to some clarion call. The recent (1883) movement in Ohio was in the nature of a revelation. Till then it seemed impossible to keep prohibition in sight while the two leading parties were angrily wrestling for mastery. It not only appeared everywhere in the midst of the din, but gathered cohorts of every political shade, and doubtless won at the polls.

HISTORIC GROWTH.—All the States tacitly regarded the sale of liquors as something outside of the usual line of occupations. They therefore assumed to regulate the business, that is, keep it in trustworthy hands, for the safety of the citizen and society, by granting licenses to approved vendors. This check was for a long time regarded as sufficient, or, at least, as much of an interference on the part of the State as the matter seemed to call for.

The benefits of a license system were largely lost by failure to confer the privilege on responsible persons. It is no longer regarded as an adequate check, or as a source of safety to individual or society. Latterly it has come to be viewed by prohibitionists as an unwarranted legalization of a criminal traffic by the very power whose duty it is to prevent crime. The license system and the usual temperance and church agencies were the restraints on intemperance, till say within fifty years.

In 1823 Henry Ware in an address before the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance took the ground that no power can suppress the evil of intemperance short of the "Legislature of the nation." This is just where the more advanced prohibitionists stand to-day. They regard State prohibition as well enough in its way, but ineffective for lack of concurrence among the States, and still so if the general government all the while permits manufacture, importation and transit of liquors.

Other prominent temperance men, divines and associations reflected the above sentiment for many years. In 1837 the first effort was made to suppress the license laws of a State, in the Maine Legislature. They were denounced as "the support and life of the traffic," and a committee reported in favor of "the entire prohibition of all sale of liquors, except for medicine and the arts." The next year (1838) Massachusetts prohibited the sale of liquors in quantities less than fifteen gallons. In the same year a move was made in the legislatures of New York and Tennessee to abolish license. Connecticut did repeal her license laws and threw stronger guards around the traffic.

LOCAL OPTION.—This agitation of the question set legislators to thinking. They were not sure of ground much beyond the old license system. Constituencies were divided. Some were pronouncedly in favor of change, others not. Out of respect for the popular voice, and in order to shove the responsibility on the voter, the idea of Local Option got to be largely entertained. From 1840 to 1850 may be called the Local Option era of temperance. During that period quite a number of the States enacted that the people of any township, district or county

might vote on the question of license or no license, and their decision should be the law till similarly revoked.

This experiment was necessarily brief, though highly useful in an educational sense. It taught the folly of relying on laws passed for localities and with no machinery to enforce them except that of the State, which was just as likely to be indifferent or hostile as favorable. It taught, further, the futility of an experiment liable to be interfered with at each annual election, for local option was simply a convenience, hardly a substantial moral force backed by pronounced and enduring sentiment. Moreover, the localities to which it applied were small and their efforts were likely to be neutralized by the opposite action of surrounding townships and counties.

DIRECT LAW.—In 1846 Maine enacted a law prohibiting traffic in intoxicants under penalties. It failed because the penalties were only fines, which were paid by vendors who continued their business. In 1851 General Neal Dow proposed the "Maine Law." It was passed, and imposed the penalty of fine and imprisonment on vendors, as well as authorized the seizure and destruction of liquors illegally held for sale. It was repealed in 1856 and license substituted, but was re-enacted in 1858 with severer clauses. Its re-enactment was ratified by the people by over 20,000 majority. It was thus clinched by what all previous temperance laws lacked, viz., a pronounced popular sentiment. It has stood, in substance, ever since, subject of course to much criticism and to many violations, but by no means a disproof of the wisdom of political regulation of the traffic.

Delaware followed Maine with a prohibitory law, in 1847, which was declared unconstitutional, but was re-enacted in 1855. Rhode Island passed a prohibitory law, in 1852, which was unconstitutional. It was amended in 1853 and stood till 1865, when it gave way to local option. This was supplanted by prohibition in 1874, which only lasted one year.

The Vermont prohibitory law of 1852 still stands, though repeatedly amended and elaborated till it is by all odds the most formidable code on the statute books of the State.

Massachusetts moved for prohibition in 1852, but her law did not stand judicial test. A new law was passed in 1855, which gave way to a license system in 1868, but was restored in 1869 in a milder form. This stood, with various modifications, till 1875, when prohibition was overthrown by a license system.

In Connecticut the prohibitory statute of 1854 was repealed in 1872. The New York law of 1855 was declared unconstitutional in 1856 and fell. The modified prohibition laws of New Hampshire, passed in 1855, remain. In 1859 Michigan introduced prohibition into her State Constitution, or rather an anti-license clause. She had previously (1853) ratified a prohibitory law, whose submission was declared unconstitutional by a divided bench. This law was re-enacted in 1855, and since then has been a constant source of worriment to political parties. It was finally repealed in 1875, and a tax law substituted.

Indiana passed a prohibitory law in 1853, which was ratified by the people, but pronounced unconstitutional. It was reaffirmed in 1855, but again fell under judicial displeasure. The Iowa law of 1855 was an anti-license measure. Prohibition has recently received fresh impetus in the State in the shape of a proposed Constitutional amendment and severer enactments against indiscriminate traffic in liquors, and the same may be said of Wisconsin. In Illinois the prohibitory law of 1855 failed of approval by the people. Political temperance was active in nearly all the States up till the breaking out of the civil war. The sketch above given shows where and, to some extent, how it culminated in what may be called prohibition States. It will be observed that in all, or nearly all, of them it was forced to undergo judicial test, and that in many it failed. It will be observed further that in other States it was an exceedingly fluctuating force, really barren of practical results. Only in Maine and Vermont has it been steady, and judgment respecting it ought to rest on a study of its work in these two States rather than on its ephemeral career or signal failure in others. Prohibitive zeal may have outstripped discretion in some instances and thus drawn judicial disfavor. In other cases it could scarcely hope to contend successfully or for any long time with organized party forces.

There was now a break in the history of prohibition. War suspended its aggressive motion at a time when very few of the States were averse to fair experiment with it, when, it may be safely assumed, there was a strong current of sentiment against the old license or regulation system, and when the popular mind was in the midst of intelligent inquiry into all temperance proposals.

The thread of its history was taken up again in 1865, and in a new shape. Political temperance till this time required the use of parties as they were found to exist. It forced situations so that one or another of the political organizations came to its rescue and helped it to what it demanded. Therefore a larger issue, like the war, or any overshadowing measure in a campaign, drove it into the background. Besides, parties did not take to it as a matter of conviction but of policy. They played fast and loose with it, used it as a means of discomfiting enemies and scoring successes. It therefore appeared useless to depend further on agencies so fickle and insincere. Moreover, these were only State or local efforts. The success of any one did not assure general amelioration of the drinking evil. It must be attacked nationally if its very roots were to be cut. Again, it must be confronted with a party which could be relied upon—a party of its own.

As impelling to this end the open opponents of prohibition had organized for their protection both in State and National Associations. The Beer Brewers' Association was formed in 1862. It mentioned among the dangers which threatened their interests: "The progress of the prohibition cause, through whose agency thirteen States had enacted the 'Maine Law,' and more than a million voters had been pledged to its support." This was regarded as carrying "temperance into politics" by the very elements which had all along deprecated such an aim. It was therefore accepted as a challenge.

All along temperance had been using the agency of various societies, chief among which was the Good Templars. In 1868 the Grand Lodge of this body moved for "the organization of a national political party whose principle should be prohibition of

the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating liquors to be used as a beverage." This was very nearly reflected by the Sixth National Temperance Convention, at Cleveland, July 29, 1868. The next year, during a session of the Grand Lodge of Good Templars, at Oswego, N. Y., a meeting of those favorable to independent political action was held which resulted in a call for a convention to organize a "National Prohibition Party."

This convention met in Chicago, Sept. 1, 1869, with five hundred delegates present from twenty different States. There was but little opposition to the thought that both, or all, the existing political parties could not be depended upon to foster prohibition; that the only way to further care for it was to intrust it to a new and distinct party, and that the time was ripe for the formation of such party. Said the Chairman, Hon. James Black: "I see no party that is taking up this warfare, hence I am in Chicago to-day to help form this party of liberty and civilization." The resolutions adopted the name of the "National Prohibition Party," and declared "that inasmuch as existing political parties either oppose or ignore this great and paramount question . . . . . we are driven by an imperative sense of duty to sever our connection with them and organize ourselves into a National Prohibition Party, having for its primary object the entire suppression of the traffic in intoxicating drinks." Hon. Gerritt Smith, in his "address to the people of the United States," authorized by the convention, classed drunkenness with slavery, and argued that inasmuch as it was the province of government to protect person and property, it was therefore its duty to suppress the dram-shop. He regarded the time as propitious for the new party, because political lines had been relaxed, and no other prominent measure was pending.

The future of the new party was intrusted to a National Committee, who issued a call for its "First National Nominating Convention," to be held at Columbus, Ohio, Feb. 22, 1872. This body went through all the forms of a regular political convention. It nominated Hon. James Black, Pa., for President, and Rev. John Russell, Mich., for Vice-President, and published a platform of principles, announcing as cardinal doctrines the

moral and political wrongfulness of the liquor traffic; the inefficacy of a license system, and reliance on State and National prohibition. It took high ground on other questions, among which was the election of President, Vice-President and Senators by direct vote of the people, and female suffrage. This ticket received 5,608 votes at the polls. The number received, or rather returned, must not be regarded as a measure of the prohibition sentiment of the country, but rather as expressive of the hopelessness of a first trial amid supreme odds.

A second nominating convention of the "Prohibition Reform Party"—observe the name is changed—was called for May 17, 1876, at Cleveland. It nominated Hon. Green Clay Smith, Ky., as the party candidate for President, and Hon. G. T. Stewart, Ohio, for Vice-President. The platform affirmed that of 1872, and demanded that the government should enforce prohibition in the District of Columbia and the Territories. The ticket received 9,522 votes in the Presidential contest.

The third nominating convention of the party was held at Cleveland, June 17, 1880, which placed Hon. Neal Dow, Me., in nomination for the Presidency, and Rev. H. A. Thompson, Ohio, for the Vice-Presidency. This ticket received 10,305 votes. It is the purpose of the party to pursue its political work, and to this end it has national candidates in the field this year, as well as candidates in many of the States. As auxiliary to its political work there has been formed a National Prohibition Alliance, whose object is to educate the people to the use of the ballot as a means of securing prohibitory legislation. Whatever may be said of prohibition in its strictly political sense, one cannot help admiring the energy and pluck of its advocates. They are men of more than ordinary intelligence, and have the courage of deep and abiding convictions. They may have been indiscreet in the political manipulation of their cause in the States, at certain junctures, and at other times may have lost more than they gained by the intolerance which is inseparable from burning zeal, but in general they have learned and advanced as other great organizations and movements have done. Progress up toward prohibition has been, on the whole, steady and by strictly logical

steps. The first National convention in the country (1833) rested on the immorality of the sale and use of intoxicants. The second one (1836) declared for a total abstinence pledge as a corrective. The third (1841) attacked license and regulation. The fourth (1851) declared for prohibition on the basis of the "Maine Law." The fifth (1855) repeated the work of the fourth. The sixth (1868) called for the ballot as the only effective prohibition weapon. The seventh (1869) culminated in a National Prohibition Party. This party must itself make great progress along intelligent and assuring paths before it can hope to so dominate sentiment as to secure a favorable expression of popular will through the medium of the ballot. It must not only pass through many a Red Sea of trouble, but make many long and tedious marches and countermarches in the deserts of opinion and controversy.

FOR AND AGAINST.—Mention of controversy suggests that this may be very properly called the controversial era of prohibition. The more it makes itself conspicuous in a political sense the more criticism and antagonism it invites. As it pushes itself into national, State and local campaigns it assumes the responsibility of discussion. Being on the aggressive, it cannot shirk the burden of proof. Happily for all interested, these controversies can be carried on more intelligently and satisfactorily than formerly, for prohibitive experiments in the States have been sufficiently numerous to afford valuable data for illustration and argument. It is pleasing to note a gradual dropping of the dogmatic tone on the part of many really able prohibitionists on the one hand, and on the other a gradual departure from the aerial sensationalism which marked an emotion but mocked an argument. As its men, in their new departure, get knocked about in the arena of politics, either as candidates or as campaign orators, they learn the proprieties of intellectual combat and lose the spirit which would force a dogma in fresh, undigested and irreceivable shape on the popular mind. "'Tis right, therefore take it," is not the modern prohibition dose; but rather, "Come, let us reason together; my cause hath merit, of which I may be able to persuade you."

As stated in the beginning of this article, not all temperance people are agreed as to the practicability of prohibition. A large and vigorous temperance school still relies on agencies which are classed as moral and regards them as the only effective ones. Its members draw a distinction between vices and crimes. They do not see in the liquor traffic a harm done with *malice prepense*. Therefore they do not see a *crime* which law can assume to punish. They see only a *vice*, which is the subject of moral correctives. They say that no law can make a crime of a vice, or if so, that such law must fail of its object, just as the fugitive slave law and the Spanish laws against Protestantism did. They argue that if one vice is punished by law all may be, and in that event the last man would have to reach out through the cell door and lock himself in, for we are all guilty of vices. To this the prohibitionists answer, if the law which makes a vice a crime is backed by intelligent sentiment, a crime it must be. We propose to make such a sentiment. We refuse to regard liquor as other than the dynamite of modern civilization, all promiscuous or illegitimate dealing in which is criminal and worthy of punitive suppression.

The same school refuses to accept the workings of prohibition as conclusive. For instance, Dr. Dio Lewis, the originator of the "Woman's Crusade" movement, says that the "Maine Law" has only suppressed the rum traffic in the State on the surface, and that the official report of the State Prison Inspectors, for the year of his visit, showed 17,808 arrests for street drunkenness out of a population of less than 700,000. He continues: "From that hour I had no difficulty in believing all that had been said about the cunning tricks of the business men in Maine; about the private drinking-clubs—eighty-six in Portland—many of them in large rooms over stores, each member of the club carrying a pretty key, showing it with pride, and chuckling over the helplessness of the constable who might come to the door which that key unlocked. I have had no difficulty in believing that this has great fascination for young men, and in believing the statement made to me in Maine by one of her most eminent citizens, a warm prohibitionist, to the effect that prohibition, like other

good things, had its drawbacks, the worst of which was that a great number of the better class of young men, who would never drink in an open saloon, had become victims of the drinking-clubs."

This is met by Neal Dow and prohibitionists of his advanced school by square denial. Others who concede its truth, in great part, claim that they seek an absolute remedy in National prohibition first and then in State prohibition, or in general State prohibition. Their thought is suppression of the traffic all along the line. Local suppression in the midst of hostile surroundings must always partially fail. Such partial failure, however, does not shake the principle involved nor operate as a discouragement.

The popular antagonism to prohibition is based on its interference with personal liberty. This is always plausible. And in so far as the measure of liberty for the individual is everywhere the measure of liberty in society it is not easy to meet. The prohibitionists say, "We rejoice in the utmost liberty, if people will only do right." This is excellent in the abstract, but practically their standard of right is the one which must be subscribed to. Their position is therefore not unlike that of the Puritan, stout advocate of personal liberty, but to whom a Quaker was a fellow with wrong views and worthy to be hung. To this argument the prohibitionists answer, "We do not seek to force our opinions to the verge of interference except as they are embodied in laws." Then the doctrine of personal liberty is quite another thing, for it is as civil liberty is, to wit, "natural liberty so far restrained by human laws as is necessary and expedient for the general advantage of the public." All other notions of personal liberty would admit a right to do wrong, and would rise as excuses for crime of every kind.

To the argument that prohibition legislation is odious because it seeks to establish sumptuary laws, the reply is prompt that the sumptuary acts which formerly brought odium on law-givers and which were inherently tyrannical were those which limited the necessities of life, as food, furniture, clothing, etc. Laws prohibiting the manufacture and sale of a deadly poison or of

an article generally destructive of health and morals, or dangerous to the peace and well-being of society, are not sumptuary in their nature, not at all tyrannical. The public good is the supreme law.

Much is made of prohibitive experiments in other ways. Kansas is conspicuous as an instance of triumphant political prohibition. It was inserted in the State Constitution. A governor was elected for two terms on a distinctive prohibition issue. It looked as if the principle had a political basis which could not be shaken. But it failed finally to float a candidate into gubernatorial honors, failed as a party measure. Why it failed, is a great question. The sentiment was not a real, but a curious or experimental one, says one. It was the sentiment of indifference to results, says another. It was a sentiment tired of prohibition persistency, and willing to see it fail of a trial, says a third. The true answer is doubtless yet to be found. In finding it much will be learned, much profit will ensue. There should be no apology for the failure, nor any whimpering about the defeat—they were signal—but an intelligent quest for causes and speedy effort to remove them. What is desirable in the abstract may in its practical application prove both obnoxious and injurious.

The Vermont experiment is not much quoted, though it has been lengthy—thirty years,—received a popular majority, and has never failed to secure legislative countenance. The prohibition code there is simply formidable. It prohibits the manufacture of spirituous and malt liquors, and the sale or giving away of the same. Cider must not be sold at any place of public resort, nor may a man furnish liquors to a minor in his own house. Ingenuity has been taxed to the uttermost to throw guards around the traffic. Perhaps it has been overdone. It is said on good authority that the law is practically a dead letter, and that 446 liquor-shops are open in the State. Efforts to enforce the laws are spasmodic and short-lived. There is hardly a sentiment against them, but none for them. The community is oppressed with the dead weight of indifferentism. Here prohibition is really to blame. It suffers its case to go by

default. If a living thing, its vitality should not so ebb and flow as to invite the rebuke of inordinate spasm and corresponding relapse.

The Ohio controversy has been lengthy and perhaps broader and more profitable than any other. It is yet open and is enlisting the attention of all thinkers. We cannot pursue it, but it has brought prohibition to face some of its profoundest problems. The Scott law imposed a very high license, by which the number of saloons were reduced some 3,000 in number. It also contained a local option clause. In addition to this a prohibitive amendment to the Constitution was urged—and as some think was carried, at the last election. This was the political phase of the situation. It has given rise to the thought that such amendment as was anticipated would have prevented legislative action in the future on the basis of popular opinion. It has opened the question of how far the dram-buyer is *particeps criminis* with the dram-seller and manufacturer. It has started the inquiry as to how prohibition can be made operative against the manufacturer of spirits for the arts. It has raised the question of how far the State or nation can interfere with a traffic which has sprung from a demand of a large part of the community, without making itself responsible for the losses that ensue.

Other questions, equally vital, will doubtless arise before prohibition achieves its final victory. They must all be met with becoming spirit. Every day's march is provocative of deeper inquiry, and the more formidable prohibition becomes the more it will be called upon to square itself with laws, times, institutions and constructions. If a political force with a future, it must not only be moral and intelligent, but practical.

GENERAL PHASES.—Whatever the sentiment of the country or of individuals respecting prohibition, the fact must be faced that in its new nationally political form it is a broader and deeper movement than in its old form of local and sporadic prohibition. It is no longer "hurricane reform," but rather a silent force operating along clearly defined lines of progress, and gradually nerving itself for a final clash with the conservatism

of existing political parties and even the angry personalism of an industry involving millions of dollars. No man ever dreamed of the existence of 320,000 prohibition votes in Ohio, nor of a tenth of that number, till the election of 1883. If a sudden dissolution of parties should come about even now, it is more than likely that they could be instantly reformed on the basis of progress and conservatism, prohibition standing for the former and license or non-interference for the latter. Alcohol is not only in politics, but apparently in to stay.

In addition to the regular political steps already taken toward a national prohibition convention in 1884, for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President, the ladies of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of the United States thus memorialized the Republican Convention at Chicago:

To the National Convention of the Republican Party: We the members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of the United States, herein represented by the signatures of our officers, while believing that while the poison habits of the nation can be largely restrained by an appeal to intellect through argument, to the heart through sympathy and to the conscience through the motives of religion, believe that the traffic in those poisons will be best controlled by prohibitory law. We believe that the teachings of science, experience and the golden rule combine to testify against the traffic in alcoholic liquors as a drink, and that the homes of America, which are the citadels of patriotism, purity and happiness have no enemies so relentless as the American saloon. Therefore, as citizens of the United States, irrespective of sex, or religion or section, but having deeply at heart the protection of our homes, we do hereby respectfully and earnestly petition you to advocate and adopt such measures as are requisite to the end that prohibition of the importation, exportation, manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages may become an integral part of the national Constitution, and that your candidate shall, by character and public life, be committed to a national prohibitory constitutional amendment.

PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE.

NATURE OF THE SUBJECT.—This chief of living questions in our economy and politics is compound in substance and form. In form its parts take the shape of a case in court between plaintiff and defendant. In substance it covers two distinct branches of economic science, to wit, the relation of labor to capital, and the principle of taxation.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.—Touching these, the question has its broadest significance. There is practically no limit to its range. In this field doctrinaires spin their fondest theories, and practical men pile up their cherished facts and figures. Parties, even, shape their lines on the basis thus afforded, and make the political arena ring with arguments of refutation and pleas for recognition and support.

FREE TRADE.—But let it be understood that Free Trade in the abstract is confined only to bookish theorists. In this, its fullest sense, it means open, unrestricted commerce with all nations. As to ourselves, and within the limitations of our subject, it means the opening of our ports to the free importation of foreign manufactures and direct competition with the richer capital, riper machinery, and cheaper labor of older countries. This is not, as yet, advocated by any political party in this country, though it is contained, as a germ, in most of the anti-protection arguments. Those who pass for Free Traders, and who must be called such since popular speech thus best distinguishes them, in general recognize the right, and propriety, of a duty on imports for the purpose of supplying the government with necessary revenue. Controversially they enter the field of capital and labor, practically they are only within that of taxation.

The fostering of our industries, in other words protection, is an incident of taxation, not an object. How long they can resist the tendency of their arguments and refrain from a final plunge into abstract Free Trade remains to be seen.

PROTECTION.—On the other hand it should be understood that Protection, from its very inception till now, embraced the principles of taxation, and, taking advantage of them as a foundation, built thereon a system designed to encourage the development of home resource. While all agreed that duties on imports were the least burdensome of indirect taxes, and therefore the most cheerfully paid, Protection made them a discrimination against foreign peoples and turned them to the account of our own. It at first vindicated the procedure by the example of other countries and by the desirability of commercial and industrial independence. Now it vindicates its position by reference to what it has achieved in the domain of capital and labor. It is the doctrine of a school, which uses the flag and discipline of a political party, but whose scholars are found in all parties. In fact it has not been inaptly distinguished by the terms "American Idea," and "American System."

TAXATION.—The easiest approach to both the history and principles of Protection and Free Trade is through the word "Tariff." It is the Arabic word *ta'rif*, "information," either because it was the list of goods on which duties were levied, or the name of the town or post, "Tarifa," on the coast of Spain where the Moorish authorities kept watch and gave information of vessels sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar, on whose cargoes they were accustomed to levy taxes. These Moors left their numerals and this word tariff as a legacy to the civilized nations of the world. The refinements of trade have given the word tariff a definite meaning.

All taxes are divided into direct and indirect. Indirect taxes are those levied on goods in passing from hand to hand—say from manufacturer to consumer, or from importer to consignee. It would be better for our purposes to say that all taxes are internal or external. External taxes are those levied on imports from, or exports to, a foreign country. They are what the Con-

stitution means by "duties" and "imposts," in the clause, "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, *duties*, *imposts* and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." They are also covered by the word "Tariff," but since export taxes are exceptional, Tariff has come to signify the taxes on imports alone, and also the law or system under which such taxes are levied. All civilized nations have a tariff of some kind.

TARIFF.—This tariff, indirect or external tax, was formerly used by nations as a source of revenue alone, and frequently in a spirit of booty. But as soon as they began to have intelligent notions of trade, and of internal development, it became an economic force. Legitimate trade may be said to have taken its rise in England under the auspices of Elizabeth. Its rapid progress there must be ascribed, in a great measure, to the fostering care of the government, exercised through and by means of tariff regulations. From a different spirit in her institutions, though with superior advantages, France, at a later period and under the endeavors of her ingenious and indefatigable Colbert, laid the foundation of her industry and commerce. The establishment of the woollen industry in a country, where nature seems to have denied the means, has always been alluded to by statesmen as an evidence of what can be effected by patronizing administration and a truly fostering government. The Dutch, who were pre-eminent in industry and trade, ever made them an essential object of State. Their government was paternal in the extreme, and their regulations more numerous than those of any other country. And so with other peoples, after trade became legitimatized, and industry responsive to regulation. The tariff, in one shape or another, was the great regulating lever, and the main source of encouragement. Since unified Germany has come upon the map, she has resorted to special tariff enactments, which involve protective features. Italy has had recourse to higher tariff laws, in order to encourage lagging industries. France, after having for a long time relaxed her earlier regulations, has returned to them as a means of industrial revival.

There are but three countries in all Europe, beside England, that are not protective—Turkey, Switzerland and Norway. Turkey is now insisting on higher rates of duty.

THE ENGLISH POLICY.—The old English system of tonnage and poundage laws, of protective tariffs, and of commercial regulations, was severely in her own favor. It embraced over four hundred Acts of Parliament, and was administered without respect to the rights of any other nation, but solely for her own industrial and commercial welfare. She did not hesitate to make her tariffs prohibitive, nor to directly prohibit the exportation of articles which might teach inferior nations the skill of her own. There is no record of a protective system so selfishly woven and tyrannically administered as hers, if we except the absolutely exclusive and despotic system of China; nor of one so persistently sustained till it gave her the manufacturing and commercial supremacy she courted. This point reached, as to commerce by 1825, and as to manufactures by 1846, she resorted to a change of policy. We shall see hereafter how she turned her American colonial policy to protective account. Let us see how she protected her iron. From 1782 to 1795 the duty on foreign bar iron was over $12 per ton. In 1797 it was over $14; from 1798 to 1802 over $15; from 1806 to 1808 over $23; from 1810 to 1812 over $24; in 1818 over $28. By 1825 the duty was £6 10*s.* per ton if imported in British ships, and £7 18*s.* 6*d.* if imported in foreign ships. Other manufactured iron paid £20 ($90) per ton; and iron not otherwise enumerated paid £50 for every £100 worth imported. All of these rates were then not only protective, but prohibitive, and they serve as an index to the policy which prevailed as to other industries which she designed to foster.

MODERN ENGLISH POLICY.—The change from protection of the most studied and persistent kind to a policy of free trade came, after the former had given her wealth and a mighty reserve capital, multiplied her industries, fostered inventive skill, carried her fabrics to perfection, and enabled her to dominate the markets of weaker, less skillful, wealthy and independent nations. "Her own markets for her own wares," was

the motto so long as they were in danger of competitive invasion by others. A number of her writers on political economy, for more than half a century prior to 1846, had inclined to the doctrine of free trade. Her statesmen followed in their wake and gradually changed the character of her tariff legislation. By the latter date free trade in manufactures was the accepted dogma. Free trade treaties had been effected with a few of the leading countries—notably France—but these were not, in general, renewed. For a time she hesitated about her commercial supremacy, owing to the cheapness and facility with which Americans built fast sailing ships. But during the transfer from wooden sailers to iron steamers—a transfer which, in America, was unfortunately retarded, or rather whose prosperous beginning was prevented, by the civil war—she took a decided lead. By means of enormous subsidies, covering a period of twenty years, she destroyed the effect of all legitimate competition, and created for herself a monopoly in building and operating a steam iron marine. After this the principle of subsidies, like that of protection to her manufactures, was no longer insisted upon. She became free trade all through, and immediately set up to indoctrinate the world with her newly assumed and thoroughly selfish dogmas. Her Cobden Club, an association of British noblemen, was formed in 1866. Its avowed object is interference with the protective policy of newer, weaker and less favored nations, and their conversion to English free trade notions. Not content with arguments scattered abroad in tracts and books, this club, which counts among its numbers 200 members of Parliament and 12 of the 14 Cabinet ministers, has established agencies in different parts of the United States, for the purpose of operating directly on our politics, especially in congressional districts. In its issue of July 16, 1880, the London *Times* said: "It is to the New World that the Cobden Club is chiefly looking as the most likely sphere for its vigorous foreign policy. It has done what it can in Europe, and it is now turning its eyes westward and bracing itself for the struggle which is to come. It cannot rest while the United States are unsubdued."

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY.—Tariff, in some shape,

prohibitive, protective or general, was the wedge which forced colonial America from her British allegiance. Says McCulloch in his *Commercial Dictionary:* "It was a leading principle in the system of colonial policy, adopted as well by England as by other European nations, to discourage all attempts to manufacture such articles in the colonies as could be provided for them by the mother country." Says Bancroft, "England, in its relations with other States, sought a convenient tariff; in the colonies it prohibited industry." An Act of Parliament in 1750 prohibited as a common nuisance the erection of any mill in America for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt hammer, or furnace for making steel. So the making of nails was prohibited in Pennsylvania. Even to 1776, England, according to Adam Smith, "prohibited the exportation from one province to another by water, and even the carriage by land, upon horseback or in a cart, of hats, of wools and woollen goods, of the produce of America, a regulation which effectually prevents the establishment of any manufacture of such commodities for distant sale, and confines the industry of her colonists in this way to such coarse and household manufactures as a private family commonly makes for its own use or for that of some of its neighbors in the same province."

After the invention of the puddling furnace and rolling mill by Henry Cort, we find English statutes (1785) prohibiting the exportation of tools and utensils to foreign parts, the migration of workmen skilled in manufactures, and (1799) even of colliers who mined her coal. The first complete rolling mill in America, erected at Plumsock, Fayette county, Pa., for Col. Isaac Meason, was built and started by two Welshmen, Thomas and George Lewis, who came under the head of British skilled iron-workers, and as such were compelled to "smuggle" their passage across the Atlantic.

We are all more or less familiar with the English methods of exacting revenue from her American colonies, by Tea Acts, Stamp Acts, etc. They were but a part of that stupendous system of home protection and foreign discrimination which enriched England and built up her manufactures and commerce at

the expense of other nations. By no act or thought did she encourage agriculture in America, though she seemed to know that this country would in time become her granary. No sooner was this proved, under the auspices of independence and in the midst of circumstances she could not control, than she set about to build up rival markets in other, and newly planted, colonies. How well she has succeeded in India and Australia ought to appear clear from the fact that her wheat supply from these two sources for 1883-4 so nearly equals her demand as to leave our splendid surplus of 80,000,000 bushels almost untouched, or subject to a tardy movement at ruinous figures.

THE AMERICAN THOUGHT. — Colonial independence meant escape from this discriminative and ruinous British policy. There was hardly a colonial debate that did not inveigh against the selfish efforts of England to enrich herself at the expense of other nations, and to complete her industrial and commercial supremacy by overriding their protective systems and sapping their powers for independent, competitive existence. A prime fact mentioned in the Declaration of Independence and "submitted to a candid world" as proof that Great Britain designed to establish "an absolute tyranny over these States," was "cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;" and among the rights of a free people is mentioned that to "establish commerce."

The most fatal defect of the Articles of Confederation was absence of power to collect revenue, regulate trade, encourage industry. The thoughts of all our early statesmen were turned to this defect, which to them was the more glaring, because of intimate acquaintance with the British system. So paramount was the necessity for escape from industrial and commercial dependence, and so momentous was deemed the power to protect ourselves that Washington confidently looked to the trade regulations of a more efficient government as a means of giving the country its proper weight in the scale of empires, and, with a feeling foreign to his better nature, he declared that such government "will surely impose retaliating restrictions, to a certain degree, upon the trade of England."

The proceedings of the Continental Congress abound in de-

bates, resolutions and committees, having for their object the promotion of home products and the development of home resources. There seemed to be no question, among the leaders of thought, of the right and duty of a government to foster industry by legislative enactment, nor of the necessity for a new government endowed with ample power to provide revenue through a tariff and at the same time protect all its vital interests.

THE FREE TRADE ERA.—But this sentiment was not universal. Abuse of this power on the part of England had led to revulsion against it in the minds of the mercantile community. They needed the experience of the free trade era, from the date of the treaty of peace with England to the adoption of the Constitution (1783-89), to change their convictions. Free trade then existed, under the hard compulsion of circumstances. Tariffs were in the hands of the States. Where one imposed a duty the other admitted the article free. There was no *uniform* impost law, and therefore practically none at all. The States, depleted by the war of the revolution, were the victims of unrestrained foreign trade competition. They had few factories, rolling mills and workshops, and but limited means of recuperation. Says Carey, "At the close of the Revolution the trade of America was free and unrestrained in the fullest sense of the word, according to the theory of Adam Smith, Say, Ricardo, the Edinburg Reviewers, and the authors of the Encyclopædia. Her ports were open, with scarcely any duties, to the vessels and merchandise of other nations." What befel? As the States were discordant, foreign powers passed such laws as they pleased to destroy our commerce. Nearly every foreign nation shipped goods into the country and dumped them promiscuously on our wharves. The consequences followed which never fail to follow such a state of things. Competition on the part of our manufacturers was at an end. They were bankrupted and beggared. The merchants whose importations had ruined them were involved in the calamity. Farmers, who had longed to buy foreign merchandise cheap, went down in the vortex of general destruction. Said a statesman of the day, "The people of America went to war to improve their condition and throw off the burden

which the colonial system laid on their industry. And when their independence was attained they found it was a piece of parchment. The arm which had struck for it in the field was palsied in the workshop; the industry which had been *burdened* in the colonies was *crushed* in the free States; at the close of the Revolution the mechanics and manufacturers of the country found themselves, in the bitterness of their hearts, independent—and *ruined.* Carey further says: "The dreams of riches from excessive importations suddenly came to a close like those of 1815. The nation had no mines to pay her debts. Industry, the only legitimate and permanent source of individual happiness and national wealth, power and resources, was destroyed as it has recently been by the influx, and finally by the depreciation of the price, of imported articles." Webster thus depicts the situation: "From the close of the Revolution there came a period of depression and distress. . . . Ship-owners, ship-builders, mechanics, artisans, were destitute of employment and some of them of bread. The cheaper labor of England supplied the inhabitants of the Atlantic coast with everything. Ready-made clothes, among the rest, from the crown of the head to the soles of the feet, were for sale in every city. All these things came free from any general system of imposts."

The entire mercantile community began to see that England and other foreign countries were about to control our external trade and internal industry. Every packet ship carried away thousands of dollars in money, till there was none at home to operate with. Our only products, those of the farm, were a drug, and husbandry was full of bitter disappointments. There would be a change.

The change came. Pamphleteers arose without number. Newspapers took up the subject. Merchants, business men, farmers, statesmen, all united in the cry, "We have had enough of free trade. It means utter neglect of ourselves, and virtual sale of our energies and resources to older and better equipped nations. We have political independence: we must have industrial and commercial independence, else the victory of these nations over us will be greater than our recent victory over

them." They saw what John Stuart Mill afterwards incorporated in his Principles of Political Economy: "What prevented the rapid recuperation of the United States, after the peace of 1783, was the system of free foreign trade, allowed to add its devastations upon industry to those of the Revolution." Educated by a dreadful experience, it became clear to all parties that the power of industrial and commercial protection, so fatally absent from the Articles of Confederation, must repose somewhere. Of all thoughts which impelled toward a Constitution, this was the strongest. Says Bancroft, "Four causes, above others, exercised a steady and commanding influence. The new republic, as one nation, must *have power to regulate its foreign commerce;* to colonize its large domain; to provide an adequate revenue; to establish justice in domestic trade by prohibiting the separate States from impairing the obligation of contracts."

END OF FREE TRADE.—From this time on till the Constitution became a fact, both political and business sentiment urged not only a stronger government, but one full of the paternal instinct, able and willing to defend and encourage home industry and all home interests. State responded to State in this behalf, and statesmen echoed the plaints and pleas of statesmen. A most assuring phase of the situation—one in strange contrast with that of to-day, considering the opportunities for information—was the unanimity of artificers, mechanics, and workmen in demanding, through public meeting and published resolution, exemption from the degrading and ruinous competition forced upon them by the free and inordinate influx of foreign wares, on whose home manufacture they depended for a living.

What was deemed sufficient for all the purposes of a new and more vigorous government found a place in the Constitution, Sec. VIII., clause I. "Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States." At the same time, in order to insure the States against apprehension, and secure to them perfect interchangeability of their goods, and free internal commerce, it was ordained that Congress should never have the power to levy "a tax or duty on articles exported from any State."

NATURE OF THE NEW POWERS.—Thus endowed, the new government started on its career. The writers of the Federalist saw enough in the above clauses to assure their countrymen that the protection they required for their infant industries could now be guaranteed. As if by magic, the commercial and industrial situation began to change from one of gloom and depression to one of hope and activity. Says Bishop, "That the productive classes regarded the Constitution of 1787 as conferring the power and right of protection to the infant manufactures of the country is manifest from the jubilant feeling excited in various quarters upon the public ratification of that instrument." The first petition presented to the first Congress (March, 1789) came from 700 mechanics, tradesmen and others, of Baltimore, lamenting the decline of manufactures since the Revolution, and praying that the efficient government with which they were then blessed, for the first time, would render the country "independent in fact, as well as in name," by early attention to the encouragement and protection of American manufactures and by imposing on "all foreign articles which could be made in America such duties as would give a decided preference to their labors." Fisher Ames said in his debate on the first tariff bill (1789), "The want of an efficient government to secure the manufacturing interests and advance our commerce was long seen by men of judgment, and pointed out by patriots solicitous to promote our general welfare." Rufus Choate said, in 1842, "A whole people, a whole generation of our fathers, had in view, as one grand end and purpose of our government, the acquisition of the means of restraining, by governmental action, the importation of foreign manufactures, for the encouragement of manufactures and labor at home, and desired and meant to do this by clothing the new government with this specific power of regulating commerce." And Webster, in 1833, "The protection of American labor against injurious competition of foreign labor, so far, at least, as respects general handicraft productions, is known historically to have been one end designed to be obtained by establishing the Constitution." Says Tucker, in his History of the United States, "Merchants and ship-owners confidently

expected protection from the discriminating duties and navigation laws of other countries; the manufacturing class hoped for the encouragement of a protective impost; the agricultural class expected to share in the general prosperity." Leagues were formed in various cities for the purpose of urging on Congress an interpretation of the new powers conferred by the Constitution, in the interest of protective encouragement. Charleston shipwrights followed the artisans of Baltimore with petitions to the first Congress. Similar petitions came in from Boston and New York.

The history of an almost universal sentiment at this time shows that the constitutional clause relating to "duties and imposts," and to provision for the "common defense and general welfare" had a well-understood meaning. There was no doubt about the power of the government to "raise revenue," and none about its right to frame a code of duties "for the regulation of commerce; in other words, a tariff, protective or prohibitory, as the case might be." This was the English thought of the power as exercised at home, and it was the English phraseology when it wished to convey such power by statute. Hamilton so understood it: so did Franklin, Madison, Jefferson, and Monroe. Gallatin, a pronounced free trader, said he found such to be the universal opinion of statesmen, on his entrance into public life. There was no such refinement as afterwards existed, and as is claimed by some, still exists, to the effect that the power to raise revenue by a tariff does not carry the power to protect manufactures and general industries.

TARIFF AND FREE TRADE LEGISLATION. — With this interpretation of the Constitution, and under existing circumstances, the first Congress would have been a disappointing, if not recreant one, had it not come promptly to the rescue of the country with a tariff enactment. It was the first general bill passed by the first Congress (the first bill passed was one prescribing an oath of office), and reflected in its preamble the sentiment then prevalent: "Whereas it is necessary for the support of the government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, *and for the encouragement and protection of manu-*

factures, that duties be laid on imported goods, wares and merchandise, etc." Statesmen North and South gave their sanction to this comprehensive preamble. The bill invited debate of the widest range. It is notable that the learning brought to bear on its contents and merits has not been surpassed in future discussions of the same subject. It not only bore on all the economic phases of the question, but was exhaustive of the principle above alluded to, that the Constitution designed to secure to infant manufactures and struggling industries of the country the very protection they needed, against the riper experience and cheaper labor of Europe.

And as proof of the prevalence of the protective sentiment, we hear nothing from the opponents of this first bill in opposition to the necessity for protection, nor to the fact that tariff legislation of this kind was the best, if not the only known means, of fostering home industry. All opposition of moment was as to the method to be pursued. Such opposition came from those who were timid about too liberal a construction of the Constitution, and fearful that the States might thus early commit themselves to a policy which would rob them of their rights. A similar proof is furnished by the manufactures and industries deemed worthy of encouragement. They embraced the iron and steel of Pennsylvania, the glass of Maryland, the cotton, indigo and tobacco of the South, the wool, leather, paper and fisheries of the East. The act was, in addition to its revenue phases, a thoroughly protective measure, there being scarcely an article introduced into it whose freedom from foreign competition was not sought, and the desirability of whose home growth or production was not clear. It was imperative legislation in every sense, but especially so as tending to meet the English boast that while America had achieved political independence, it had been reconquered commercially, and was a more helpless and useful appendage in this sense than before. The act, therefore, was a second declaration of independence, far more valuable to the government and people for the spirit it evinced and the possibilities it contained, than for the mild duties it imposed.

This act was followed by Hamilton's report (1790) on commerce and manufactures, which emphasized the principle of protective legislation, embodied all the learning and experience furnished by the respective nations touching the subject, more than ever committed the budding nation and universal party sentiment to the operations of the act, and has ever since proved a well of information for students of political economy. As to the tendency of protection to foster monopoly, an argument much used in after years, he enunciated the principle which long practice has proved to be correct, that internal competition would be found an effectual corrective of monopoly and would in the end give even a lower scale of prices for home manufactures than could prevail for foreign.

His interpretation of the powers conferred on the government by the clause authorizing taxes, revenue, and the right to provide for the common defence and general welfare, has never been excelled in perspicuity. All political parties have confidently reposed on it whenever they needed support for liberal construction views, and it may now be said to prevail without regard to party lines.

The act of 1789, and the report of 1790, were the beginning of historic and practical protection in the United States, which continued, with such ebb and flow as circumstances demanded or for the time being excused, up to 1828. There were many minor or amendatory tariff acts, most of which have been noted in the article "Ruling Through Parties," whose object was to remodel existing acts without affecting the protective principle. These dot our entire tariff history and need not be referred to here. The first commanding act after that of 1789 was what is known as the "Tariff of 1812." Madison had urged revision in his message. Calhoun, Lowndes, Clay and others sought, in such revision, their opportunity to formulate what afterwards became the "American System," and which embraced, in substance, full protective power on the part of the government, with the additional thought that such power should no longer be exercised as secondary to the power to raise revenue. The act was a sweeping one, and raised the duties then existing quite one

hundred per cent., while it fixed a discrimination of ten per cent. on goods imported in foreign vessels.

Though this act, in conjuction with the further encouragement to infant industries occasioned by the diminution of imports during war times, gave an impetus to domestic manufactures they had never before experienced, the measure was regarded as too radical by the sections largely interested in shipping. The reaction which naturally followed resulted in the tariff of 1816, which was a wide departure from the rates of 1812, but which still retained many protective features. Mr. Webster, and in general statesmen from the East, regarded the higher rates as oppressive to the home-carrying trade. Clay and Calhoun insisted that this branch of industry should bide its time, with the certainty of greater activity and profit once our manufactures had had time to grow under the fostering care of the government. The time proved inopportune for such reduction of duties as the act brought. A financial crisis came. Industry of every kind lagged and dwindled. Blight and ruin came upon the country.

A remedy was sought in the tariff act of 1824. Calhoun had deserted Clay and joined Webster, but his place was ably filled by Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. By this time a distinctive free trade thought was abroad, especially in the minds of those who represented the Southern planting interests and who, now that slave labor had come to be regarded as essential to cotton-raising, could not consistently foster the paid labor of the North. The result of the struggle, pending which President Monroe inclined to the side of Protection and Internal Improvement, was a distinctive affirmation of what was now known as Clay's "American System." Duties were not restored to the high grade of 1812, but the protective features of the bill were conspicuous.

Encouraged by their success and by the improved condition of the country under the operations of this act, its friends rallied to the support of the tariff of 1828, whose leading feature was a duty on wool and other raw materials, and therefore a more distinct introduction of the protective idea than had yet occurred.

It has become historic as the turning-point of New England sentiment respecting the protective system, Webster being found among the champions of the act; and likewise as the beginning of that opposition on the part of the South which afterwards (1832) took the form of nullification.

This act led to bitter political turmoil and to the expediency act of 1832, which greatly scaled the duties of 1828, and of the intermediate act of 1830, but which was yet offensive to Calhoun and the nullifying sentiment of the South, because it contained no repudiation of the protective policy. Clay's weakness for compromises culminated in the conciliatory act of 1833, which became known as the sliding scale tariff, because it provided that there should be biennial reductions of the rates of 1832, till at the end of ten years a uniform rate of twenty per cent. prevailed. This act was a practical abandonment of the protective principle. It was notice to the people and the world that the United States had departed from its early policy of fostering home industry and paternally caring for its internal development. Tariff was fully afloat on the sea of politics.

The financial crash and industrial crush which came in 1837, united with the political revolution in 1840, which left the Whigs in the ascendant both as to the Presidency and the Congress, gave them an opportunity of again testing the merits of protection, which, as a policy, found now an abiding-place in the bosom of their party only. True, they were helped by members of the opposition representing manufacturing sections, but they were also opposed by some of their members representing planting sections. The act of 1842 was nevertheless a Whig measure, and was at first designed to be protective, but under the hostility of Tyler, who mercilessly used his veto, it was well-nigh shorn of its protective features and provided a schedule of rates lower than those of 1828. Such as it was, it sufficed to lift the cloud of depression which hung over the country and introduce an era of prosperity and cheerfulness not witnessed since 1832.

So efficacious had this act proved that all parties took advantage of it during the election of 1844. Democrat and Whig were committed to it, and, if anything, Democratic pledges were

the loudest and longest. But the South made a savage and persistent attack on it. Mr. Polk could not get away from his section and his friends therein. The Vice-President, Mr. Dallas, did not dare break with the administration of which he was a part, and which he hoped to succeed. The tariff of 1846 was on, and had drawn a tie vote in the Senate. It had been framed so as to introduce *ad valorem* for specific duties, and as a strictly revenue tariff without the incident of protection. It was therefore free trade, as far as such a thing had gone as a party tenet. It was passed by the casting vote of Dallas, much to the chagrin of his Pennsylvania political friends, and in clear violation of the pledges of the campaign.

While this action led to the Whig successes of 1848, the tariff legislation of 1846 escaped interference, a state of affairs which existed up till 1857, the close of Pierce's administration. Then under Democratic auspices the act of that year (March 3) was passed, which emphasized the free trade policy, and as the sequel proved, struck the country a cruel blow by reducing duties to the standards which prevailed before the war of 1812, and had not been reached since, except at the end of the sliding scale of 1833. The one excuse for its passage, to wit, the redundancy of revenue, was speedily met by excessive importations, a paralysis of industry, and an exhaustive outpour of the specie of the country. Six months after its passage the country was in the midst of such a panic as it had never witnessed. No branch of industry escaped. The ruin was universal and deep.

What had been a paramount Whig doctrine now passed to the new Republican party. Judicious use of it in the campaign of 1860 aided the political revolution of that year. It was a period of war and of liberal construction measures. The tariff of 1861 was natural to the party and the situation. It increased duties all along the line of imports, and reintroduced the protective principle which had prevailed during the first forty years of the government. This principle has remained undisturbed ever since so far as the forms of law could preserve it. It finds conspicuous place in the subsequent amendatory acts, as well as the

leading tariff acts of 1874 and 1883. Of this last it must be said, it was the result of a non-partisan commission appointed to inquire into existing acts with a view of correcting their incongruities, and readapting tariff rates to our newer and wider diversified industries. In obedience to a spirit of reform, and in accord with a sentiment against prohibitive rates, or even protective rates as to established industries, it, after the fullest inquiry, recommended measures which looked to a reduction of duties to the extent of twenty-five per cent., on some articles more, on some less. The act which was passed did not embrace all the recommendations of the commission, but its report was the basis of the bill. Enough time has not elapsed to test the exact amount of reduction to be effected by the act, but it will not reach the anticipated twenty-five per cent. Possibly this fact may have emboldened the efforts of the Democratic party in the present (Forty-eighth) Congress to accomplish the reduction contemplated in the Morrison bill, which seeks to make protection an incident of revenue, and to reduce the rates of the act of 1883 a sheer twenty per cent., without regard to the age, character, or condition of the industry interested. This bill, which came to be known as the "Morrison horizontal reduction bill," did not command the united support of the party. Its title was stricken out, and it therefore fell, by the vote of some forty Democrats who united themselves to the opposing Republicans.

FOR AND AGAINST.—The earliest anti-protection or free trade argument was as to the constitutional right to protect. This may be said to have passed away. The second great free trade argument was that protection fostered monopoly. This was Calhoun's standing argument. He saw that it enured more to the benefit of free paid labor than to slave unpaid labor; in other words, that its legitimate effect was encouragement of manufacturing as against planting industries; that is, the industries which involved invention, skill and competition, as against those which did not. He was right. But the thought of denouncing that as monopoly which concerns a whole people would be too idle for support to-day. The word and the argument are still

heard, but as the last resort of those who do not understand their origin in tariff discussion, nor their logical effect under changed industrial conditions and attitudes.

The free trade argument that protection tends to higher prices was met by Hamilton theoretically, and is now met by protectionists with indubitable evidence to the contrary. They are in general not without fact to vindicate themselves. They point to the fact that American manufactures of cotton which sold before the protective tariff of 1824 for 24 cents a yard were reduced under that tariff to 7¾ cents. They point—we can only give a few out of many instances—to the fact that under protection our cotton textiles are found in the best Oriental and South American markets, and that England has to resort to an adulteration of similar manufactures in order to compete with us in price. They point to the fact that under protection we have acquired a perfection in the manufacture of edge tools and agricultural implements which enables us to compete with the English home market. They point to the fact that so long as England supplied us with, and had a monopoly of, Bessemer steel rails, the price in gold was $150 per ton, and that since this manufacture has assumed its present proportions in this country under protection, the price has fallen to $40, to say nothing of our home development, industrial independence, and the disbursement of countless millions to American laborers.

All this is actual. They argue the same as to relative cost. In the early days protection advanced prices, because industries were not sufficiently numerous to invite the wholesome competition which now prevails. But if prices advanced, so did labor, so that there was money to buy necessaries. During the low prices under the tariff of 1833, and during the panic of 1837, labor was stricken, and lay crushed with the general wreck. When prices revived under the tariff of 1842, so did the price of labor, and so it declined with the decline of prices in 1857. The point is that cheapness or dearness is relative. That well-paid labor can purchase more in a market where prices are raised by tariff duties than underpaid labor, because the necessaries of life are as a rule exempt from duty. That labor

cannot be well remunerated when our markets are cheapened by foreign competition, and when the capital which should be invested at home is drawn off to pay for imported articles.

The abstract argument in favor of free trade is, that trading is a natural right—the world a market. That some countries can, by natural fitness, certainly and always produce a class of goods cheaper than others, and that it is wrong to prevent, by legislation, their general sale and a general opportunity to take advantage of their cheapness. To this the protectionist replies that he fully recognizes this law of trade, and is willing to see it operate just so far as the goods or articles in question do not compete with similar articles, or the possibility of the production of similar articles, in his own country. That as to tea, coffee and such things as cannot be produced here, they are, and ought to be, free of duty, unless forsooth simple revenue requires such duty; but that as to the products of other nations, whose cheapness has been brought about by the long practice of hard protective systems, or by social and political degradation of the labor which enters into them, it becomes the highest duty of the government to avoid competition with them, that our own labor may live and our own capital find employment. The protectionist admits that this is selfish, but claims that it is the selfishness which all peoples have to exercise in order to exist, and further that it is the selfishness of the law which subordinates the rights of the few to the rights of the many, or the rights of enemies to those of friends.

To the argument that other countries practice free trade, the answer is that free trade is not known among nations except in theory. That the modern drift of economic practice is against it. That England, who has set up to convert the world to free trade, is not herself a free trade nation, but by means of a tariff on wines, spirits, tobacco, and other articles she calls luxuries, gathers a revenue sufficient for her wants. That in the past twenty years, and long after she declared free trade to be the rule as to her manufactures, she protected her commercial marine by the payment of direct subsidies, till France, Italy and Germany were compelled to do the same, and this country has

been made to see the folly of not doing it, by the loss of her carrying trade.

The free trader claims that while some articles are cheaper by reason of our ability to manufacture them, the greater number are not, and cannot be. The protectionist says this is not absolutely desirable at present. That it ought to be a patriotic pride with an American to pay more for a home-made article than for a foreign one, the quality and utility being the same. That he will be more than repaid for the difference by the fact that he has thereby encouraged a home industry and contributed to a home market. That every cent which thus goes out of a man's pocket is a contribution to the comfort of his surroundings, to the happiness of his neighbors, to the erection of homes, to the welfare of labor, to the building up of a home market for cattle, wool, wheat, corn, butter, cheese, etc., for which there would not otherwise be a demand, or, if so, one so remote and foreign as to rob him of all profit by the cost of transportation, not to say the cost of intermediate agency.

A school of free traders who are really protectionists, and of protectionists who are really free traders, have pretty nearly agreed that the true measure of protection is found in the difference between the cost of an article at home and abroad. They say that this cost represents labor, and this difference the difference in the price of labor, and that when this difference is covered American labor has all the protection it can ask or ought to have. The straight-out protectionist says this is illusory. It leaves capital out of the question, which is even more timid than labor. It further compels an adjustment which is impracticable, for the reason that labor is differently paid in all older countries, and because the political and social institutions of those countries are different. Where caste prevails, the laborer has no inducement to rise above his station, and is content to take his stipulated wage, however low it may be. But here he is a man, a voter, has every encouragement to rise himself and see his children rise. He has, or may have, social caste, which he is in duty bound to sustain. That therefore labor conditions are not the same, and any argument based on simple differences of labor

prices is unfair. Our standards ought not to be based on those abroad, but should be subject to the laws of supply and demand at home. Hamilton's idea of protection was that it did not, and should not, invite competition of any kind from abroad, but that it depended for its equity and success on the competition it created at home. This was his answer to all argument that it favored monopoly, and it was equally an answer to the argument that either our labor or capital should be subject to foreign standards, or be gauged by foreign rules or conditions. The free trade argument that protection tends to overproduction in the United States, and to periods of depression and panic, is answered by square denial. England is as subject to periodic visitations of glut and depression as this or any other protective country. The facts are on the side of the protectionist. The year 1884 is a period of depression in the iron trade. With those who look no further, the cry of overproduction by reason of too much protection answers for argument. But every iron-producing country in the world is now subject to the same depression, let the reason for it be what it may. And the English iron trade is as much, if not more, depressed than all. The logic of the free trade situation requires that she should be exempt. And just here the protectionist uses with most vigor the historic arguments at hand. He points to the fact that the repeal of protective laws has inevitably resulted in depression and disaster, and that a return to them has eventuated in renewed prosperity and confidence. This is certainly true of the periods designated by 1819–24, 1837–42, 1857–61.

The panic of 1873 is the only historic exception, and this was due not to those legitimate and sober relations between capital and labor which protective or free trade legislation is supposed to effect, but to speculative ramifications incident to a redundant currency, the direction of wild, unsettled, post-war energies into new and unknown channels, and the sudden recall, by the Chicago and Boston fires, of $250,000,000 of capital to other and imperative uses. How long protection postponed the panic, no free trader has agreed to tell. Nor has any one condescended to inform the world how much of the speedy and substantial re-

covery from its ruinous effects was due to the presence of a liberal protective system.

But as to this panic, these things are purely local. The laws of economy do not permit simply a home search for causes which were pervasive of the commercial world. The panics of 1819, 1837 and 1857 were confined to this country. That of 1873 was general, and far more disastrous in Europe than here. Twelve hundred millions of our bonds were held abroad. Stringency there caused a refusal of further credit. The seeds of contagious panic were sown broadcast. It was a matter of credit and not of industry. Indeed, our mills did not stop at all, or as in other panics. Banks did not break so numerously. Internal commerce was sustained. All recuperative forces had play, and the rescue was prompt. We even got rid of hampering foreign debt. Economy became a rule. We sold more than we bought because we did not, owing to high tariff rates, become a dumping ground for foreign manufactures, as after the Revolution and the war of 1812. Many have said the panic of 1873 was a blessing.

As to the American farmer, the free trader is content with the argument that he ought not to be made to pay high prices for the commodities he uses. The protectionist points to the fact that all manufactured commodities are on an average twenty-five per cent. cheaper than before 1860, and that then some eighty per cent. of them were made abroad and twenty per cent. at home, while now eighty per cent. are made at home and twenty per cent. abroad. Even if prices for these manufactures were the same, the farmer has gained by protection the advantage of a home market for his produce, that is, a saving to the extent at least of the cost of transporting it to markets three to five thousand miles away. Transportation is always dead loss. Our home market is the one the farmer should foster. It is certain, is at his door, is growing as fast as our own manufactures, is already large enough to consume eighty per cent. of our wheat and ninety-two per cent. of our corn, and even as to our surplus is being fast forestalled by the English design to get cheap food for her workmen through Australian and East Indian wheat.

It is impossible to follow the many minor arguments used by free traders and protectionists. Nor is it necessary. Many of them are individual, many shaded to suit party bent, many demagogic. It is equally impossible to go through the hard chapters of political economy, written to prove the absolute rectitude of either free trade or protection. Whatever may be said of them as abstract questions, nations are relative. They exist and prosper by their relations. Independence and prosperity are desirable. This country had to face the problem of political independence. Peace was beautiful and desirable, but peace meant humiliation, subserviency. The protective agency of horrid war had to be evoked. Political independence was the beginning of a grand commercial and industrial battle. We have learned to trust the agency of protection to win this victory also. It is the old question, in another form, of peace and subordinancy, or legal, industrial war and second independence. The weapons of Great Britain alone are countless millions of capital and machinery equal to the labor of seven hundred millions of men. We must meet this mighty menace, or suffer overthrow. To exist industrially we must earn the right to exist. Eternal vigilance is the price of our industrial liberty. If overcome in the struggle, let it not be said of us that we were too spiritless or too fond of dreams to try the arts of protection which have raised other nations to opulence and commercial independence.

THE SURPLUS REVENUE.

IN the fall of 1882 the Republican party of Pennsylvania introduced into its platform a proposition which read as follows: "That any surplus in the public treasury arising from a redundant revenue should, after paying the national debt as fast as its conditions permit, be distributed from time to time to the several States upon the basis of population, to relieve them from the burden of local taxation and provide means for the education of their people." It became known as the Barker plank, from the name of the gentleman who suggested it. At first it attracted but little attention, but as time passed it drew comment and discussion, and at last grew to be a matter of far-reaching and national moment.

HISTORY.—It was not a new proposition or doctrine, as many supposed, but was nearly as old as the government, and had at various times engaged the attention of statesmen and parties. Jefferson, in one of his inaugurals, spoke of the necessity of providing a plan for the distribution of the proceeds of the sales of public lands among the States, it then being a doctrine that such proceeds belonged to the States which were the real owners of the lands.

Afterwards, in the second session of the Nineteenth Congress (1827), a bill was defeated which had for its object the distribution of a part of the national revenue among the States. In this Congress the National Republican and Democratic parties were very evenly divided, and this measure shared the fate of an amended tariff bill which was strongly urged by the National Republican (afterwards the Whig) party.

President Jackson, with greater reason than had previously existed, for the national debt was then growing small, proposed,

in his message to the Twenty-first Congress, Dec. 7, 1829, a distribution of the surplus revenue among the States, the thought still being that the States were entitled to it as owners of the public lands, the sale of which constituted a leading source of income. The President's suggestion led to the famous Foot resolution of inquiry into the sales of the public lands, and to the proposition to stop surveys and limit their sale for a time, debate on which engaged almost the entire session of the Senate and culminated in the splendid oratorical contest between Webster and Hayne.

On account of the approaching extinguishment of the public debt, President Jackson, in his message to the Twenty-fourth Congress, Dec. 7, 1835, again called attention to the necessity of devising some means of distributing the surplus revenue among the States. The matter being timely, it drew many propositions, each of which was suggestive of the numerous constitutional difficulties in the way. A direct return of surplus moneys to the States, and the further collection of the same for the purpose of so returning them, were regarded as out of the question. The plan was hit upon of loaning to the States, in proportion to their population, such part of the surplus as they thus became entitled to. The act passed, June 23, 1836, to take effect Jan. 1, 1837. It authorized the deposit of all surplus for that year, except $5,000,000, in what were then known as the "pet banks," or designated government depositories, the same to be drawn out by each State to the extent of what was due it, and to be regarded as a loan for whose payment the State stood as security. There was an actual distribution to the extent of $26,101,644. The quota due each State for the year 1837 was ascertained, and three quarterly payments were made on Jan. 1, April 1 and July 1. Owing to the panic of that year, which forced the act of Oct. 2, 1837, postponing further payment till Jan. 1, 1839, the fourth instalment was never paid. To illustrate, the quota ascertained to be due Pennsylvania was $3,823,353.04, and of this she received three instalments of $955,838.26 each, or a total of $2,867,514.78. The quota of Virginia was $2,931,236, and of this she received three instalments of $732,809 each, or a total of $2,198,427.

The act had an excuse for its existence in the fact that there was no debt of any account and a surplus revenue, which, unless distributed, the treasury would have had to hoard. It was based on the then prevailing theory that the States were entitled to it as owners of the public lands, whence most of this revenue came. But probably the passage of the act was due as much to a desire on the part of certain presidential aspirants to stand well with the States as to anything else. The Foot inquiry of former years had shown that the policy of stopping surveys and sales of public lands for a time was very unpopular. These going on, the question of distribution kept at the front.

Further, the act imposed no restrictions on the States. They could use the money as they pleased. Indeed the very nature of the distribution—it was a loan and not an absolute gift, though it was understood that payment would never be demanded—prevented such restriction. What the States did with it is not certain at this date. It is said that in Maine and New Hampshire it was distributed among the people amid infinite jest; that New York set it apart as a school fund; that North Carolina put it into internal improvements; that Pennsylvania divided hers into a school fund and a fund for internal improvement. As to the rest of the twenty-six States which participated the impression is that it was frittered away without permanent good results.

After the panic of 1837 and the era of low tariffs which began with the sliding scale of 1833, not to end till 1861, the country was in no condition to moot the question of a distribution of a surplus. Yet it unfortunately came up in 1842. The Whigs were then striving to pass the protective tariff act of that year. They did so after a long debate, and in order to calm apprehension respecting a redundant revenue from it they coupled with it a clause providing for the distribution of any surplus that might arise among the States. The bill fell under Tyler's veto. A second was passed without protective features. This was also vetoed. A third without either the protective or the surplus distribution feature was passed and signed. This became the celebrated Tariff Act of 1842.

After that the act of 1836 passed quite out of mind, and the theory of distribution with it, if we except the recent demands made by Arkansas and Virginia upon the treasury for payment of the fourth instalments which they claimed to be due them. The Virginia case took the shape of a mandamus to compel the Secretary of the Treasury to pay her the sum of $732,809, the same being the fourth instalment of public money which the Secretary of the Treasury was directed to deposit for the benefit of the State by act of Congress dated June 23, 1836. The Supreme Court of the United States, March 17, 1884, dismissed the mandamus, saying "that the act in question created no debt or legal obligation on the part of the United States to the States accepting its terms, but only made provision for the deposit temporarily with the States, subject to recall by the government, of a portion of the surplus national revenue." Further: "The act authorized the deposits to be made out of surplus in the treasury, on January 1, 1837. The act of October 2, 1837, postponed the fourth instalment till January 1, 1839. The condition of the treasury was then such as to forbid its payment or deposit. Congress did not make it a charge on revenue in the treasury after January 1, 1839, and the Secretary of the Treasury has no power to apply subsequently collected revenue to the payment of said fourth instalment without an act of Congress."

It thus appears that distribution of the surplus revenue is no new question, but one which has plagued the Government and parties throughout the century.

PRESENT QUESTION.—The present question of surplus distribution comes up at a time when there is really no surplus revenue. The country is in debt to the extent of nearly $1,500,000,000. Rigid economists say "let all revenue be devoted to the payment of the debt, then talk about distribution." This is almost the position taken by the Secretary of the Treasury in his last report, December, 1883. His words are: "It is perhaps enough for the present that the payable debts of the Union can take up all surplus now existing or likely to arise for four years to come."

The President in his message to Congress, December, 1883, advises a diminution of the excise taxes if the surplus appears too large; yet, the same having been reduced to the extent of $50,000,000 in 1883, and the Tariff rates having been considerably cut, he thinks that the full effect of these laws should be witnessed before making haste to reduce the surplus further.

Observe both of these functionaries speak of a surplus revenue. They do not mean that there is an actual surplus as in 1836; that is, one over and above absolute needs; but only one above present or current wants. There is more than enough to pay the expenses of running the Government, the interest on the debt, and such part of the principal as may be falling due, or as ought to be met in order to keep up steady reduction. If the thought is entertained that all surplus should go to the extinguishment of the debt, then no question can arise as to the distribution of the surplus among the States. If, on the contrary, the thought be conspicuous—and it surely is—that we ought not to pay the debt so rapidly, then the question of making some disposition of the surplus forces itself to the front, for nothing is better established than the doctrine that a government ought not to collect money from the people for the mere pleasure of the thing and for the purpose of piling it up idly in the vaults of the Treasury.

The present question of surplus distribution is therefore complex. It depends on our ideas respecting the propriety of rapid or slow payment of the National debt. And rapid or slow payment of the debt is in itself a great question. Rapid payment means a continuance of high excise taxes and high rates of duty on imports. It means constant calling in of bonds, which holders would rather retain than give up. It means the speedy and final extinguishment of the bonds which the National Banks are compelled to buy and hold as a basis of the banking system, and it consequently means the end of that system, or its reorganization on some other and less satisfactory basis. In its most favorable light, it means of course the early stoppage of interest on the debt and thereby an immense annual saving.

Slow payment means a lower tax and tariff rate, a spreading

of the burdens over the future, a longer continuance of the National Banking system, enjoyment of our securities by holders, and annual loss in the shape of interest. But in view of the fact that our bonds have to be met at stated times as they fall due, there is no school of economists which advocates a reduction of our National income to the low standard of mere current or every-day wants. All agree that we should pay our way and be making ready for future demands; in other words, that however much taxation may be reduced, the Government should not be pinched, but should have a handsome margin each year; that is, a surplus.

Selfish rather than strictly economical considerations come in to complicate the question. Those interested in liquors and tobacco, the two articles which now bear the brunt of excise taxation, naturally want them relieved of tax. They point to the dangers of a surplus revenue, and answer the question of distribution by saying, "Strike off the tax and thus do away with the surplus." Again, those interested in maintaining a high protective tariff see great danger in a large surplus. Some would have it applied directly to the payment of the debt, so that an inducement to lower tariff rates and income from duties might not arise, for the present at least. Others fall in with the liquor and tobacco interests, and advocate abolition of all excise taxes and internal revenue, on the theory that if this source of income is cut off, the government will be compelled to maintain a high standard of duties on imports. Still others are ardent advocates of the present rates of tax and duty, and as to the surplus that is arising and sure to arise, they say, "Let it be distributed among the States, and to some good end."

One other thought in connection with the present question of surplus distribution, before we turn to its history. The surplus under consideration is that which arises from all sources. It is general and mixed. The early attempts at distribution among the States, and the successful one of 1836, touched a special, unmixed surplus—that arising from the sale of public lands. It was not a surplus occasioned by taxation, nor was the distribution regarded as anything more than a return of moneys to the proper

owners, State supremacy and right to the public domain being then a prominent political doctrine. There is now no proposition —except as a means of avoiding Constitutional objections, or of reconciling the idea of distribution to the popular mind—to separate the surplus, and to distribute to the States the part which arises from the sale of public lands, or from any special source. The distribution is not to be made because the States have any paramount right to the surplus moneys, but because the government chooses to be generous and to restore to the people, as nearly as it can, the sums it has collected from them. This is the proposition of distribution coldly stated. But it has taken quite another form under discussion, as we shall see.

We now turn to the growth or amplification of the surplus distribution idea. As embodied in the Pennsylvania platform, it meant a distribution of not needed surplus among the States in proportion to their population, and for the purpose of relieving them "from the burden of local taxation and providing means for the education of their people." There was no mention of the source whence the surplus sprang. The distribution was to be general, and on the basis of population. It was to be constant as long as a surplus arose, great or small in proportion to the extent of that surplus. The recipient States were to be limited in their use of the money. They were to pay local debts with it and provide means for the education of their people.

A year afterwards, Nov. 22, 1883, the question came prominently before the public through a letter from Hon. James G. Blaine, published in the Philadelphia *Press*. He objected to the Pennsylvania plan because it proposed to give no steady or certain amount to the States each year. They would be the recipients of a large amount this year and a small amount next, just as the surplus fluctuated in the Treasury. The States could not, therefore, depend on it to support any plan for reducing their debts or building up educational systems. They would fritter it away as they did the deposits of 1837. He objected further that it placed a temptation before representatives from impecunious States to withhold their support from National and legitimate appropriations in order to make those for their States as

large as possible. His third objection was to the assumption contained in the proposition that our present redundancy of revenue would continue for some time. But owing to the fact, or combination of facts, that our securities were in such shape that payment of much of the debt could well be postponed, and that there was hardly a possibility of so reducing taxes and duties as to avoid a surplus income, he regarded it as a fit time to help the States to lift their debts and lower their rates of taxation. Then, on the theory that the Federal government could alone tax spirits with any degree of success, that it was the easiest and handiest taxation known, being on a luxury, and that it was far less oppressive and hurtful than any local tax on land or personal property, he proposed to turn over to the States each year the amount raised by the government on liquors, with the intent that they should reduce their own taxes in proportion to the amount received. The amount raised in 1883 from tax on liquors was $86,000,000, which, in the hands of the States, would enable them to reduce their local taxation that much. Thus, he argued, the States would have a certain income, one arising from a specific tax on specific articles, and they could afford to engage in plans for lowering taxes without fear of confusion.

While this plan went back to that of 1836, and involved the distribution of a special, or specifically derived, surplus, and may have, in the mind of its author, thereby overcome a Constitutional objection, it was narrower than the Pennsylvania plan, which proposed that the recipient States should not only lower their taxes, but educate their people, through and by means of the government's bounty. It further created a surplus for distribution, and made it certain for each year, a thing not contemplated in the Pennsylvania proposition, for it assumed to deal only with such surplus as seemed probable, unless there came about a reduction of both excise taxes and tariff rates.

This reopening of the question drew a variety of opinions from all sources, and proved the beginning of a discussion which has since become general, and in some instances taken on party hues. Both the plans of distribution were compelled to face the Constitutional argument that the government had no right to

raise money by taxation for the purpose of handing it over to the States that they might thereby lighten the burden of State taxation. And this has all along been the most serious argument against any proposition to distribute national surplus. It is certainly stronger against creating a surplus, or setting apart specifically derived income, for the use of the States, than against such disposition of an accidental surplus found in the Treasury, especially if the latter goes to the States for educational purposes, or partly so. In the end it may prove a fatal objection.

Another objection was to the effect that the distribution of moneys arising from the taxation of malt and spirituous liquors would be enriching States which did not manufacture such liquors at the expense of those which did. This lost its weight by the consideration that the consumers, in the end, paid the tax, and such consumers were found in every State. Again it was said that if the States were thus supported, the people would lose their interest in local affairs; that it looked to the perpetuation of internal revenue taxation at a time when public sentiment favored its abolition; that it would encourage profligacy in the States; would be generally unwise and mischievous.

The friends of distribution relied on historic precedent, on a popular sentiment which could not be induced to relieve liquors from taxation so long as lands and articles of necessity were subject to it, on the ability of the government to collect such tax with the machinery already in existence, on the fairness of a distribution according to population, on the immense advantage likely to accrue to the States.

When the matter began to assume practical shape, which it did in a bill drawn by Mr. Barker, author of the Pennsylvania plan, it was seen that many of the objections above urged were insuperable. There was a general departure from the thought that the government ought to raise revenue for the purpose of distributing it. Indeed, it appeared that if the government were to assume any such generous attitude toward the States, it must have a higher justification than had thus far cropped out. That part of the Pennsylvania plan which referred to a distribution

for educational purposes now became conspicuous. States had founded educational systems and endowed them liberally, on the theory that they owed an obligation to the citizen—the obligation of redeeming him from illiteracy. Did not a similar obligation exist on the part of the Federal government?

This question had been asked many times during the existence of our government, and in general answered affirmatively. If such obligation existed at all, it did so now to an extent greater than ever. Illiteracy was everywhere. In some sections half the people were illiterates. Those sections were not the richest, nor best qualified to embark in liberal schemes of education. What so easy and proper as for the government to extend educational aid? There was a surplus of revenue, and distribution of it for such purpose would be in the nature of a parental patronage. Constitutional objections would be avoided. The government would be a benefactor. Public moneys would not go out to the States as such, and in proportion to population, but to the States as localities where illiteracy was prevalent and in proportion to the number of illiterates. Help would go where it was needed, light into dark places, both as a demand existed.

In looking back, precedent was found to be abundant. The ordinance (1785) for the government of the Northwest Territory set apart the sixteenth section (640 acres) of every township for common school purposes, and wisely declared that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be ever encouraged." Fourteen of the States received school lands under this ordinance. The ordinance of 1787 increased the gift of school lands to two townships of land to each State for the purpose of founding a university. This ordinance was confirmed after the adoption of the Constitution, and every State organized since 1800 has enjoyed this gift of 46,000 acres. Those States which handled their deposit, under the act of 1836, in the wisest manner made a school fund of it. Many acts, running from 1841 to 1860, gave large grants of lands to the States, much of which was wasted, but some of which was turned to

the account of public schools. Up to this time the government gave to the States lands estimated at 140,000,000 acres, most of which, it is safe to say, has been converted to public school uses. In 1862 a further grant was made to each State of 30,000 for each Senator and Representative in Congress, the proceeds of the same to be devoted to the founding and maintenance of agricultural colleges.

It is thus made apparent that something very like a policy has existed from a time beyond the Constitution to extend national aid to education. True, only public lands were given away, but that does not alter the principle. The treasury was deprived of their proceeds. The proceeds themselves might as well have been given—perhaps better.

At this juncture the question of distributing surplus revenue among the States was merged in that of extending national aid to education. It came into the Senate in December, 1883, in the shape of the Blair bill, and was at first coldly received by both political parties. But as discussion advanced, its merits became clear, and it finally passed that body. Its success in the House is a matter of the future. It appropriates $77,000,000, to be dealt out to the States during a period of eight years, in proportion to the number of illiterates in each. But no State shall receive more than it expends itself for public schools, nor shall any State receive its instalment till the governor thereof files an annual statement showing the school attendance and expenditure for the same. While it disposes of all probable or troublesome surplus revenue for eight years at least, it does so with a distinctive aim, and under conditions which make it obligatory on the States to devote it to education. Certainly surplus moneys could not go out of the treasury in a worthier direction. The government control of the funds appropriated is not lost till a guarantee is given that they are being devoted to the uses designed.

The objections to the bill may be grouped under three heads: (1) Those as to its constitutionality. (2) Those to the effect that it was virtually legislating in favor of a section, it being known that the Southern States would receive the bulk of the moneys

appropriated because the per cent. of illiteracy was largest there. (3) Those (chiefly from Southern Senators) to the effect that it showed a want of confidence in the ability of the States to handle the question of education, and would tend to weaken local pride in common schools and local exertion for their support.

The bill rests on the fact of illiteracy, which is indisputable. It further rests on the theory that illiteracy is an element of danger to the republic, which it is a duty to remove. It simply extends the facts and theories which are the basis of common school systems in the States to the national government, and gives them play there amid greater opportunities for good. Whatever may be the fate of the bill in the House, it is certain that the Senate's action has brought before the country a far-reaching and important question—one which, while it involves that of surplus distribution and in a measure settles it, will prove pregnant with good or evil, just as statesmen rise or fall with a grave situation.

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PART IV.

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

NOMINATING CONVENTION AT CHICAGO.

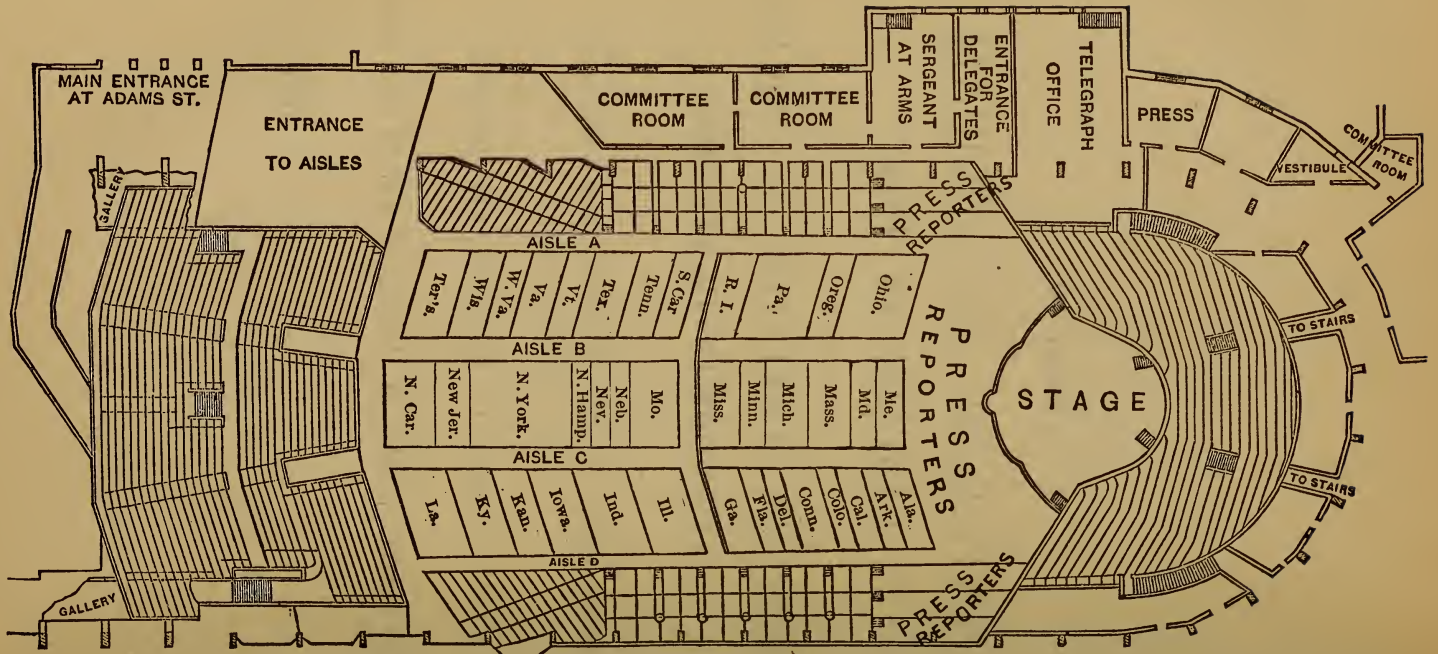
THE PARTY PLATFORM.

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE NOMINEES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT:

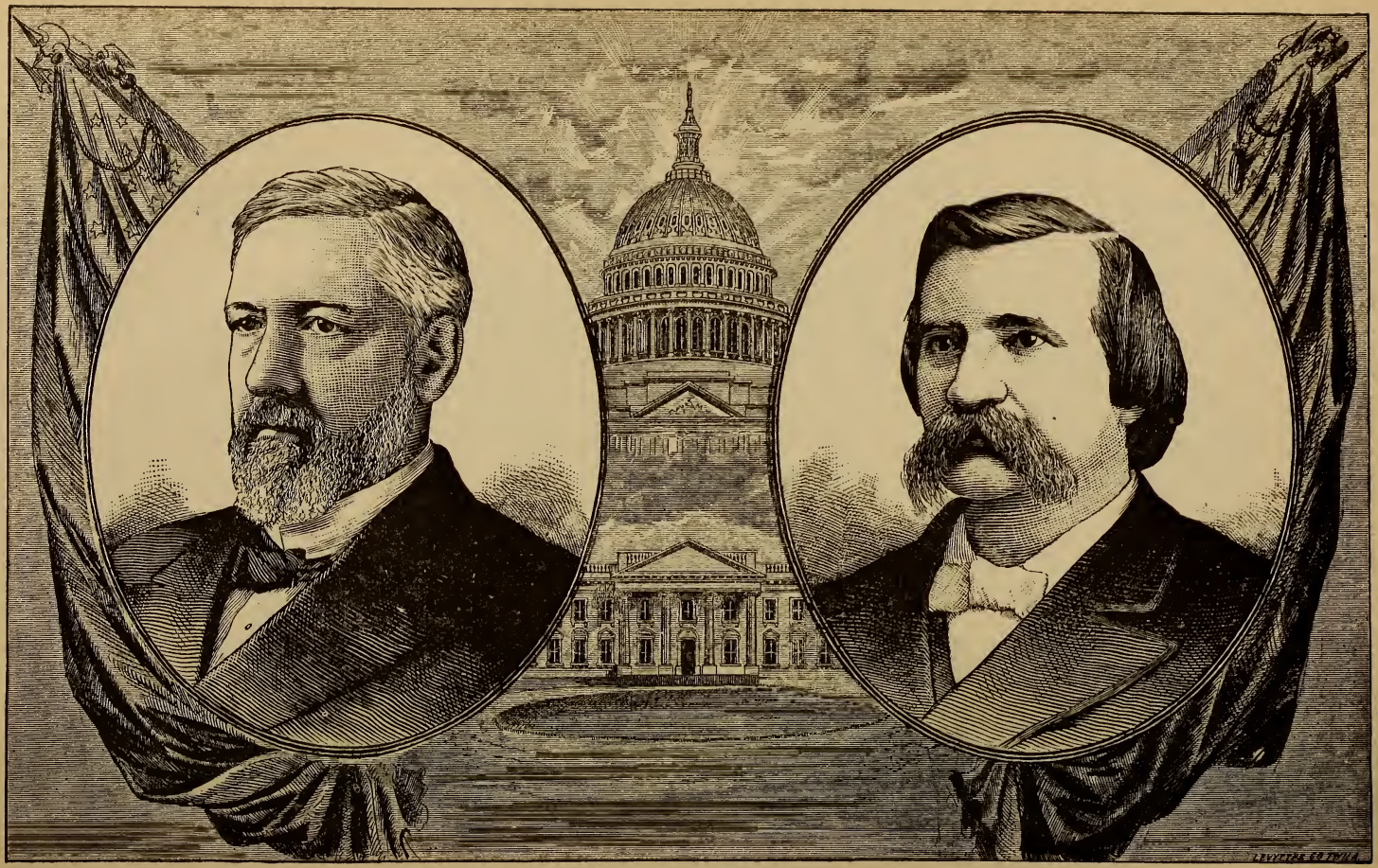
HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, OF MAINE,

AND

GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN, OF ILLINOIS.



EXPOSITION HALL, CHICAGO, THE PLACE SELECTED FOR HOLDING REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTIONS, 1884.



JAMES G. BLAINE, OF MAINE.

GEN. JOHN A. LOGAN, OF ILL.

CALL OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE.

IN Nov. 7, 1883, Colonel John A. Martin, Secretary of the National Republican Committee, published, at Atchison, Kan., a call for the meeting of the Committee at the Arlington Hotel, Washington, D. C., on Dec. 12, 1883, at 12 o'clock, for the purpose of deciding on the date and place of holding the next National Republican Convention.

MEETING OF COMMITTEE.—The Committee met at the Arlington, Dec. 12, 1883, noon, and organized by electing Senator D. M. Sabin, Minn., Chairman, the other candidates being ex-Senator Chaffee, Col., and John M. Forbes, Mass. Members representing all the States and Territories were present.

TIME AND PLACE OF CONVENTION.—After adopting resolutions regretting the loss to the Committee by the death of Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, late Chairman, Chicago was selected as the place of meeting of the National Republican Convention, and the time fixed as Tuesday, June 3, 1884.

OFFICIAL CALL.—An official call for the Convention was then adopted and signed by all the members of the Committee. It ran as follows:

"The Republican National Convention will meet at Chicago, Ill., on Tuesday, June 3, 1884, at 12 o'clock, noon, for the nomination of candidates to be supported for President and Vice-President at the next election. The Republican electors of the several States, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences, who are in favor of elevating and dignifying American labor, extending and protecting home industry, giving free popular education to the masses of the people, securing free suffrage and an honest counting of ballots, effectually protecting all human rights in every section of our common country, and who desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the land by securing a National Government pledged to these objects and principles, are cordially invited to send for each State four delegates at large, and for each congressional district two delegates, and for each representative at large two delegates."

MEETING OF CONVENTION.—The National Republican Convention, the eighth in the history of the party, met pursuant to call in Chicago, at noon of June 3, 1884. It was composed of 820 delegates, as against 756 for the Convention of 1880. The New England delegates numbered 76; those from the Middle States 156; those from the Southern States 300—a gain of 31; those from the Western States 270—a gain of 30; those from the District of Columbia and the Territories 18.

The Convention Hall (see p. 714), situated on the east line of the city, on the shore of Lake Michigan, was a part of the Exposition building. It was regarded as the largest and completest ever thrown open to a deliberative body. Its seating capacity was estimated at 13,000. Its internal arrangement is shown in the cut.

At 12.24 P. M. Chairman Sabin rapped the Convention to order, with a gavel, presented to him, and composed of wood from every State and Territory. The handle was a piece of the Charter Oak of Hartford, Conn. After prayer by a Chicago clergyman the Convention elected a temporary Chairman. The National Committee had recommended for this office the name of ex-Senator Powell Clayton, Ark. When his name was submitted to the Convention, that of John R. Lynch (colored), Miss., was moved as substitute. The total vote cast was 818, of which Clayton received 387, and Lynch 431. While this vote was not regarded as a test of the strength of any Presidential candidate, it showed that no name thus far presented could command a majority of the Convention on first ballot.

The names placed in nomination were: Blaine, Me.; Arthur, N. Y.; Edmunds, Vt.; Sherman, O.; Logan, Ill.; Hawley, Conn. It required 411 votes to nominate. The Convention was permanently organized by the election of General John B. Henderson, Mo., as Chairman. Eloquent speeches were made by those nominating the respective candidates, whose names were received with rounds of applause.

THE PLATFORM:

The Republicans of the United States, in Convention assembled, rehew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presi-

dential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the government, and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

DEATH OF GARFIELD.—We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.—In the administration of President Arthur we recognize a wise conservative and patriotic policy under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen. It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF.—We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for "revenue only," but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the government, such duties shall be so levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest; the Democratic party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in view that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

COINAGE.—We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of the international standard, which shall fix for all the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

COMMERCE.—The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between

the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the general government, and the Republican party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over inter-State commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railroads alike the fair and equal protection of the laws.

AMERICAN LABOR.—We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth must be secured to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor and in a desire that all men may be free and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workingmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offence against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purposes.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—The reform of the civil service auspiciously begun under Republican administration should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers of free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

PUBLIC LANDS.—The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States and should be reserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

PENSIONS TO SOLDIERS.—The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican party stands pledged to suitable pensions to all who were disabled and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears Act of 1879, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge and not with the date of the application.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—The Republican party favors a policy which shall

keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in America, and the policy which seeks peace and trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere. We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may in any sea protect the rights of American citizens and the interest of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

TERRITORIAL OFFICES.—That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the *bona fide* citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

POLYGAMY.—That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities if possible, and by the military if need be.

SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.—The people of the United States in their organized capacity constitute a nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The national government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved and the Union kept inviolate. The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count and a correct return. We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democratic party in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruit of such fraud and violence.

SYMPATHY AND PLEDGES.—We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge to them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession and exercise of all civil and political rights.

THE BALLOTS:

Candidates.	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.
Blaine	334½	349	375	541
Arthur	278	276	274	207
Edmunds	93	85	69	41
Logan	63½	61	53	7
Sherman	30	28	25	0
Hawley	13	13	13	15
Lincoln	4	4	8	2
W. T. Sherman	2	2	2	0
Total votes cast	818	818	819	813

Alabama and Louisiana each lacked 1 vote on first and second ballots; Louisiana 1 on third; Illinois, New York, North Carolina and Tennessee each 1, and Texas 3, on fourth.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

THE nominee of the Republican party for President in 1884 is James Gillespie Blaine, of Maine. He was born January 31, 1830, in Union Township, Washington county, Pa., and is now fifty-four years old.

PARENTAGE.—His maternal great-grandfather was Neal Gillespie, who had settled, before the Revolution, on what was known as "the Old Indian Hill Farm" on the west banks of the Monongahela, in Washington county, Pa. It was on this farm that the subject of our sketch was born. The Gillespies were among the most prominent and wealthy families in the State. They were an educated, brainy stock. The men were large and strong of limb, the female portion were very beautiful and of queenly carriage.

His paternal great-grandfather was Colonel Ephraim Blaine, one of the Scotch-Irish pioneers, who did so much in early times to fight Indians, level forests, and push our religious and political institutions westward. The spirit of this class of people need not be enlarged upon here. They were brave, energetic, pious, indomitable. Wherever they went they left a solid impress. Their homes were temples of liberty and altars of the great God. Their descendants are among our noblest civilians and our greatest and best men in professional and public life.

Colonel Ephraim Blaine was one of the earliest settlers in the Cumberland Valley. He and his companion pioneers were the settlers in and around Carlisle and founders of the town. The stone Presbyterian Church, which a second generation built, is still standing, and near by it the old-fashioned residence of the

Blaines. The Colonel's title was no mere newspaper one. He was a veritable hero of the Revolution. Washington credited him with the salvation of his ragged and starved army at Valley Forge. The Colonel was Commissary-General of the Northern Department, and indefatigable in collecting money for supplies and clothing, with which to relieve the trying situation. It is unnecessary to say that he was a Presbyterian of the most pronounced type and an unyielding patriot.

His son James Blaine was a great traveller, and, it is said, spent most of his fortune in visiting the various parts of Europe. On his return he went to what was then—the beginning of the present century—called the West, that is, into the wilderness of the Youghiogheny, and established a store at the mouth of Ten Mile Run, in Greene county. In a short time he removed to Brownville, Fayette county. Across the Monongahela, in Washington county, lies West Brownsville, in or near which lay the "Old Indian Hill Farm," owned by the Gillespies.

There seems to have been a good feeling between the Blaines and Gillespies from the first, and in their descendants there has been a close intermingling of the family names. James Blaine's son, Ephraim L. Blaine, arose into prominence in the new section. He became a magistrate, was known as "Squire Blaine," and became noted for his liberality and many manly qualities. In 1842 he was elected Prothonotary of Washington county on the Whig ticket. This necessitated his removal to Washington, the county-seat. He carried his religion and Scotch-Irish traits with him, and was known as a firmly upright, independent man, and one much admired in his community for charitable giving.

Of him a visitor to the Blaine homestead says:

"A short drive brought me to Washington, the county-seat of this county, and one of the first men I met was Major John H. Ewing, an old veteran now past four-score years.

"I married the sister of Ephraim L. Blaine. He and I went to school together over in yonder college, and I knew him nearly all his life. He was a leader in the mischief of the school, and fond of all the good things of this life. He was the handsomest man I ever saw, and he had a wife that was a match for him. She was one of the noblest women I ever knew. She inherited all the sterling traits of character and strength of mind for which the Gillespies were noted. So, you see,

Blaine sprang from the best of stock on both sides. His father was justice of the peace over in West Brownsville for a number of years, and afterwards prothonotary of the county He was elected in 1842 and came here to live. James G. was only about 12 years old then, and almost every middle-aged man you meet on the streets here remembers all about him."

Years before he had married this Miss Gillespie, granddaughter of the original owner of the "Old Indian Farm," and had built himself a home on the Gillespie estate. It was a brick mansion, and the one in which James G. Blaine was born. Though of the same extraction she was a Catholic. The children of this union of Ephraim L. Blaine and Miss Gillespie were seven in number, five boys and two girls.

FAMILY RELIGION.—These children all adhered to the traditional faith of the Blaines. The second son was James Gillespie Blaine, our subject. On his removal to Maine he became attached to the Congregational Church there. As a point has been made of his religious views, it may be met once for all by the following from the *Kennebec Journal*, printed at his home, Augusta, Me. It says: "Mr. Blaine has been for nearly twenty years a consistent member of the Orthodox Congregational Church in this, the city of his home. Orthodox Congregationalism in Maine is the same creed as Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania."

Concerning his own and family religion he wrote, March 10, 1876:

"My ancestors on my father's side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian Church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any public declaration upon the subject, and for two reasons: First, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen; and, second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect, any political support from them."

COLLEGE CAREER.—He entered Washington College (1843) at the early age of thirteen. Here he soon became popular with his classmates. College sports began to round out his thin, angular form. He became a leader in athletic exercises,

and laid the foundations of the splendid physique of the after man. His habits were studious. Though no bookworm he took easy rank at the head of his class. He acquired learning readily, and, with the aid of a wonderful memory, retained it. His power of assimilating mental food was extraordinary. His literary tastes were sharp and well-defined, and these he indulged with the zeal of an enthusiast. Fond of debate and of college disputation, firm of conviction and bold of thought, he entered the contest fully equipped, and seldom failed to charm and convince. Knowing his combativeness, and his readiness in historic and political matters—he was a youthful Whig of the most pronounced type—it was the delight of those Democratically inclined to provoke him to discussion, well knowing that, even if discomfited in argument, they would surely be entertained.

Though inclined most to historic reading, he kept abreast of the requirements in mathematics and the sciences, and never neglected the details of study, such as orderly arrangement of subjects and *verbatim* acquisition of underlying axioms. This served to give him his great readiness in debate, and a firm rock of argument on which to stand. His college life served to develop and test the manly side of his nature. Kindly disposed to all, he became the particular favorite of the newer, or weaker, students, to whose defence he always came when aggrieved by the pranks of their elders. He graduated, at the age of seventeen, with the first honors of the institution, and started life with a mental fortune accorded to but few. It was backed with a character and disposition which combined all the elements of success, and waited not for tardy opportunity, but hewed it boldly out of the passing years.

Though his lot was soon to be cast in a remote State and amid new friends and interests, Mr. Blaine has always retained a warm affection for his alma mater and the scenes of his birth and early associations. On the celebration of the 100th Anniversary of Washington county in 1881, he wrote: "I shall always recall with pride that my ancestry and kindred were and are not inconspicuously connected with its history, and that on either side of the beautiful river in Protestant and in Catholic ceme-

teries five generations of my own blood sleep in honored graves."

A TEACHER.—On leaving college he accepted a professorship in the Western Military Institute, at Blue Lick Springs, Ky. Here were some 450 students. The position was to prove a test of mental quality as well as ability to control and discipline. Says a professor, "He was a tall, thin, handsome, earnest man, with the same fascinating manners and speech he has now." He soon became popular with the boys, who loved, respected and made a confidant of him. He knew the full names and character of every boy in the institution, and so governed from a standpoint which robbed restraint of its sting and made discipline cheerfully acceptable.

Here he had opportunity to test his personal courage in a practical way. A dispute arose between the faculty of the school and the owners of Blue Lick Springs, as to their respective rights. The dispute resulted in an affray, in which pistols were drawn and knives unsheathed, but the young professor bravely held his ground with the use of his fists alone, which he called into dexterous and telling play.

The wife of the principal, Colonel Thornton F. Johnson, kept a female seminary at Millersburg, some twenty miles distant. Among the pupils here was Miss Harriet Stanwood, the descendant of an old and excellent Massachusetts family which had moved to Maine, of which State she was a native. The young professor was smitten with her charms and a courtship was the result. In order to heighten the romance of the situation she withheld from her lover all knowledge of her family and station, and when school broke up returned to her home. He followed her, and a marriage resulted.

After spending a year or two at the Military Institute Mr. Blaine came back to Pennsylvania, where he engaged in the study of the law, which he pursued till well grounded in its principles, though he never applied for admission to the bar. This time was in all probability covered by his period of professorship in the Pennsylvania Institution for the Blind at Philadelphia. Says William Chapin, principal of the institution:

"Yes, I remember young James G. Blaine distinctly. He was principal teacher here on the boys' side for two years. He rang the bell one summer afternoon in 1852 in answer to an advertisement for teachers. There were thirty or forty other applicants, but his manner was so winning and he possessed so many manifestly valuable qualities that I closed an engagement with him at once. He was married, and his wife and little son Walker came here with him. His qualities, which impressed me most deeply, were his culture, the thoroughness of his education and his unfailing self-possession. He was also a man of very decided will, and was very much disposed to argument. He was young then—only twenty-two—and was rather impulsive, leaping to a conclusion very quickly. But he was always ready to defend his conclusions, however suddenly he seemed to have reached them. We had many a familiar discussion in this very room, and his arguments always astonished me by the knowledge they displayed of facts in history and politics. His memory was remarkable, and seemed to retain details which ordinary men would forget."

Says Mr. Williams, now holding position in the institution:

"Everybody loved Mr. Blaine and his wife. Both were always ready to do anything for our amusement in leisure hours, and we had a great deal of fun, into which they entered heartily. I think that Mrs. Blaine read nearly all of Dickens' works aloud to us, and Mr. Blaine used to make us roar with laughter by reading out of a book entitled 'Charcoal Sketches.'"

While connected with this institution he prepared a history of it from the scattered records which came in his way. It has been spoken of as a model of condensed information and neat chirography, and is now prized as a memorial of his ability and interest in the institution and its work. It records him as a teacher from Aug. 5, 1852, to Nov. 23, 1854.

AN EDITOR.—After leaving the institution the young couple moved to Augusta, which city has, ever since, been their home. He was quite a favorite with his wife's brothers, who, like himself, were men of ability and energy. They backed him with all their influence, and in 1854, in partnership with Joseph Baker, a prominent lawyer, he purchased the *Kennebec Journal*, of which paper he became the editor. It was a weekly paper, the organ of the Whig party in the county, and therefore a good stock and very influential. After conducting the *Journal* with signal ability for three years he sold his interest in it, and (1857) became editor of the *Portland Daily Advertiser*. During the campaign of 1860 he returned temporarily to the *Journal*, on account of the illness of the editor. His editorial career covered a period of six years. It was marked throughout with energetic

management and bold, strong writing. As a school it was invaluable to one of his active temperament and desire to rise.

ENTERING POLITICS.—It has often been said of him, on account of his vast information and masterly style, that a great journalist was lost when he entered public life. He has himself said that he never expected to command a written style equal to that of his spoken one, when stimulated by a good cause, and urged on by the excitement of a great occasion. The truth is he is master of both a superb written and spoken language, and it is really difficult to tell in which he excels.

When the Whig party went to pieces, Mr. Blaine, following the traditions of the grand old organization in a free State, joined with Governor Morrill and others in forming the Republican party in the "Pine Tree State." This introduced him to the stump in 1856, and gave him his first opportunity to test his qualities as an orator. They proved as effective as his pen had done in the line of journalism. He came to be regarded as a master in eloquence and argument. He loved the excitement of the campaign, and courted the honors which his oratory won. It was evident that the activities of public life accorded better with his nature than the tedium of the editorial sanctum.

After the heat of the Fremont campaign was over, he persisted in his efforts to strengthen the new party by direct and vigorous attacks on Buchanan's administration. An exponent of early and stalwart Republicanism, he was elected to the Maine Legislature in 1858, being then in his twenty-ninth year. He was re-elected to the Legislature the three subsequent terms. Two of the years he served on the floor of the House. The other two (1861, 1862) he occupied the Speaker's chair, where he evinced that knowledge of parliamentary forms, and that mastery over deliberative bodies which so signalized his Speakership of the National House of Representatives. By this time he was well on in his political career. His powers as a debater, his ability as an organizer, his control of situations, his readiness of learning, were established things, as well among political friends as enemies. In all disputation he was sure of a

respectful hearing, and as a campaign orator he had few superiors.

ENTERS CONGRESS.—His hold was now complete upon the affections of his party and community, and his fame had passed the borders of his State. "Blaine of Maine" was a term not without significance before his debut in Congress. In 1862 he was elected to Congress in the Kennebec district by a majority of 3,422 votes, and thus appeared as a member of the Thirty-eighth Congress, which met December 7, 1863. It was a time when great issues were pending, and when great men were in demand, especially in the Republican ranks. And there were great leaders in that and the subsequent war Congresses, equal to the mighty measures which pressed for solution. It was not a time for party manipulation, but for broad, patriotic statesmanship. The central theme was the country, how should it be preserved in the midst of armed attack? Already schooled in the urgent measures of the hour, in the plans to raise armies, provide income, preserve credit, and insure the triumph of the Constitution and Union, were men like Stevens, Schofield, Kelley, Garfield, Schenck, Fenton, Windom, Blair, Dawes, Allison, Wilson, Orth, Colfax, and Lovejoy, all worthies in debate and parliamentary usages. It was no easy matter for a new man to make his mark in the midst of these Nestors of legislation. But among them all Blaine was early recognized as a man of exceeding quick and great parts. Time, and that a very brief one, was only required to secure for him full recognition as an invaluable champion of the vital legislation the country then demanded.

His thorough devotion to the Republican cause, his knowledge of current subjects, his industry in committee work, his wonderful grasp and orderly arrangement of details, made him a most desirable member of the Committees on the Post-office, on Appropriations, on Rules, and on the Military. He was particularly fortunate in his affiliations with President Lincoln, who drew great comfort from his advice, often sought, and who prized his judgment as of the very best quality. Blaine had been one of the few original Lincoln men from the East in the Chicago Convention of 1860, and it is related that in the Illinois canvass

of 1858, Blaine had prophesied that Douglas would beat Lincoln for Senator, but that in 1860 Lincoln would beat Douglas for President, a prophecy which Mr. Lincoln long carried in his pocket.

With his energy, practical views, and fluency and grace of speech, it could not be otherwise than that he should soon become conspicuous in debate on the floor. His first elaborate speech was on the assumption of the war debts of the States by the general government, and the ability of the country to suppress rebellion. It was delivered at a time when the war Democrats were demoralized, and when the anti-war Democrats were striving to commit their party to premature and disastrous peace. It will be remembered that the latter won in the convention of 1864 which nominated McClellan, and committed their party to "the war is a failure" plank in their platform. So masterly was Mr. Blaine's speech regarded, and so clearly did he demonstrate the ability of the country to carry the war to a successful issue and pay all the cost as well, that it was heralded as a fortress of fact and argument, and fully 200,000 copies of it were circulated by the Republicans during the campaign.

This supremely patriotic effort greatly enlarged his fame among the people, and contributed to his rapidly growing importance in the House. It further clinched his hold on the affections of his constituents at home, who re-elected him to the Thirty-ninth Congress (1865–67) by a majority of 4,328. They subsequently elected him to the Fortieth Congress (1867–69) by a majority of 6,591; to the Forty-first Congress (1869–71) by a majority of 3,346; to the Forty-second Congress (1871–73) by a majority of 2,320; to the Forty-third Congress (1873–75) by a majority of 3,568; to the Forty-fourth Congress (1875–77) by a majority of 2,830; seven consecutive terms.

By the end of his first term he was a recognized force in discussion, an authority in historical and statistical matters, and a parliamentarian of great skill and promise. He draughted and handled measures with a cleverness which few of the older members could excel. But few of the great questions which touched the war escaped his attention or comment, and they all

tended to bring out his versatility and prove his patriotism. The tariff legislation preceding, and incorporated into, the act of 1874, and the subsequent amendatory acts passed during his official life, always invited his scrutiny and secured his support. He was no specialist in tariff matters, had no hobbies to ride, and no narrow theories to support, but was a firm believer in Hamilton's economic ideas and Clay's "American System." Ever deprecating the disastrous change to free trade which followed the sliding scale tariff of 1833, he rejoiced at the return to protection under the act of 1861, and has never failed in his support of broad gauge protective principles. American labor, in all its multiform phases, has found in him its firmest friend and most ardent advocate. American manufactures have equally found in him, by committee management, by original measure, by intelligent and comprehensive advocacy, their most consistent and zealous defender. In the Senate (1878) when the thought of a Commission to revise the existing tariff laws was first broached he opposed the step as premature, and headed it off by a resolution to the effect "that any change in our tariff laws would derange the business interests of the country and retard that return to prosperity for which all should earnestly cooperate; that it should be the fixed policy of the government to so maintain our tariff for revenue as to afford adequate protection to American labor."

His very latest words—words written since his retiracy from public life—on this subject are:

"The assailants of protection apparently overlook the fact that excessive production is due, both in England and America, to causes beyond the operation of duties either high or low. No cause is more potent than the prodigious capacity of machinery set in motion by the agency of steam. It is asserted by an intelligent economist that, if performed by hand, the work done by machinery in Great Britain would require the labor of 700,000,000 of men—a far larger number of adults than inhabit the globe. It is not strange that with this vast enginery, the power to produce has a constant tendency to outrun the power to consume. Protectionists find in this a conclusive argument against surrendering the domestic market of the United States to the control of British capitalists, whose power of production has no apparent limit. When the harmonious adjustment of international trade shall ultimately be established by 'the Parliament of Man' in 'the Federation of the World,' the power of production and the power of consumption will properly balance each

other; but in traversing the long road and enduring the painful process by which that end shall be reached, the protectionist claims that his theory of revenue preserves the newer nation from being devoured by the older, and offers to human labor a shield against the exactions of capital."

Whatever measures he favored, he supported with a depth of conviction and a warmth of eloquence which argued sincerity as well as ability. What he did not favor, he opposed with manly fervor and persistency which won the plaudit of friend and foe alike. There was no quixotism about his opposition. He sought the bottom facts and solid merits of every question, and was content to rest his case on these. In the very speech above mentioned, he was compelled to antagonize a large and respectable sentiment in his party who feared that the legal-tender notes would not be taken without a compulsory clause in the bill. With his greater faith in the continued loyalty of the masses, and his graphic pictures of our resources, soon to be imbued with new life and vigor by the magic kiss of the angel of peace, he was willing to trust the future. The currency was sounder without this proposed compulsory clause. It was subject to mutations, to be sure, but the country had to wait only till 1875 for a resumption bill, and till 1879 for actual resumption, and a vindication of Mr. Blaine's logic. Speaking of the position Mr. Blaine took in this speech and of his method of handling the subject, Thaddeus Stevens said, "Blaine, of Maine, has shown as great aptitude and ability for the higher walks of public life as any man that has come to Congress during his period of service."

In December, 1867, he crossed swords with Mr. Pendleton, then an advocate of greenback inflation as a remedy for our financial troubles. Here he foreshadowed resumption, still a great many years off. Full of faith in the currency already established, and fuller of love for the credit of his country, he antagonized the inflation movement with all his native energy and with a skill in oratory that had ripened apace. Said he, "The remedy for our financial troubles will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated currency. It lies in the opposite direction, and the sooner the nation finds itself on a specie basis

the sooner will the public treasury be freed from embarrassment and private business be relieved from discouragement. Instead therefore of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their constant depreciation, if not destruction, of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars." This was the beginning of that resolute Republican diplomacy which saved the credit of the government, and in after years resulted in a greenback as good as gold. Mr. Blaine may be called the father of specie resumption.

In January, 1868, he introduced his celebrated resolution relating to Congressional representation, which was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction. It embodied the principles then incorporated in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which became a part of the organic law in July, 1868. In July, 1868, he further distinguished himself and rounded out his financial record by an elaborate and able speech against taxing government bonds. This taxation scheme was one of the many ingenious Democratic attacks upon our currency system, and it required just such powers of penetration, keenness of analysis, incisiveness of statement and knowledge of finance, as Mr. Blaine possessed to show it up in its true light.

By this time Mr. Blaine was fully established as among the ablest leaders on the floor of the House. He was thoroughly acquainted with men, his field of duty, and the measures which dominated reconstruction and vitally concerned the national credit, the currency of the country, and its commercial welfare. His republicanism was of the most pronounced type—stalwart to the core. He was trusted in the most confidential counsels of the party, and looked to as a wise adviser, able organizer and invincible advocate. His education as Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives, which had all along availed him much, came to his rescue when in search of the honors of Speaker of the National House. His knowledge of the manual, his recollection of names, his quickness of perception, his ability to expedite business, his fairness and firmness, his wonderful control of self and of exciting situations, his magnetic qualities

of leadership, all combined to make his candidacy for the Speakership desirable and sure. He was therefore nominated for this important position by acclamation in the Republican caucus of the Forty-first Congress at its extra session, March 4, 1869, and was elected by 136 votes as against 57 for Mr. Kerr. So efficient did he prove in this difficult position that he was re-elected, by the unanimous vote of his party, in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses.

Ordinarily the brilliant qualities of the member on the floor are obscured by elevation to the Speakership. His identity with public measures is apt to be somewhat lost. But Mr. Blaine's interest in the political measures he had been identified with so long and honorably did not flag. He did what few men are capable of, to wit, win a reputation as a fair and capable parliamentarian, which, if possible, added to the prestige he had achieved on the floor. There really seemed to be no number to the many sides of his qualifications and no bottom to his resources. Emergencies arose thick and fast in those days of momentous questions and fierce party clashes, but he preserved a dignity worthy his high position and met new situations with perfect equipoise. There was that about his ministration which drew the favor of both parties, and proved him a man not only of striking aptitude but remarkable for his ability to control the passions of an assembly and direct its procedure. It is these same qualities in him which have passed beyond the limits of Congress and away out to the country, and have taught his admirers to look on him as a natural leader of men and as a safe controlling spirit whether in hours of calm or passion. Says a writer, "In the position of Speaker of the House, his quickness of perception, decision of manner, thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and usages, and impartial and judicial mind, added to his clear voice and impressive presence, made him a truly great presiding officer."

With the loss of a Republican majority in the Forty-fourth Congress, and the election of Mr. Kerr (Democrat) as Speaker, Mr. Blaine returned to the floor. But he did not return to take any second place among the many distinguished members of his

—then a minority—party. He was the recognized leader of the Republican forces, and such a leadership has never been paralleled. It was a time when the "Rebel Brigadiers," flushed with their return to power, angry at everything they found on the statute books, and determined to recover by legislation what they had lost by war, were pressing their eagerly sought, though long postponed, opportunity to the uttermost. The situation called for all his genius and boldness in attack, all his versatility in discussion, all his self-possession in the midst of crisis, all his parliamentary wisdom in handling favored measures or baffling opposition. Through his adroit management and unmatched vigor he compelled a respect for the minority which made it a complete check on the opposition, and as potent in shaping political measures as if it had enjoyed majority numbers. Hitherto his career had developed the qualities of statesmanship necessary to success in shaping and advocating the measures of a majority. Men who are great in offensive emergencies often weaken and fail when put on the defensive. But hopefulness and the heroic so abounded in Mr. Blaine's nature that he was, if anything, stronger under the enemy's fire than when he had full command of the field. His vigilance was quickened, his aggressiveness showed at its best. Opposition seemed to present to him his greatest occasion for crushing argument, withering rebuke, or splendid rhetorical flight. It gave full play to those powers of extemporization which, as he has said himself, he never hoped to equal, in vividness, grace or vigor, with his pen. To thought, to language, to gesture, to emotion, he added the magnetism of a striking presence, the thrill of burning earnestness, the inspiring consciousness of rectitude.

IN THE SENATE.—On the resignation of Lot M. Morrill from the Senate to take the place of Secretary of the Treasury in Grant's Cabinet, Mr. Blaine was appointed by the Governor of Maine, July 10, 1876, Senator in his place. He was, on the meeting of the Legislature, elected to fill Mr. Morrill's unexpired term, which ended March 3, 1877. At the opening of the Forty-fourth Congress, Dec. 4, 1876, he took his seat in the Senate Chamber. In putting off the honors of a Congressional

District to accept those of an entire State, he bade farewell to his immediate constituents in the following letter:

"Beginning with 1862 you have by continuous elections sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally honored. It has been my boast in public and in private that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with the people of this district it is a great satisfaction to me to know that with returning health I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part."

The old *Kennebec Journal*, which had witnessed his entrance into editorial life, and whose pages had often been made to glow with his illuminating pen, returned as an answer from his constituents and the people of the entire State the following:

"Fourteen years ago, standing in the Convention at which he was first nominated, Mr. Blaine pledged himself to use his best services for the district, and to support to the best of his ability the policy of Abraham Lincoln to subdue the rebellion, and then and there expressed plainly the idea that slavery must and ought to be abolished to save the Union. That he has kept his pledge faithfully his constituents know and feel, and the records of Congress attest. To this district his abilities were freely given, and as he rose in honor in the House and in the public estimation he reflected honor and gave strength to the constituency that supported him. Every step he made in advance was a gain for them. It was a grand thing for this district to have as its Representative in Congress for six years the Speaker of the House, filling the place next in importance to that of President of the United States, with matchless ability. It was a grander thing when he took the lead of the minority in the House last December, routed the Democratic majority, and drove back in dismay the ex-Confederates who were intending and expecting through the advantage they had already gained to grasp the supreme power in the nation and wield it in the interest of the cause of secession and rebellion revived. For what he has done as their Representative in Congress, never will this Third District of Maine forget to honor the name of James G. Blaine. It will live in the hearts of this people even as the name of Henry Clay is still loved by the people of his old district in Kentucky."

Mr. Blaine's great prominence in public affairs, his identity and familiarity with leading political, financial and industrial questions, the conspicuous and trusted position he occupied in

his party, made his transfer from the House to the Senate as easy as it was natural. In this body of men of greater age and dignity, and amid discussions supposably graver, more deliberate and more learned than those of the House, he was from the first a peer. Contrary to the traditions which give a monopoly of the debates to the older members, he often came forward with his own original and electric views, to which as respectful a hearing was accorded as if he had been one of the oldest and most privileged members.

He was subsequently elected his own successor in the Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1877, and ending March 3, 1883. In the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress (met Dec. 4, 1876) the matter of most urgent moment was the creation of the Electoral Commission. He took strong ground against the right of Congress to endow the proposed Commission with power to determine the dispute, and insisted on due and orderly procedure under the law, which as popularly construed gave the President of the Senate the right to open and announce the returns. In the end the Commission did just what he claimed the Speaker of the Senate should have done, viz., decide the validity of the vote according to returns as certified by the lawful authorities in each State. The measure creating the Commission did not receive his vote.

In an elaborate speech in the Senate upon the necessity of protecting American labor from foreign competition, and especially that competition it was then forced to meet on the Pacific coast in the shape of Chinese immigrants, who came under contract and with no design to become citizens, he foreshadowed what afterwards became the Anti-Chinese law. This law was enacted by the Forty-fifth Congress (met Dec. 2, 1878) during its second session and received a veto by President Hayes. To show what a sentiment Mr. Blaine had awakened in its favor, and how triumphant his advocacy of it had been, it was passed over the President's veto, on Feb. 22, 1879, and has since (1882) been amended so as to make it still more effective.

We have already learned enough of his financial record to anticipate his position on that wonderful inflation manœuvre

which became known as the "Bland Silver Bill," and which has resulted in piling up millions of useless dollars in the Treasury vaults. This bill he opposed in a vigorous speech, and especially that part of it which proposed to legalize a dishonest dollar. The matters of a sound currency, an appreciating national credit, and specie resumption as soon as time would permit, constantly invoked his vigilance, and he never let an opportunity pass to drive home his arguments in favor of solid money and an honorable financial policy.

The speeches which were best calculated to earn for him a reputation among the forensic athletes and sage juris-consults of the Senate were those delivered in connection with the distribution of the Genevan award. They were conspicuous for their equitable views, learned citations, and apt presentation of thoughts and facts. But the effort which showed at their best the native powers of Mr. Blaine—all his caustic sarcasm, superb wit, facility of expression, earnest demeanor, varied resources, and convincing logic—was that on the "false issues raised by the Democratic party," delivered in the Senate on April 14, 1879. The Democrats were endeavoring to prevent the operation of the law which required the President to keep the peace at the polls during general elections, by withholding any and all appropriations for the army unless he would not use it to keep such peace. They made no army appropriation at all, and thus left the army without pay. This necessitated an extra session, during which they relented, and fell in with the terms of the law. It was against this purpose of starving the President into support of their measure that Mr. Blaine spoke. He denounced the impression, created by the Democrats, that there was an attempt to control elections by the bayonet, as injurious to the country, and the issue they had raised as false.

"And," he said, "I am going to prove it. In all the United States, east of Omaha, a magnificent area including at least forty-one million of our forty-five million people, how many troops of the United States are there to-day? Would any Senator on the opposite side like to guess? There are just two thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven. A frontier of eight thousand miles, either bordering on the ocean or on foreign territory, is guarded by these troops. Within this domain

forty-five fortifications and eleven arsenals are armed and protected by them. There are sixty troops to every million people. And the entire South has eleven hundred and five soldiers to intimidate, overrun, oppress, and destroy the liberties of fifteen million people. That is not quite one soldier to each county. Distributed territorially, there would be one for every seven hundred square miles of territory; and here the Senator from Delaware should be reminded that the quota for his State would be three—'one ragged sergeant and two abreast,' as the song has it. That is the force ready to destroy the liberties of Delaware."

And again:

"I call it the audacity of revolution for any Senator or Representative, or any caucus of Senators or Representatives, to get together and say, 'We will have this legislation or we will stop the great departments of government. That is revolutionary. But I think it is a revolution that will not go round. I think it is a revolution whose wheel will not turn. But it is a revolution, if persisted in. If it is not persisted in, it will have to be backed out of with ignominy. . . . . All the war measures of Abraham Lincoln are to be wiped out, say leading Democrats! The Bourbons of France busied themselves after the restoration in removing every trace of Napoleon's power and grandeur by chiseling the 'N' from the monuments raised to perpetuate his glory, but the dead man's hand from St. Helena reached out and destroyed them in their pride and folly. And I tell the Senators on the other side—I tell the Democratic party North and South; South in the lead, the North following—that the slow, unmoving finger of scorn, from the tomb of the martyred President on the prairies of Illinois, will wither and destroy them. Though dead, he speaketh."

In the question of the restoration of the American carrying trade upon the seas, and the re-establishment of our merchant marine, a question now pressing for early solution, Mr. Blaine has always taken a deep interest, and his often expressed opinions have attracted much attention. One of his speeches on this subject, delivered at a dinner given by the New York Chamber of Commerce, was regarded with the highest appreciation and accepted as a full and masterly presentation of the question. On all these intricate and much mooted industrial and commercial questions, he is a thorough American, an energetic country-builder, a firm believer in absolute national independence, a vivid draughtsman of that destiny which our commercial situation, internal resources, character of our people, and the genius of our institutions, warrant and assure.

Lest it may prove tedious to show his thoughts on this pressing subject by extracts from his speeches, we use the summary of his

views as given in Lieutenant Kelly's (United States Navy) prize essay on "Our Merchant Marine," read before the United States Naval Institute at Annapolis in 1882. In speaking of the various plans for improving the Merchant Marine, he says:

"Mr. Blaine would solve the problem by bounties, for this purpose enacting a general law that would ignore individuals and enforce a policy. His scheme provides that any man or company of men who will build, in an American yard, with American material, by American mechanics, a steamship of 3,000 tons, and sail her from any port in the United States to any foreign port, he or they shall receive for a monthly line, a mail allowance of $25 per mile per annum for the sailing distance between the two ports; for a semi-monthly line, $45 per mile; for a weekly line, $75 per mile. Should the steamer exceed 3,000 tons, a proportionate advance on these rates. Should it fall below 3,000 tons a proportionate reduction. Other reformers propose to give a bounty directly to the ship-builder, so as to make the price of an American vessel the same as that of a foreign bought, but presumably cheaper, ship. Mr. Blaine's plan represents the growing Republican view, but the actual party views can only be ascertained when the subject comes up for consideration."

While yet in the Senate, the country had a demonstration of his coolness and sagacity as a party leader in circumventing the Democratic plot to steal the State government of Maine in 1879. With every advantage of party machinery, they began the high-handed operation of counting out the legally elected Republican members of the Legislature. The outrage was so flagrant that the Republicans saw no resort but open, armed resistance. Blaine counseled peace, and relied on the ability of his friends, who had nothing but right on their side, to arouse a public sentiment by exposure of the plot. This exposure came with telling effect. It threw the enemy into confusion, and entangled them in a web of contradictions from which there was no rescue except by appeal to the Supreme Court. The final arbitrament gave the Republicans control of the Halls of Legislation and assured them their status and their rights. Thus a situation provocative of blood and dangerous to civil and political rights was turned into one of peace and safety, by his judicious management. As completing a history in the Senate which, though brief, is full of eloquent and instructive chapters, allusion must be made to his stand in favor of the rights of the colored voters in the South, and the propriety of limiting Southern representa-

tion in Congress until a free ballot was recognized. Though his position was a radical one, he sustained it with arguments that have never been refuted. Considering the fact that Sumner's Civil Rights Bill has been declared unconstitutional, it would seem that the field is now open for just such a method of securing the colored people of the South their rights as he then proposed. Reference must also be made to his magnificent eulogy in the Senate, January, 1880, on Senator Chandler. That effort, full of learning and pathos, showed that within Mr. Blaine's bosom was a heart alive to the keenest sympathies. The great, strong, aggressive man became, in an hour of grief, like the tender woman or the little child. For fitness to the occasion, for analysis of character, for warmth of tribute, there was nothing like it born of the solemn occasion in the Senate chamber.

A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.—In the campaign of 1876 Mr. Blaine was an aspirant for Presidential honors. He was in the field as a candidate with numerous others, all distinguished for their talents and public service. He was at the head of his own forces, which were widely representative, justly enthusiastic, and numerically stronger than those of any other candidate. Hitherto the unit rule had prevailed in Republican Conventions; that is, a State voted the sentiment of a majority of its delegates. The practice had long been considered a grievance. The decision of the chairman was against it and in favor of each delegate voting his individual choice. On an appeal to the convention this decision was sustained. The movement was said to have been in the interest of Mr. Blaine, who had delegates here and there in several States, whose votes he would have otherwise lost. However it may have been, the step was a decided reform, one calculated to carry representation down closer to the masses, and to cause each candidate to stand more clearly on his own merits. It was well that Mr. Blaine's strength was such as to insure the advanced step.

The convention met at Cincinnati on June 14, 1876. The matchless speech of Ingersoll placing James G. Blaine in nomination has become a political classic. In it he said:

"The Republicans of the United States demand as a leader in this great contest of 1876, a man of intelligence, of integrity, of well-known and approved political opinions. They demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people, with the requirements of the hour and the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other governments of the world. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties and prerogatives of each and every department of this government, who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of the people, and that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar; who knows enough to know that all money must be made, not by law, but by labor, and that the people have the industry to make the money and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

"The Republicans demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption must come together; that when they come, they will come hand-in-hand through the golden harvest fields, by the whirling spindles and turning wheels, past the open furnace doors, by the flaming forges, by the chimneys filled with eager fires —greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil. They demand a man who knows that this government should protect its citizens, who believes in the eternal divorcement of church and State, whose political reputation is spotless as a star. The man who has in full, heaped, and rounded measure all these splendid qualifications is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

"Our country, crowned with the vast and marvellous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of the future; a man who has the audacity of genius; who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath the flag; . . . . who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; who like an intellectual athlete has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a *Plumed Knight*,* James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress, and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor."

The convention contest can be shown best by figures:

Candidates.	Ballots.						
	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.
Blaine.....	285	296	292	293	287	308	351
Conkling.....	113	114	121	126	114	111	21
Bristow.....	99	93	90	84	82	81	...
Morton.....	124	120	113	108	95	85	...

* The title of "Plumed Knight" has adhered to him ever since.

Candidates.	Ballots.						
	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.	7th.
Hayes	61	64	67	68	102	113	384
Hartranft	58	63	68	71	69	50	...
Jewell	11	..	..	..	..	..	...
Washburne	..	1	1	3	3	4	...
Wheeler	3	3	2	2	2	2	...

The country felt a deep sense of disappointment at Mr. Blaine's defeat. He, however, did not seem to share it, but entered the campaign as heartily as if he had been at the head of the ticket.

CONVENTION OF 1880.—The Republican National Convention met at Chicago, June 5, 1880. There was much excitement in the party respecting the candidacy of General Grant for a third—but not consecutive—term. James G. Blaine was again a candidate, with a numerous and well-marshalled support. He was placed in nomination by James F. Joy, of Michigan, in an eloquent speech in which he said:

"During the dark hours of war and the troublous times of reconstruction there was one, always true, brave and eloquent, whose reputation grew and towered, till his name stood high before the country, and became a household word familiar in every corner of the land and looked up to from all quarters. That name was the name of James G. Blaine. When the nomination of General Grant was made all eyes in the northern section of the country were turned on James G. Blaine. He canvassed the country for that candidate, so that the people of the North and great West became familiar with him. He had about him that wonderful power of attracting men which another great man—Henry Clay—possessed in an equally eminent degree. On the second nomination of Grant he again traversed the country exercising his eloquence and power. A candidate at Cincinnati, and disappointed in the nomination, he again buckled on his harness and traversed the country, fighting manfully, gloriously, vigorously till the battle was won."

This speech was ably seconded by Mr. Pixley of California, and Senator Frye of Maine. The contest once opened, lasted three days, and ranged through thirty-six ballots, the Blaine forces holding tenaciously, until the last ballot, when his and those of Sherman broke and went to Garfield. The first six ballots showed as follows:

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.
Grant	304	305	305	305	305	305
Blaine	284	282	282	281	281	281
Sherman	93	94	93	95	95	95

	1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	5th.	6th.
Edmunds	34	32	32	32	32	31
Washburne	30	32	31	31	31	31
Windom	10	10	10	10	10	10
Garfield	..	1	1	1	2	2
Harrison	..	1	..	..	..	..

Blaine's vote never rose above 285, which it reached on the 13th ballot. Grant's settled down to the historic 306, where it remained. The last ballot stood:

Whole number of votes	755
Necessary to a choice	378
Grant	306
Blaine	42
Sherman	3
Washburne	5
Garfield	399

Though disappointed a second time he entered the campaign, as before, and devoted his time and energy to the success of the Republican ticket and cause. His own State had been lost in September through a coalition movement. His first efforts were to redeem it. This done by a series of thrilling speeches at enthusiastic meetings, he added to the general interest and strength of the campaign whenever and wherever called upon to do so.

SECRETARY OF STATE.—President Garfield had the opportunity and desire to give the country a strong and pure administration. It was natural, therefore, that he should choose Mr. Blaine as his Secretary of State. It was natural also as an evidence of gratitude for the favor extended to him by Mr. Blaine at Chicago, and during the campaign, whose darkest hours he relieved by pushing the free trade columns to the wall, and moreover as an opportunity for rounding out and giving equilibrium to his cabinet. Blaine was pronounced in his Republicanism. He typed the school of the great majority and victory, of all that was affirmative in political administration and vital to further party supremacy. There would be elements to conciliate by cabinet representations. There were places for such representatives, and they found them. But the post of highest honor and most confidential relationship fell to the proper person. Blaine, the endeared friend, the political brother, the *facile*

princeps among Republican leaders and statesmen, drew, amid the approval of his countrymen, the honored prize of premier.

At a private conference held at Washington, Nov. 26, 1880, President-elect Garfield tendered the State Department to Mr. Blaine. When he had recovered from his surprise he replied, "General, I was hardly prepared for this tender on your part. I do not know how to make answer. I would like some time for reflection and consultation, and in the meantime I will advise you." To the friends whom he consulted, and who universally advised him to accept, he had but one reply, "If the sentiment of the country indorses the selection I will accept, otherwise not." Publication of the offer drew a unanimous sentiment in its favor. His letter of acceptance bore date Dec. 20, 1880. In it he said:

"In our new relation I shall give all that I am and all that I can hope to be, freely and joyfully, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and in act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

"I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or a coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

"It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter; for however much, my dear Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend."

This acceptance rendered resignation of his seat in the Senate necessary. It took effect March 3, 1881, and on March 5 he began his diplomatic career in the Garfield cabinet. Would the "prince of parliamentarians," the eloquent leader on the floor of both Houses, the magnetic campaign spokesman, be equal to

the task of sedate, sagacious diplomacy? He never had failed, why should he now? He had towered above every place, as the pine tree above its rock-bound roots, why should he not above this? Garfield was confident, so was the country. His past had given every earnest of a career as diplomatist, which should establish the administration in the confidence of the masses, honor the Republic, and add new and deserved lustre to his own reputation. The situation was pregnant with the grandest possibilities, and aglow with richly hued promises. Assassination saddened, darkened, deadened all.

Yet there was enough foreshadowed to establish the fact that Mr. Blaine was in the midst of a congenial mission. His ripeness of statesmanship was serving him a stead denied, or limited, by lesser places. Most greatness is content with itself, and, therefore, stationary. His was abreast of the hour. The country had life, had growth; both healthy. It had, moreover, commanding size, population and resource. But as to outside progress and other countries, it was pillowed and asleep on antique policies, and was repeating in its diplomatic history the fable of the hare and the tortoise. France, and for that matter all Europe, was pushing a ship canal through the Isthmus of Panama. The crude Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 was all this Republic had to rest a commercial right upon, and that treaty prevented the maintenance of any such right by force of arms, and except by courtesy. As Mr. Blaine put it, "The treaty commands this government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the inter-oceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British navy." In other words the free, populous, rich, enlightened United States was sitting as idly and impotently as Egypt sat on her desert seat while France drove a water-way by her very doors, to be bought up by British money and controlled by British guns.

In Secretary Blaine's instructions to Mr. James Russell Lowell, Minister to England, is the following summary of the changes in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 necessary to meet the views of the United States government:

"*First.* Every part of the treaty which forbids the United States fortifying the canal and holding the political control of it in conjunction with the country in which it is located, to be cancelled.

"*Second.* Every part of the treaty in which Great Britain and the United States agree to make no acquisition of territory in Central America to remain in full force."

The admirable and forcible chain of reasoning by which Mr. Blaine led to these conclusions forced the English newspapers to admit that he had made out a good case upon British precedents, and that the right of the United States to control the Panama Canal was stronger and the necessity of such control greater than the right and necessity of England to control the Suez Canal.

Mr. Blaine's views on the Panama Canal question were made public as early as June 6, 1881. When the matter became the subject of general discussion Mr. Curtis said editorially in *Harper's Weekly*, of November 5, 1881:

"The letter (Mr. Blaine's, June 6) states with admirable frankness and firmness the traditional and reasonable position of this country, and it will be universally sustained. . . . The letter is a temperate and dignified document, stating our position with blended spirit and courtesy and decision. It is capitally adapted to meet any such proposition as a joint European protectorate had it been advanced. But whether the project was merely a tentative rumor, or a design seriously entertained, the letter has sufficed to arrest it, and it is another illustration of the skill and ability with which Mr. Blaine has managed the department confided to him. He has what may be called the American instinct, an essential quality in our Foreign Secretary, yet restrained in its official expression by an equally American tact and good sense."

The same journal, speaking of the foreign policy of the administration, in its issue of June 4, 1881, said:

"Secretary Blaine's prompt and energetic action in defense of naturalized citizens and of a threatened hostile commercial policy in Europe towards certain American exports showed admirable vigilance."

People thought Mr. Blaine was mooting some new thing when he asked that England should accede to a newer and more American construction of this treaty. He was but applying the old and revered "Monroe Doctrine" to a situation which warranted it. When John Q. Adams reiterated that doctrine in 1826, and proposed a "Congress of American States" for the purpose of agreeing on an American policy which all could defend, he was

moving, with the emergency sixty years away, on the exact line of Mr. Blaine's diplomacy, with the emergency present.

And so with the Chili-Peruvian affair. The nitre-bed country was the cow of the familiar picture. Peru was pulling at the horns; Chili at the tail. England was sitting at the udder complacently extracting the milk. South American trade is out of our possession; South American interests beyond our advice and control. So are those of all American powers—except our own—in both North and South America. This would not matter if they were not wholly, and to our great shame and detriment, under the influence of foreign nations. Mr. Blaine simply offered the good offices of the United States to Chili and Peru for the establishment of peace. He could do nothing more. Our government had not been in the habit of doing that much. He did not wish to do less, for he proposed to follow his offer with an invitation to all the governments of both Americas to meet in a "Peace Congress" to do just what John Q. Adams thought ought to be done, and what Henry Clay proposed a few years afterwards. Mr. Blaine has described the Congress as

"An important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our Continental neighbors. In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress. Failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come."

These were the leading features of a diplomacy which, in the course of events, would have developed others equally worthy

the attention of the country. Their aim was to enlarge our importance among the nations of the world, establish a brotherhood of American peoples and governments, and give the Western Continent a status in commerce, industry, religion, the arts and sciences equal to that enjoyed by the Eastern.

They needed only the elaboration which time would have given to reconcile them to the country and make them exceedingly popular. That there was danger in them was the suggestion of either enmity or ignorance. He who had the ability to propose would have had the power to control. Besides, as we have just seen in his own statement, the gist and kernel of every feature was universal peace, and no more cruel, bloody arbitraments by the sword. Their only defect seems to have been that they jostled all the other statesmen out of a sound sleep and occasioned a decided humph of dissatisfaction at the interruption of their prosaic eighteenth century dreams.

As to what the Southern policy of the Administration would have been, we can only judge it by the influence Mr. Blaine might have exerted in shaping it. Thus judged, it would have been to cultivate cordial relations between the different sections of the country, and, by thus promoting the flow southward of Northern capital, to assist the development of the Southern States. Mr. Blaine had great faith in the future of the South. On one occasion he said:

"In reconstructing the South we made the same mistake the British government is making with the Irish. If we had made a government donation of $50,000,000 for the purpose of constructing a railway from Charleston to the Southern end of California, and spent every dollar of it between Charleston and the Mississippi River in the first three years following the war, the problem of reconstruction would have solved itself; the people would have had business interests, instead of politics, to occupy their attention. I believe that within ten years the material increase in the Southern States, east of the Mississippi, will equal, if it does not surpass, that of the Northwestern States, west of the Mississippi."

And so as to Civil Service Reform, if any other pledge for its advancement were needed than that found in the Republican platform and Garfield's inaugural. Said a distinguished Senator, a member of the Civil Service Committee then considering the Civil Service Act of 1883: "I talked with Mr. Blaine upon the

subject in 1882, at a time when few Senators favored the act we now enjoy, and to my gratification he expressed himself in the strongest terms in favor of a law regulating the appointments to office. Mr. Blaine was then far in advance of the great majority of Republican Senators as to this reform, and it is a fact that I think the country ought to know."

In speaking of this reform before an audience in Winterport, Maine, in 1882, he gave his views fully on life-tenure in office, and after declaring that it was always better to hold on to good administrative officers, even if it resulted in a life-tenure, he still thought that there ought to be definite terms. As to this his language was:

"There are many reforms which I should be glad to see, and which I have for many years believed in. I should be glad to see every Federal officer, however honorable, appointed for a specific period, during which he could not be removed except for cause, which cause should be specified, proved, and made matter of record. I should be glad also to see the tenure of all subordinate officers made longer at least than a Presidential term, so that the incoming of a new administration should not be harassed, annoyed, crippled and injured by the distribution of offices. Seven years would be a good length of term, and would effect the desired end. It would break joints with the Presidential term, and would avoid the evil of which I have spoken."

THE SAD END.—On the morning of Saturday, July 2, President Garfield was to start from Washington by the morning limited express for New York, *en route* for New England and a reunion with his old college mates at the Williams College Commencement. His Secretary of State accompanied him to the train, and has recorded the great, almost boyish, delight with which the President anticipated his holiday—a state of mind in which, it may well be believed, Mr. Blaine joyously sympathized. They entered the waiting-room at the station, and a moment later Guiteau's revolver had done its work. The country still vividly remembers the devotion with which the head of the Cabinet watched at the President's bedside; the calm dignity with which, during those long weeks of suspense, he discharged the painful duties of his position; the admirable precision of the bulletins which he issued to the press and through Minister Lowell to the foreign legations; and the perfection of the replies

which he dictated to official expressions of sympathy at home and abroad.

On September 6 the President was removed from Washington to Elberon, whither he was followed the same day by Mr. Blaine and the rest of the Cabinet. The apparent improvement in the President's condition warranted the belief that he would continue to gain, and Mr. Blaine went for a short rest to his home in Augusta. He was on his way back to Elberon, when the fatal moment came, and reached there the next morning.

These were times which tested the inner elements of greatness and proved the worth of genuine manhood. At no moment of this long, dreary and painful ordeal did Mr. Blaine drop a single link in the intricate chain of official propriety, nor fail in any of the obligations which friendship imposed and sympathy exacted. To him not merely the President was stricken, but the man, the friend, the brother. In the suspense of those dying hours, days, months; amid the anxious quests and universal laments of a nation; at the bedside, in the stricken family, or by some hastily improvised desk of state, he was truly great in his sorrowful patience, thoughtful consolation and anxious regard.

While the death of Garfield was the end of his original diplomacy, it did not terminate his career as Secretary of State. He was solicited by President Arthur to remain until such time as he saw fit to resign. He found it agreeable to do this in December, and on Dec. 12, 1881, Mr. Frelinghuysen became his successor.

PRIVATE LIFE.—On his return to private life, after an uninterrupted public career extending over twenty years, he carried with him all of his merited political renown, all his unequalled reputation for learning and eloquence, all of the just confidence which had come to be reposed in his rectitude, all of the respect which a generous and loving people graciously extended to conscientious conviction and bravery of heart. And these were to grow, as well in the shades of retreat, as amid the sunshine of public life. He could not, if he would, lose interest in the body politic. The mildew of retiracy found no hold in his organization. He could not be idle. It would seem as if

no public question escaped him. Not content with surface examinations or passing comments he sought the roots of measures; and if occasion required, wrote and spoke learnedly, fully, exhaustively of their merits. There was thus no obscuration of his genius by retiracy, no forgetfulness of his greatness in privacy. There was rather a daily growing admiration for his sterling qualities of head and heart, tinged perhaps with regret that his country and party should not be all the while receiving the direct stimulus of his leadership and the immediate benefits of his ripened experience. The processes were silently at work deep down among the people, whose manifestation was the resolve that he should be further honored by them with their greatest and best gift.

The generations will not willingly forget Mr. Blaine's formal eulogy on Garfield. The theme was his by reason of its sacredness, his because of nearness to the official life of the dead, his because the nation demanded words of tribute worthy of its profound, prolonged, exalted amen. Congress chose him to deliver the oration on Feb. 19, 1882, in the National House of Representatives, before the assembled government, the foreign representatives, the audience of the people. The oration was the birth of an exquisite taste. With personal history, analysis of character, estimate of public and private worth, heartless tragedy, mournful suspense, the shroud, the grave, all inviting to rhetorical vigor and sustained grandiloquence, he chose the line of simply chaste diction, just recital and easy eloquence, so that the oration was as if a grand symphony heard from ocean to ocean and from lake to gulf. Touching "the storm of detraction" which met Garfield "at the very hour of his nomination and continued with increasing volume until the close of his victorious campaign," he quoted what might have applied equally to himself.

> "No might or greatness in mortality
> Can censure 'scape; backwounding calumny
> The whitest virtue strikes. What king so strong
> Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue?"

His admirable paper, published in the Philadelphia *Press*,

Nov. 22, 1883, on "Surplus Revenue," will be remembered by many. It not only served to rescue an important subject—important enough to have engaged the attention of statesmen from the date of the first public land sale up to 1846, and to have found a place in the Pennsylvania Republican platform of 1882—from obscurity, but to give it merited prominence and invite for it universal discussion. His thought was that if there was to be a distribution of surplus, it ought to be steady and of a definite amount, in order to benefit the recipient States. That, therefore, the income to the nation from the tax on liquors would be the best fund for the purpose. His arguments in support of this thought were clear, forcible and original. The article was a model of perspicuity, and gave further proof of the fact that whatever subject he touched he not only clarified but exhausted.

During this interval he engaged in the preparation of his history entitled "Twenty Years of Congress," the first volume of which has been published. It is hardly proper to speak of its merits till the entire work has appeared. But there is that in it thus far which entirely sustains his reputation for close observation of men and events, mastery of details, clearness of judgment, and love of truthful statement. His method is orderly, and his style perspicuous and pleasing. It is a valuable contribution to our political literature, and will rank with "Benton's Thirty Years' View."

IN BUSINESS.—It has been said of Mr. Blaine that a splendid journalist was lost when he entered public life. It is equally true that a splendid business man was lost. His prudence, method and rare good judgment have assured him a handsome competency. He started life poor, has never made money fast, is not to be ranked as among the very rich. His turn is not speculative; therefore, he avoided the risk of bankruptcy, even if he lost the chance of great fortune. Relying on a judgment keen and unerring as the best, he ventured where prudence dictated, and seldom failed to realize a fair profit. His investments in real estate have as a rule been fortunate, and these have always been his preference. Even the eligible

lot in Washington, contiguous to the Executive Mansion, which he bought and on which he was compelled to build a magnificent residence in order not to depreciate his own and surrounding real estate, but which proves quite too spacious and elegant for his Republican tastes—he lived in less ostentatious Washington quarters—has by no means proved to be the disastrous venture his friends predicted.

For twenty years he has owned a valuable coal tract of several hundred acres near Pittsburg, his title to which is even with, if it does not ante-date, his first appearance in Congress. From this he has always derived a handsome income, and the property has greatly appreciated. His great interest in the development of West Virginia resources led him into railroad enterprises in that direction. These have more than met the hopes of their projectors. Valuable mining regions are being opened and prosperity is entering hitherto waste places. A deserved profit must, if it has not already, come to the founders of this plant. These are, in general, the character of his business transactions. If he has been fortunate, let his judgment receive the credit. In all matters of business he is thoughtful, prompt, reliable. His credit is sterling. Except by invocation of the bitterest malice or most devilish envy there is no taint on his entire business record.

THE MAN.—Mr. Blaine is now in his fifty-fifth year. Although above medium height, he is so compactly and powerfully built that he scarcely seems tall. His features are large and expressive; he is slightly bald and his neatly trimmed beard is prematurely gray; his brows are lowering—his eyes are dark and keen. On the floor of Congress he manifested marvellous power and nerve. His voice is rich and melodious; his delivery is fluent and vigorous; his gestures are full of grace and force; his self-possession is never lost. He has appeared on the stump in almost every Northern State, and is an exceedingly popular and effective campaign orator. His faculties have a keen edge; his memory is remarkably retentive; and his practical knowledge of men and affairs has a broad range. This comprehensive knowledge is one of the secrets of his popularity. He knows

men from one end of the country to the other, and he knows what they are thinking about. He has kept abreast with the average thought of his time—not above it or below it.

He is an intense believer in the American Republic, one and indivisible, and ready to brave the wrath of the East for the welfare of the West, as in the Chinese question; ready to differ with political friends rather than submit to the indefinite suspension of Habeas Corpus; ready to stand attack from the conservatives for the rights of the Southern blacks, as in his opposition to Hayes' Southern policy; "ready to tweak the mane of the British lion when that fine old king of beasts crashes too clumsily among our fishing flakes." It would be difficult to find a man who can, on the instant, without reference to book or note, give so many facts and statistics relating to our financial and revenue system, to our river and harbor improvements, to our public lands, to our railway system, to our mines and minerals, to our agricultural interests—in fact, to everything that constitutes and includes the development, achievement, and success of the United States. This has been the study of his life, and his memory is an encyclopædia. He remembers because it is easier than to forget.

AT HOME.—Mr. Blaine's home-life is plain, hearty, and happy. His Washington home is not inelegant. During his public career it was hospitable to the extent of occasional and necessary public entertainment. Since his private life began, it is the home of the husband, the father, the student, and simply agreeable host. His domestic estate is without cloud. Mrs. Blaine is the model wife and mother, and more is due to her strong judgment, quick perception, and heroic courage than the world will ever know. They have six children. The eldest son, Walker Blaine, is a graduate of Yale College and of the Law School of Columbia College. He is a member of the bar of several States, and has been creditably engaged in public life in Washington. The second son, Emmons Blaine, is a graduate of Harvard College and the Cambridge Law School. The third is James G. Blaine, Jr., a lad of fourteen. The three daughters are named Alice, Margaret, and Harriet. The eldest was married

more than a year ago to Brevet-Colonel J. J. Coppinger, U. S. A. Mr. Blaine is the companion and confidant of every one of them, and he has seen them grow into exemplary manhood and womanhood amid an atmosphere of parental mildness. Order reigns in his home work. He studies and writes during prescribed hours, devotes others to his family, and still others to social affairs. His Augusta home, a plain two-story house, near the State house, is simpler but not less orderly. Of the life there, Rev. J. H. Ecob, for ten years a Presbyterian clergyman at Augusta, says:

"In his (Mr. Blaine's) house he was always the soul of geniality and good heart; there was always summer in that house, whatever the Maine winter might be without, and not only his rich neighbors and kinsmen welcomed him home, but a long line of the poor hailed the return of that family as a special providence. In the church he is honored and beloved. The good old New England custom of church-going with all the guests is enforced strictly in the Blaine household. Whoever is under his roof, from the President down, is expected to be with the family at church. Fair weather or foul, those pews were always well filled. Not only his presence, but his influence, his wise counsels, and his purse are freely devoted to the interests of the noble old South Church of Augusta.

"The hold which Mr. Blaine has maintained upon the hearts of such great numbers of his countrymen is not sufficiently explained by brilliant gifts or magnetism. The secret lies in his generous, manly, Christian character. Those who have known him best are not surprised that his friends all over the country have been determined that he should secure the highest honor within their gift. It is because they believe in him. The office has sought the man, the political papers to the contrary notwithstanding."

CONVENTION OF 1884.—On previous pages will be found the call and the work of the convention. It is therefore only necessary to say here that from the date of his retiracy, Mr. Blaine gave up his Presidential aspirations and refused to yield his consent to being a candidate. He clung to this determination with Spartan firmness, however importuned by his friends. His one answer was, "Gentlemen, I am not a candidate, and shall do nothing personally to promote my nomination."

But there was that about the situation he could no more stay than could Canute the sea with his broom. The unit rule was a thing of the past, and district representation a matter of the present. The people were free to voice their preferences and set the seal of positive instruction on them, if necessary. Blaine

was the best known man in the party, the completest representative of its dominant thoughts, the chief centre of its highest confidences, the most perfect embodiment of its hopes and ambitions, the fullest symbol of American character. It was natural that the masses, uninfluenced by anything except their sturdy convictions, should spontaneously turn to him they knew, trusted and honored. It was equally natural that they should transfer their rejoicings over their own freedom to rejoicings over the prospect of securing his nomination, and to applause at the thing accomplished. In their fervor they were but echoing back the inspiration with which his pluck, ability, success, and intense interest in their welfare had, for twenty consecutive years, filled them. Blaine, declining honor, was having it thrust upon him. Blaine, refusing to work for himself, was working most successfully through the agency of love for his grand character, and respect for his many achievements.

The venerable Judge West, of Ohio, who placed his nomination before the Convention, struck the popular chord when he said:

"Six times, in six campaigns, has that banner triumphed; that symbol of Union, freedom, humanity, and progress; some time by that silent man of destiny, the Wellington of American arms [wild applause]; last by him at whose untimely taking off a nation swelled the funeral cries and wept above great Garfield's grave. [Cheers and applause.]

"Shall that banner triumph again? Commit it to the bearing of that chief [a voice: "James G. Blaine, of Maine." Cheers]—commit it to the bearing of that chief, the inspiration of whose illustrious character and great name will fire the hearts of our young men, stir the blood of our manhood, and redouble the fervor of the veteran, and the closing of the seventh campaign will see that holy ensign spanning the sky like a bow of promise. [Cheers.] If triumph comes, the Republican States of the North must furnish the conquering battalions from the farm, the anvil, the loom, from the mines, the workshop, and the desk, from the hut of the trapper on the snowy Sierras, from the hut of the fisherman on the banks of the Hudson. The Republican States must furnish these conquering battalions of triumph. Come! Does not sound political wisdom declare and demand that a leader shall be given to them whom our people will follow, not as conscripts advancing by funeral marches to certain defeat, but a grand civic hero whom the souls of the people desire, and whom they will follow with all the enthusiasm of volunteers as they sweep on and onward to certain victory."

AFTER THE NOMINATION.—Word of Mr. Blaine's

nomination was received with enthusiasm by the Republican party. Sentiment respecting it ran in a single groove of approbation, with here and there, at long intervals, a switch and siding for those to run out upon who in their disappointment had occasion to pause and think. A semi-Republican, but really anti-American sentiment, had shaped itself into open hostility prior to the convention, and much to its shame had employed the agency of personal abuse by reviving the stale and oft refuted slanders which had been the offspring of Democratic imagination or malignity in by-gone campaigns. One of these was as to Mr. Blaine's connection with the Credit Mobilier.

CREDIT MOBILIER.—We do not allude to this through any sense of political necessity, nor with a view to vindication, for that is not only out of our line, but of no use at all in view of the wholesale and manifestly malicious misrepresentations of the entire affair. But we have to preserve what are called the "historic verities," and as Mr. Blaine was a part of the Credit Mobilier investigation, his precise position in it should be known.

We have taken great pains to verify what is here written by the official records, and to "nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice."

During the Presidential campaign of 1872 charges were made by Democratic orators and newspapers, to the effect that several public men had accepted Credit Mobilier stock from Oakes Ames as a present, and in order to influence legislation in favor of the Union Pacific Railroad Company. The charges were very vague, as such charges always are. Among the officials they reached was the Speaker of the House, Mr. Blaine. On the day the Second Session of the Forty-second Congress opened, Mr. Blaine asked Mr. Cox (Democrat) to take the chair. Remember the House was Republican by 138 Republicans to 103 Democrats, and the Senate by 57 Republicans to 17 Democrats. Mr. Blaine took the floor, alluded to the charges, and asked that an investigating committee be appointed, to inquire into their truthfulness and report to the House. He thus not only moved for his own inculpation if he were guilty, but he had purposely

placed a leading Democrat in the chair to appoint the investigating committee, a thing entirely unusual. The committee appointed consisted of Poland, of Vermont, and McCreary, of Iowa, both Republicans; Banks, of Massachusetts, a Greeley Democrat; and Niblack, of Indiana, and Merrick, of Maryland, both straight-out Democrats.

All in all, this was a wholly exceptional situation. To all campaign stories, with whatever motive concocted or for whatever purpose circulated, the majority in Congress might have rested on the vindication they had received at the polls, and would have done so if they had been opposed to a thorough investigation and a full exposure of corrupt practices. The movement for investigation came from themselves. Again, they might of right, and in accordance with the practice of the government from the beginning, have appointed a committee which represented the majority of the Congress, and the administration as well. This right, or custom, was waived, and an all-important and far-reaching investigation was, for the first time in legislative history, entrusted by a dominant party to its political foes.

The investigation covered nearly three months. It was patiently and carefully made, as may well be supposed under the circumstances. The whole ground was covered from the vague charges to the very bottom of the Credit Mobilier and Union Pacific Railroad transactions. The persons charged were one by one fully examined and their statements compared with each other and with outside testimony. Their report, made Feb. 18, 1873, was considered one of the most commanding and exhaustive judicial documents of the time. No State paper ever carried greater weight. It was accepted by all parties as a finality, and many who had used the charges which called it forth regretted their thoughtless action after they were made acquainted with the facts.

The committee found that the Credit Mobilier of America was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. That it became the construction agent for the Union Pacific Railroad. That in 1867 it engaged to build for the Union Pacific 667 miles

of road at prices ranging from $42,000 to $96,000 per mile, which contract was ratified by the Union Pacific. That in 1868 the stock of the Credit Mobilier was considered as worth two to three times its par value, but that the fact was not generally known, because there was none on the market. That in December, 1867, Oakes Ames, then a member of the House, and a stockholder in both the Union Pacific and Credit Mobilier, offered to members of Congress shares of Credit Mobilier stock at par.

"It does not appear," we use here the exact language of the committee, "that in any instance he asked any of these persons to pay a higher rate than par and interest, nor that he used any special effort or urgency to get these persons to take it. In all these negotiations, Mr. Ames did not enter into any details as to the value of the stock or the amount of dividend that might be expected from it, but stated generally that it was a good stock, and in several instances said he would guarantee that they should get at least 10 per cent. on their money."

When some of these gentlemen raised the question that taking the stock might embarrass their legislative action, they were told by Mr. Ames that that could never be, for the Union Pacific had all the grants and legislation it wanted, and should ask for nothing more. Some persons who took stock paid for it outright. For those who wanted it, but who had not the money, Mr. Ames agreed to carry it till they could get money, or until the dividends paid for it.

The committee then made a special finding as to each member of the House whom the rumors mentioned. Again we quote in full:

"In regard to each of the members of the present House, the committee deem it their duty to state specially the facts they find proved by the evidence, which in some instances is painfully conflicting.

"MR. JAMES G. BLAINE, OF MAINE.

"Among those who have in the public press been charged with improper participation in Credit Mobilier stock is the present Speaker, Mr. Blaine, who moved the resolution for this investigation. The committee have, therefore, taken evidence in regard to him. They find from it that Mr. Ames had conversation with Mr. Blaine in regard to taking ten shares of the stock, and recommended it as a good investment. Upon consideration *Mr. Blaine concluded not to take the stock, and never did take it, and never paid or received anything on account of it; and Mr. Blaine never had any interest, direct or indirect in Credit Mobilier stock or stock of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.*"

THE MULLIGAN LETTERS.—We dignify a title altogether unworthy by even so much as a mention of the "Mulligan Letters." They were but an infinitesimally small part of what should have been an honorable procedure on the part of the Democratic majority in the Forty-fourth Congress, and would have been had not investigation been given a personal turn by a desire to follow wherever shallow rumors led. The history of the investigation made up from the Congressional record is this.

A bill approved Feb. 9, 1853, before the war, gave right of way and grants of public lands in Arkansas and Missouri to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad. An act of July 28, 1860, revived the above act. On April 9, 1869, the day before the last of the extra session of the Forty-first Congress, a bill was in order to extend the time of the completion of the first section of twenty miles of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad in order that it might not forfeit its land grants and franchises. Four hundred men were then at work and the job would be finished soon, but not before the close of the session, which was the next day, April 10. Mr. Julian moved as an amendment to the bill the incorporation of the Memphis, El Paso and Pacific Railroad. The design was to kill the Little Rock bill, or make it carry this new charter, which granted a right of way and all charter privileges. Mr. Roots, of Arkansas, saw the object, pleaded for its withdrawal, and besought the Speaker to prevent this dilatory legislation. Mr. Blaine, as is the custom with Speakers when a member unacquainted with parliamentary procedure is in a fix, suggested that the amendment was not germane. His page so informed General Logan, a friend of the Little Rock bill, and he rose to a question of order and said:

"The amendment is not germane. The bill is to revive a certain land grant and extend time. The amendment is another charter for a Pacific Railroad with franchises, bridges, right of way, etc. I have been in favor of the Little Rock bill, but it cannot be made to carry this."

The chair sustained the point of order thus:

"It is expressly prohibited by the rule that where a land grant is under consideration another grant to a different company cannot be entertained. This is not a

specific land grant, but it does give away the public land of the United States, so far as to give a right of way. Again, by the rules, no proposition upon a subject different from that under consideration can be admitted under the color of an amendment."

That this was good law no person has ever doubted. To have ruled otherwise would have perverted the situation and been regarded as improper and illegal. The bill passed the same day with an amendment by Mr. Julian providing that the lands donated be sold only to actual settlers. See Congressional Record, p. 701, First Session Forty-ninth Congress, proceedings of April 9.

In the Forty-fourth Congress, First Session, May 2, 1876, a resolution was passed and referred to the Judiciary Committee instructing them to inquire whether the Union Pacific Railway Company did in 1871 or 1872 become owner of any bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railway at less than their market value. Mr. Knott, Ky., was chairman of the Judiciary Committee. He raised a sub-committee of three, of which Mr. Hunton, Va., was chairman, to conduct the investigation. Shortly after, another resolution was referred, asking for a similar investigation as to the Northern Pacific Railroad.

Mr. Blaine had urged a prompt report from the Committee. They had pushed along with their duty as to the Union Pacific Railroad Company; the endeavor being to show that he was interested in $75,000 worth of bonds of Little Rock which the Union Pacific was said to have held. The books showed no evidence of such ownership or transfer. Hon. Thomas A. Scott swore he never made it, nor knew of it. Sidney Dillon, President, E. H. Rollins, Treasurer, Mr. Millard, a Government Director of the road and Morton, Bliss & Co., through whom all the negotiations of the road were carried on, all sent written denials of any such transaction. The Committee utterly failed to find a word of inculpatory evidence regarding this transaction.

As to the Northern Pacific Railroad the evidence was all one way. Not an oath could be educed nor even so much as an explanation which connected Mr. Blaine with any operation of that road.

Rumors had not thus far proved very exact. A wild-goose chase was in order. The Committee began to stretch their powers by inquiry into Mr. Blaine's private transactions with Mr. Fisher, a Boston sugar refiner, and an intimate friend, who had at one time been a partner, or in intimate relations with one Mr. Caldwell, a broker. These had had for a clerk one Mulliken, or Mulligan—there are two spellings. Mr. Blaine's business relations with this firm extended over a period of thirteen years. Many letters had passed, addressed to Mr. Fisher, Mr. Caldwell not being known personally to Mr. Blaine, and for several years being both disconnected with the firm and out of the country.

In pursuit of rumors implicating Mr. Blaine in the transactions of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, both Mr. Fisher and Mr. Mulligan were summoned. Mr. Mulligan borrowed of Mr. Fisher certain letters for the purpose, as he said, "of refreshing his memory" as to Mr. Blaine's dealings with the firm. Mr. Fisher came armed with no such documents, and his testimony was as to the fairness of all transactions between the firm and Mr. Blaine. When Mr. Blaine learned that Mr. Mulligan was before the Committee with letters, to which he (Mulligan) was a stranger, in his possession, he asked to see them privately, and then returned them. On reflection he asked for them a second time with the privilege of copying them, pledging their return. He took advice of Judge Jeremiah S. Black and Hon. Matt Carpenter, two of the profoundest lawyers then living, who advised him to retain them as privileged communications of which either Mr. Fisher, to whom they were all addressed, or himself were the only proper custodians, and possession of which the Committee could not honorably have through a stranger to them, nor compel by any legal process. He further showed them to some forty-four members of Congress, that their full import might become known. Many tales were set afloat by Mulligan, or by the invention of others, as to Mr. Blaine's appeals for possession of these letters. They are too wild for credence, and not supported by trustworthy evidence.

At this juncture Mr. Blaine determined to call the attention of the House and the country to the methods pursued by the

Committee. He had by this time become fully persuaded that the object of its procedure was personal to himself, and not in the interest of the public. He therefore, on June 5, 1876, rose to a privileged question, and stating that the Committee were about to turn their attention to newspaper reports touching business transactions with friends in Boston, a matter clearly beyond their jurisdiction under the resolution of investigation, moved a resolution for the investigation of all the railroads that had received land grants. He then said: "When this investigation began it was evidently confined to a transaction of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, in which it was alleged to have had in its possession $75,000 worth of the bonds of the Little Rock Railroad. Then it took the direction of every rumor afloat. I had to appeal to the Committee and it decided that its Chairman, the gentleman from Virginia, had no right to go there. When the famous Mulligan came loaded down with letters, he insisted on going into all my private memoranda and allowing them to be exhibited, and the gentleman tried his best to capture and control my private correspondence. I have them. I claim them. I shall retain them, and let the Committee do what they will they cannot by any process in their power reclaim them."

Here Mr. Blaine held aloft the entire batch, and then proceeded to read them one by one. They numbered fifteen in all, with two or three scraps. After they were read the clerk called their numbers and the memoranda on the back to see if all had been read. They all compared except number eight, which on examination did not turn out to be Mr. Blaine's letter at all, but one written by Mr. Fisher to Mr. Blaine. This is the one which Mr. Blaine's enemies say he failed to read. It was not in the batch. He could not have read it had it been there, under the plea he had made for the sanctity of private correspondence. That he garbled the reading is absurd, for their contents were known to fifty of his friends, they were open to the inspection of the entire House, and moreover he insisted on Mr. Hunton, Chairman of the Investigating Committee, coming to his house and looking at them all privately, a step he refused to take, for

the reason that if they could not be brought lawfully before the Committee for its use, he had no right to see them.

The letters related solely to business transactions with Mr. Fisher. As Mr. Mulligan stated in his testimony, there was but one or two of them that could by any possibility raise a suspicion that Mr. Blaine knew anything of the affairs of the Union Pacific Railroad. We have already seen the testimony of the officers of that road. Most of them had no meaning except as between an ordinary banking officer and a patron. One to which much importance has been attached, written to Mr. Fisher, June 29, 1869, nearly three months after his decision as Speaker, seems to imply that Mr. Caldwell knew of "ground floor" securities of the Little Rock road which might be had. But if so Mr. Fisher failed to find it out and Mr. Blaine never purchased or received any such. As to said road he had never heard tell of it till it came up in the bill on which he rendered the decision, nor had any of his Boston friends any interest in it at that time nor till three months afterwards.

Subsequently when the mortgage bonds of the road were on sale, Mr. Blaine in common with hundreds of other public men, bankers and private citizens, bought what was called a "block" of these Little Rock securities, in market overt and on the same terms as any other person. The "block" consisted of a certain amount of first mortgage and second mortgage bonds, and a proportionate amount of stock. By selling the second mortgage bonds he hoped to clear his investment. He did sell them, and to friends. They went down, and not wishing his friends to lose by him, he took them back and pocketed the loss. Many of the letters complained of the cramped condition he found himself in on account of this. By October 4, 1869, this, to him, disastrous transaction was closed out. On that date, and after he had evidently been looking over his decisions as Speaker, he wrote a letter to Mr. Fisher, in which he cursorily calls attention to the decision in question and incidentally alludes to it as one which in its results favored the road. At this time Mr. Blaine had sold all his securities and had no interest whatever in it. He had previously shown in the House that the road had derived

its "real life, value and franchises from the State of Arkansas," so that the legislation by Congress was not so vital as some supposed. Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, speaking of Mr. Blaine's letters, said: "They prove that the charges repeated are not only untrue but impossible, and will continue so to prove till the Gregorian Calendar can be turned around, and October made to precede April in the stately procession of the years."

It should not be omitted that the Record shows that Mr. Knott, pending the investigation, telegraphed to London to Mr. Caldwell, and got a response which was a complete exoneration of Mr. Blaine, but which was for a long time withheld, if not finally suppressed. All in all the animus of the investigation became too patent for it to command any respect. The only purpose it ever served was to float for a brief while the idle rumors of previous years. It never reported a thought worthy of serious consideration, and in fact wasted away and disappeared in a vacuum of its own invitation.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN.

PARENTAGE.—Major-General John Alexander Logan, the nominee of the Republican party for Vice-President, is both a distinguished soldier and statesman. His father was Doctor John Logan, a native of Ireland, who immigrated to Illinois in 1823, and who married Elizabeth Jenkins, of Tennessee, in 1824. The son, John, was born near Murphysboro, Jackson county, Ill., on the 9th of February, 1826. His parents had eleven children, of whom the subject of our sketch was the oldest. Until his fourteenth year, on account of the unsettled condition of the State, he enjoyed few of the advantages of education, except those provided by his father. After that he secured such knowledge as the common school system of the time afforded, and as he could add to his store by self-culture.

A SOLDIER.—When the Mexican war broke out in 1846, he entered the army as Second Lieutenant of the First Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, and served with credit till the return of peace. During his term of service he was promoted to the adjutancy of his regiment, and was mustered out as quartermaster. In 1848, at the age of twenty-two, he returned to his native State and began the study of law, in the office of his maternal uncle, Alexander M. Jenkins, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois. His reading was followed by attending a course of legal lectures at the Louisville law school, where he received a diploma in 1851. Previous to this, in November, 1849, he had been elected clerk of his native county, and held the position till 1850.

IN PUBLIC LIFE.—After graduating, he began practice in the office of Judge Jenkins. Here he soon developed those qualities which indicated a career of usefulness far wider in range than that of the bar. The broadly practical cast of his mind, his winning manners and popular turn, connected with his rare abilities as a ready and earnest speaker, soon gained for him warm friends and great fame among the voters of his county.

In one year from the date of his admission to the bar (1852), his legal qualities and popular ways were recognized by his election as Prosecuting Attorney of the Third Judicial District, and he took up his residence at Benton, in Franklin county.

In the fall of 1852 he was elected to the State Legislature to represent Franklin and Jackson counties. He was re-elected continuously from 1852 to 1856. He was all this time a pronounced Democrat. On the 27th of November, 1855, he married, at Shawneetown, Miss Mary Cunningham, daughter of John W. Cunningham.

In May, 1856, he was appointed Presidential elector for the Ninth Congressional District, on the Democratic ticket, and in that capacity cast his vote for James Buchanan for President and John C. Breckinridge for Vice-President. In the same year he was elected to the State Legislature for the last time.

TO CONGRESS.—Mr. Logan was now a conspicuous member of his party, and much trusted in its counsels. In the Legislature he had made a decided mark as an orator, and on the stump he was regarded with the greatest favor. In 1858 he was elected to Congress in the Ninth District, on the Democratic ticket, by 15,878 votes as against 2,796 for his Republican opponent. He made his first appearance in the Thirty-sixth Congress, Dec. 5, 1859. Here he was confronted with the Kansas question, the Covode Investigation, and in general the design of his party to carry slavery into the Territories in spite of what was then known as the doctrine of "Squatter Sovereignty." His strict party views underwent considerable modification, and before the session was over he had linked his fortunes with the liberal or Douglas wing of Democracy.

In 1860 he was re-elected to Congress as a Douglas Demo-

crat, by 21,381 votes to 5,439 for his opponent. He was now fully committed to popular sovereignty, and an ardent foe of arbitrary slavery extension. He stumped the country for Douglas, and was everywhere recognized as an able, versatile, and magnetic campaigner. He was earnest, frank, forcible, and always impressed his hearers with the fact that he possessed the courage of well-studied and deeply grounded conviction.

IN THE ARMY.—After this election he appeared in the Thirty-seventh Congress, at its special session July 4, 1861. But the turn which affairs had taken left him no longer a Democrat. Before the 4th of March, and when there was a strong probability of interference with the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, he avowed his intention to see him inaugurated, even if he had to shoulder a musket and march to Washington. The war was now on, and the young Congressman could not restrain his patriotic devotion nor the zeal born of former military experience. The Second Michigan Regiment, Colonel Israel B. Richardson, marched through the capital to the front. Shouldering a musket, he fell into the ranks, and on July 21, 1861, participated, as a private, in the disastrous battle of Bull Run.

After the battle he returned to Congress, where he took a decisive stand in favor of prompt and efficient war legislation, urging with all the intensity of his ardent nature the necessity of raising sufficient men to crush organized and armed rebellion. At the close of the extra session, August 6, 1861, he resigned his seat, and hastening to his home, proceeded at once to raise a regiment. Such was his energy and popularity that, by the 18th of September, he had succeeded in raising the Thirty-first Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, of which he was commissioned Colonel, the commission dating from August 10th.

A COLONEL.—His regiment immediately entered the field as a part of McClernand's Brigade, then operating in the Department of Tennessee, and on the lines which led to Fort Donelson. The first engagement of moment in which he participated was the brief but sanguinary battle of Belmont (Nov. 7, 1861). Here his gallantry was conspicuous, and he had his horse shot under him. The ability he displayed here, united with his dash

and intrepidity, foreshadowed the fact that he was to play a prominent part in these active and trying operations. He was at the taking of Fort Henry, where his command overtook a company of retreating rebel artillerists and captured eight guns. This was the prelude to Fort Donelson, which was strongly invested, and where occurred some of the fiercest fighting of the war. Says one historian, speaking of a sortie made by the rebels in conjunction with the arrival of expected aid from the outside, "Oglesby and McArthur, with too scant ammunition for the unexpected battle, stood firm for a while, but fresh rebel troops continued to arrive, and had it not been for the coolness of the brigade commanders and the inspiring valor of Colonel John A. Logan with his Thirty-first Illinois Regiment, the attack might have proved a panic to our troops."

In one of the many daring charges at Donelson he was severely wounded by a musket ball in the left arm and shoulder, and was twice wounded in the thigh, but remained on the field exhorting his men, until removed by the surgeon. On account of his wounds and a serious spell of sickness, during which his life was despaired of, he did not rejoin his command for several weeks. Donelson, which surrendered Feb. 16, 1862, it will be remembered, was the grand break in the rebel line, which necessitated the fall of Nashville, and the formation of a new line a hundred miles southward. The entire Union army pushed forward to occupy this conquered field, the objective point on the Mississippi being Pittsburg Landing.

A BRIGADIER.—On the 5th of March, 1862, he was promoted to be a Brigadier-General of volunteers, and returned to the field in April, 1862, shortly after the battle of Shiloh, which was fought April 6 and 7. Corinth was now besieged by the Union forces. Being a point of great strategic value it was tenaciously held by the rebels, and its investment was by slow approaches and amid much hard fighting. During the entire siege General Logan held command of a brigade of McClernand's division, and won fresh laurels as a cool-headed and determined officer. His post was on the right wing of the army, and for valiant and timely services he was publicly thanked by General Sherman. Corinth fell, May 29, 1862.

In July, 1862, the Districts of Tennessee and Northern Mississippi were united under Grant, when began that brilliant series of movements designed to co-operate with the upward moving Union fleets on the Mississippi, which eventually resulted in securing control of that river, and which are known in history as the celebrated fall and winter campaign of 1862–63. In these movements Logan's command was an active participant, and he was relied on as an officer of superior skill and daring, as well as one born for success.

On Dec. 22, 1862, Grant issued his new order dividing the army into corps, thus practically doing away with the geographic divisions. To the Seventeenth corps of the Army of the Mississippi, General McPherson was assigned as commander. It was composed of four divisions, and the Third Division was placed in command of General Logan.

A MAJOR-GENERAL.—In the spring of 1863 he was commissioned Major-General, to date from Nov. 29, 1862. Vicksburg was now the objective point. The work of pushing thither was arduous. Logan's division was unceasingly active. He participated in the spirited battles of Bruinsville, and the two at Port Gibson in the latter part of April, all of which were decisive Union victories. At Raymond, May 12, 1863, his division came upon Gregg's brigade of rebel cavalry strongly covered by a dense woods. A hot engagement ensued, lasting for two hours and a half, which resulted in a complete rout of the rebels.

Sherman was now sent to join McPherson for the capture of Jackson. The enemy were badly worsted in a sanguinary battle, May 14, in which Logan's division bore an honored part. With his division in the front, the Union forces were pushed rapidly to Champion Hills, where occurred the battle and victory of May 16. During this battle, Logan, who was on the right wing, attacked Stevenson, who was on the enemy's left, and drove him back so far that for a time it looked as if he were about to capture Pemberton's entire army. Following this was the spirited engagement at the crossing of the Big Black, of which point the Union forces got possession, May 17.

Now came the investment of Vicksburg. Sherman's corps was on the right, McPherson's in the centre, McClernand's on the left. There need be no recital of the endurance and daring of our troops and their officers in front of this stronghold, and there ought to be no discrimination where all were equally earnest, brave and loyal. The country yet remembers its thrill of joy at the announcement of the surrender of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863. Says Coppee (see "Grant and his Campaigns," p. 192), in speaking of the splendid manœuvres and dashing onsets which characterized Grant's approaches to and capture of this last rebel grip on the Father of Waters, "It is no injustice to others to say that his chief supporters were Sherman, McPherson and Logan. . . . Logan's dashing valor was eminently conspicuous. Having declared that the western men would hew their way to the gulf, he was a bright example of the truth of his prediction; ever at his post and always distinguished for that fearless impetuosity which the world now considers his characteristic."

After the capture of Vicksburg, Grant arranged affairs there by making McPherson Commander and Logan Post-Commander. Here, on July 12, 1863, was organized for the Seventeenth corps a "Board of Honor," of which Logan was made president. It was for the purpose of distributing honorary medals to all who had distinguished themselves for bravery and effective service. The position of Post-Commander gave him opportunity for much needed rest, or at least recreation. Availing himself of it he obtained leave of absence, visited the North, and made a series of stirring and effective speeches, wherever elections were pending, in aid of the cause of the war party, in favor of the abolition of slavery, and in bitter denunciation of the peace agitators, then designated "Copperheads."

In the reorganization of army affairs in the fall of 1863 Sherman was assigned to the Army of the Tennessee. The position of Commander of the Fifteenth corps became vacant, General Blair having retired temporarily to take a seat in Congress, to which he had been elected while in service. General Logan was, therefore, promoted to the command of this corps, Oct. 27,

1863. The corps under General Blair had been at Iuka, Chattanooga, Knoxville and Missionary Ridge, and was now ready for winter-quarters and recruitment at Huntsville. The campaign toward Atlanta was under consideration. At the inception of this campaign the army known as that of the Tennessee passed to the command of McPherson. It comprised Logan's Fifteenth corps and parts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth, all of which were at Huntsville. Grant had, March 4, 1864, been called to the Army of the Potomac. He and Sherman had mapped the Atlanta campaign and the "Grand March to the Sea."

In that magnificent sweep of the combined armies of the West through heavily guarded mountain passes, and across difficult streams, the services of Logan and his corps were in constant requisition. At Resaca, Kenesaw Mountain, Dallas, the wonderful crossing of the Chattahoochee, and Atlanta, he added to the glory of past achievements by a succession of daring and successful exploits. His name had become the synonym of victory. Where Logan led all was sure to go well. In infantry he was what Sheridan was in cavalry, watchful, restless, prompt, fearless, yet with a judgment as to situations that amounted to an intuition.

Sherman's move had been a succession of battles and victories. But Atlanta was a stumbling-block. The combined armies drew around it and affected its capture directly. Hood, freshly assigned to position and with fresh forces, held his ground sturdily through three great battles, those of July 20, 22 and 28, 1864. In the battle of the 22d, Hood centred an attack on McPherson's army, and that general was killed. There was no time for grief over the loss of so distinguished an officer. Sherman instantly despatched a staff officer to Logan to tell him what had happened, order him to assume temporary command of the Army of Tennessee, and hold stubbornly the ground it occupied. During the day the Fifteenth corps had been receiving the brunt of Hood's fierce onset, and it had gradually lost ground. Orders came to regain it at whatever cost. Logan with soldierly instinct had anticipated the orders, and was

already in motion. His movement was executed in superb style, the soldiers locking bayonets over improvised parapets, and literally swaying in hand-to-hand conflict. Logan threw himself with all his fire into the close and heated action, now stopping to re-establish a broken line, and then dashing along the front exclaiming, "McPherson and revenge!" he succeeded in securing from his excited troops that last, united and supreme onset which swept the enemy from the field with great slaughter. The lost ground was won. General Sherman in his official report accords to Logan the success of the battle. In the battle of the 28th, equally as hard-fought, Logan's command again withstood the most determined attacks of the enemy.

On the 27th of July General Howard took charge of the Army of Tennessee, thus relieving Logan of a temporary command, which he had exercised with the greatest ability and most pronounced success. He returned to his old command of the Fifteenth corps. The siege went on for nearly a month. Sherman now, August 25, changed the situation of affairs by a flank movement with the design of cutting off the enemy's southern communications and perfecting his siege operations. This gave rise to several determined battles. Throughout these movements Logan's corps always occupied a post on the extreme right flank, Sherman knowing full well the danger to which his wings were exposed in executing a movement of that kind, and who to entrust with the most responsible situations. The enemy now became desperate. The great battle of August 31, 1864, was the result. Hood's forces were cut in twain. The burden of this battle again fell on the right flank of the Union army. Logan's corps stood without flinching, through five terrible charges made by the enemy. On the sixth the rebels were charged in turn and entirely driven from their position and the field. On Sept. 2, 1864, the city was evacuated by the rebels and occupied by Union troops.

The way was now clear for the march to the sea. The army was reorganized for the purpose. General Logan turned his corps over to General Osterhaus, and came North to enter the campaign of 1864 for Lincoln and Johnson, in which his vig-

orous speeches were of great service to the Union cause and the Republican party.

Sherman presented to President Lincoln the city of Savannah as a Christmas gift for 1864. On January 15, 1865, he began his Northern march. General Logan had joined him in the meantime and assumed command of the Fifteenth corps, relieving General Osterhaus. The line of march was fully straightened by February 1st, and Logan's corps had a road of its own. The march was a series of skirmishes at every guarded point, a constant laying of pontoons or building of bridges, a system of almost perpetual reconnoitring and cautious flank movements. An active but retreating enemy was all the while in their front, turning everything into difficulty, never standing for a fight, except at Goldsboro and Kingston, where they were easily routed. At Goldsboro the three armies, or marching lines, of Sherman met March 25, 1865, and were in communication with Grant's forces.

Here the army was reorganized, Howard holding the right wing, which still retained its name as the Army of the Tennessee, and which was composed, as during its march from Savannah, of Logan's Fifteenth and Blair's Seventeenth corps. Sherman's grand objective was to throw his army north of the Roanoke facing west, with a base of supplies at Norfolk and in full communication with the Army of the Potomac. Here Logan again appears on the right wing, the post of danger and of honor.

Word came of the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. March! was the immediate order of Sherman. He knew Johnston must retreat. Through Raleigh they went, to Ashboro, to the Cape Fear, amid rain and mud. Logan's and Blair's corps were stretched out as intercepting webs on the road to Pittsboro. Johnston, in despair, called a truce, April 18, and surrender followed. The Army of the Tennessee was ordered to Richmond, and then to Washington, where that of the Potomac was reviewed on May 23, and Sherman's on the 24th.

SOLDIERLY CHARACTERISTICS.—Say Colonels Bowman and Irwin, in their "Sherman and his Campaigns," "Lo-

gan's warm, impulsive nature gives him a powerful hold on the affections of his men, and a high courage and indomitable spirit enable him to lead them to victory."

He is the most notable illustration of the success that has attended the efforts of those officers who, entering the army from civil life, have been content, instead of grasping at once at the highest honors, to learn the duties of their profession in the subordinate grades and to rise step by step according to their talents and experience. Beginning as a colonel of volunteers, for which position his Mexican services qualified him, he successively rose through the command of a brigade and division to that of Sherman's old corps, and being temporarily placed at the head of a separate army, discharged the high responsibilities of that post, at an important period, with signal ability. While others, more ambitious but less patient or less deserving, fell from the height which, in a moment of laxity and want of knowledge they had been permitted to attain, Logan mounted steadily. While he did not abandon politics so far as public speaking and personal exhortation went, he steadily refused to be a candidate for any civil office till peace returned.

Army records are sprinkled with anecdotal mention of General Logan. He early got to be known as the "general who never lost a battle." As McClellan got to be affectionately and familiarly known as "Little Mac"; Sheridan, as "Little Phil"; Thomas, as "Old Pap," so Logan was always "Black Jack," on account of his dark complexion. It was said of Logan and Sheridan that they were the only Major-Generals in the army who were shorter in stature than Grant.

Speaking of the "despised class" of fighting generals, into which class fall Grant, Hooker, Sheridan, Rousseau, and Logan, Mr. Shank, in his "Personal Recollections of Distinguished Generals," says: "Rousseau and Logan owe everything to nature, and are leaders, not generals, intuitively. They never enjoyed the advantages of West Point, and as nature is unchecked in them by education, he who hunts for them in the battle-field, must look for them along the front line and not with the reserves. . . . . Both are bold, daring, and enthusiastic in spirit;

one has a commanding presence, the other an inspiring eye, and the natural and most effective position of each is at the head of a forlorn hope, or leading desperate charges to successful issues. What Little Phil Sheridan was to the tall, towering and graceful Hooker, 'Black Jack Logan,' a somewhat short but graceful figure, in whose forehead is set the finest pair of eyes ever possessed by man, was to the huge, ponderous, and somewhat handsome figure of Rousseau. Hooker and Rousseau are different types of the tall and elegant, Sheridan and Logan illustrate the graceful in little men; but the great hearts of each beat alike, and on the battle-field the daring and boldness of each are equally conspicuous and effective." And again, "Logan is the same daring, enthusiastic, and vigorous fighter that Sheridan is. He will always be prominent among the Marshal Neys of the war for the Union. He had the habit of precision to perfection. He is a man who, possessing all that vigor and boldness of heart which great physical strength and health gives, united with a naturally warm, enthusiastic, and daring temperament, engaged heart and soul in every task that allured or interested him, and never abandoned it as a failure."

IN PUBLIC LIFE AGAIN.—After the close of the war he was (1865) appointed Minister to Mexico, by President Johnson. This honor he declined. In 1866 he was a delegate to the Soldiers' National Convention at Pittsburg. In the same year he was elected Congressman-at-large for the State of Illinois by 203,045 votes, as against 147,058 for his opponent. This brought him again into public life as a member of the Fortieth Congress, which, it will be remembered, opened March 4, 1867, and kept open by a series of adjourned sessions till the regular session in December. Its object was to frustrate any attempt of President Johnson to force executive power beyond Constitutional limits. Logan was one of the most vigilant of its members, and the most determined that the country should not lose through an apostate President any of the hard-earned fruits of the war.

He was re-elected to the Forty-first Congress, 1869–71. In the winter of 1870–71 he was elected to the Senate. His

term began March 4, 1871, and expired March 3, 1877. He was not then re-elected to the Senate because the Republicans did not control the Illinois Legislature, and David Davis became his successor through the aid of the Independent element. But two years later (1879) he was again chosen Senator to succeed Richard J. Oglesby, who became the Republican candidate for governor. His term began March 4, 1879, and expires March 3, 1885.

In his almost continuous public life since the close of the war, General Logan has been a true, practical and safe statesman. He is a tireless worker in committees and an able, fearless orator on the floor. His eloquence is fervid, his argument clear. The whole man enters into debate just as it did into battle. Not so ornate as some, he is nevertheless earnest, cogent and convincing. Whatever measure he espouses, you may be sure it will engage his whole power of thought and action. He is faithful to constituency and zealous of the welfare of the entire people as well as of the honor of the entire country. This self-taught, self-made man of the West is in heart and soul one of the finest specimens of nature's noblemen. There never was a time when he was not implicitly trusted by generals or privates. There never was a time when his constituency and party were not willing to trust him with their success and honor.

In both Senate and House he has been a vigilant and useful member. It would be impossible to recite here his many forensic efforts or the numerous measures he has proposed and vindicated. But he was one of the managers of the Impeachment of President Johnson, a position to which none were assigned who were not able in law and in the art of pleading. His speech in the House during the Second Session of the Forty-first Congress, on the reduction of the army, was a masterly effort. So was that delivered, during the same session, on Cuban Independence. Perhaps his most eloquent and dispassionate effort in the Senate was that of June 3, 1872, in defense of his old Commander General Grant. In this he showed an appreciation of worth, a gratitude for service done, a

respect for personal and official honor, which quite put to shame the defamers of the great soldier.

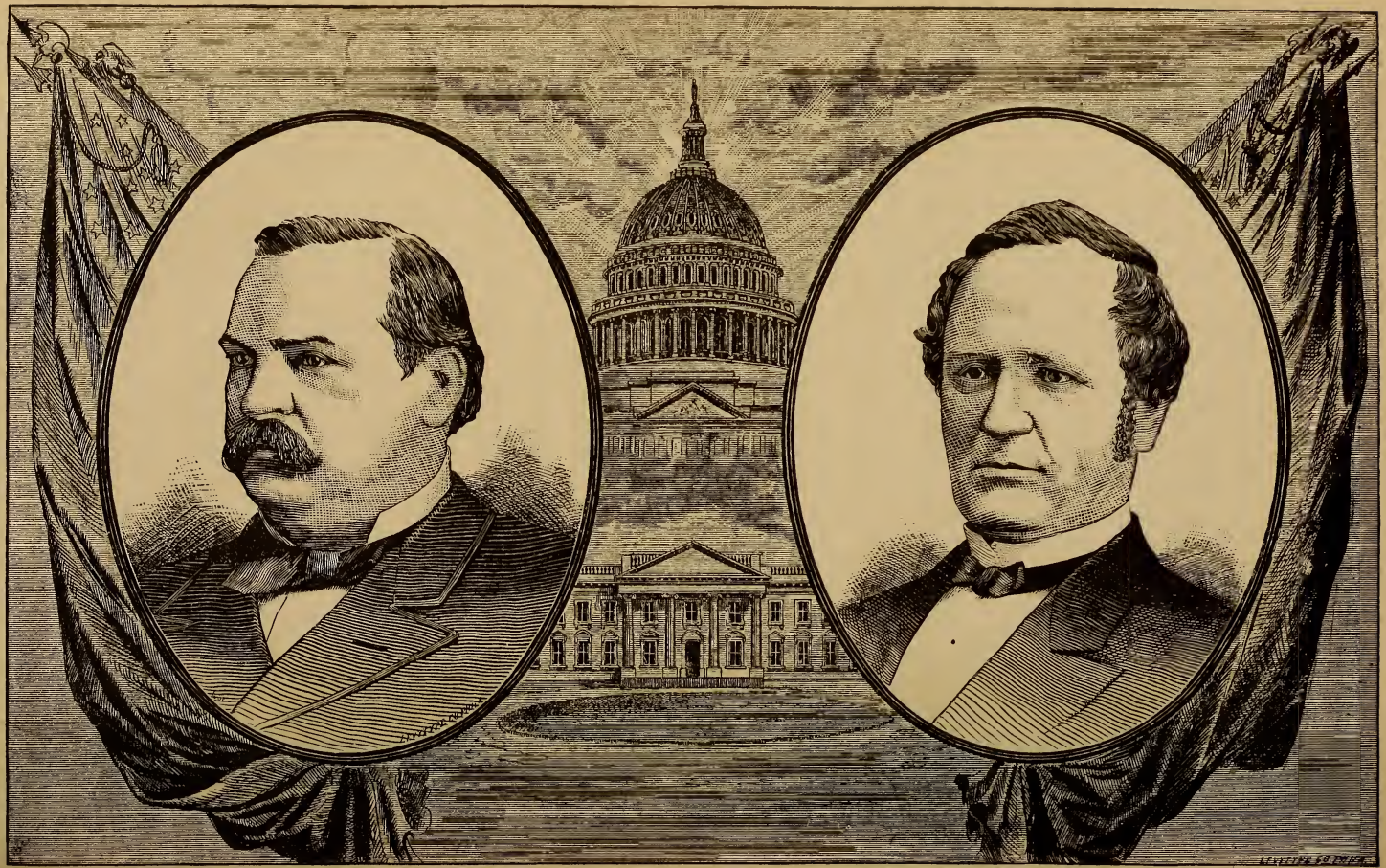
In all the measures of reconstruction he took an active and decisive part. Many of his speeches in this connection were widely circulated as campaign documents, and did much to stimulate the Republican party to the exercise of a vigorous policy. His speech on self-government in Louisiana, delivered in the Senate, Jan. 13 and 14, 1875, was exhaustive of the situation. It was deliberately prepared, abounded in striking illustrations, and gave opportunity for some of his best flights of oratory. Few speeches have ever been delivered in the Senate Chamber that carried so much weight and were received with greater favor.

There are few public measures of moment that escape his attention, and he is recognized as among the most active and resolute debaters now in the Senate. The soldiers have ever found in him their warmest friend and advocate. He fought with the sturdiness of a hero all the steps to reinstate Fitz-John Porter to his old place in the army. On all the leading and vital questions of the Republican party he is sound to the core, yet not in a partisan sense, so much as from sincere and fearless conviction. At the present time he is at the head of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, and second on the Judiciary Committee.

AT CHICAGO.—He was a conspicuous candidate for the Presidency at Chicago, appearing there with 63½ votes on the first ballot, 61 on the second and 53 on the third. Seeing that his own chances were waning and that the nomination of Blaine was inevitable, he threw his forces to the "Plumed Knight," and accomplished what a vast majority of his party most desired. His nomination for the Vice-Presidency came about by acclamation. His locality, his identity with the soldier element of the party, his popularity among the people, all conspired to make his nomination natural, spontaneous and strong.

AT HOME.—General Logan resides in Washington, on Twelfth street. In his domestic relations he has been one of the most happy and fortunate of men. His wife has proved

a most valuable helpmeet. There is no woman in public life who possesses more admirable traits than Mrs. Logan, and, what is unusual, her popularity with her own sex is quite as great as with the other. She has two children, a daughter, who is the wife of Paymaster Tucker, of the army, now stationed at Santa Fé, and a son, Manning, who is a cadet at West Point, having inherited his father's military ambition. Both of them have been educated by her, or under her personal supervision; both have been constantly at her side; in the camp, during war time and in the most exciting political campaigns, she has never for a moment neglected the duties of her household or forgotten her children's claims.



HON. STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND, OF NEW YORK.

HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, OF INDIANA.

PART IV.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN OF 1884.

NOMINATING CONVENTION AT CHICAGO.

THE PARTY PLATFORM.

BIOGRAPHIES OF THE NOMINEES FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT:

HON. STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND, OF NEW YORK,

AND

HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS OF INDIANA.

CALL OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE.

PURSUANT to notice by the Chairman, the National Democratic Committee met in Washington on the 23d of February, 1884, with a full attendance.

After selecting Chicago as the place for holding the next Democratic National Convention, and July 8 as the time, the following call was agreed to:

OFFICIAL CALL.—The National Democratic Committee having met in the city of Washington on the 23d day of February, 1884, has appointed Tuesday, the 8th day of July next, at noon, as the time, and chosen the city of Chicago as the place of holding the National Democratic Convention.

Each State is entitled to a representation therein equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States. The Democrats of each organized Territory and the District of Columbia are invited to send two delegates, subject to the decision of the Convention as to their admission. All Democratic conservative citizens of the United States, irrespective of past political associations and differences, who can unite with us in the effort for pure, economical and constitutional government, are cordially invited to join in sending delegates to the Convention.

WILLIAM H. BARNUM, *Chairman.*

FREDERICK O. PRINCE, *Secretary.*

MEETING OF CONVENTION.—On the 8th of July, 1884, the Convention met in the same hall used by the Republican Convention a month before. The building had been remodeled and redecorated for the occasion. The stage was now on the side instead of at the end, and the seats were changed to suit.

Counting the delegates from the Territories as entitled to a vote, the Convention numbered 820 members. In accordance with a usage adopted as far back as 1844, in Convention at Baltimore, the voice of two-thirds of the present Convention was required to secure a nomination. As to the States the unit rule

prevailed where instructions had been given in the State Conventions; that is, each State first ascertained the sentiment of a majority of its delegates and voted it as the sentiment of the whole.

At 12.37 P. M. the Convention was called to order by Hon. William H. Barnum, Conn., Chairman of the National Committee. The proceedings were opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. Marquis, of Chicago. Hon. Richard B. Hubbard, Texas, was chosen temporary chairman.

When the question of rules came up, a vigorous effort was made by the leaders of the Tammany organization to have the unit rule set aside in case the vote of any State were challenged. It failed by a vote of 350 yeas to 445 nays.

A permanent organization was effected by electing Hon. W. H. Vilas, Wis., President of the Convention. He accepted in an eloquent speech, and the Convention was opened for formal business.

The names placed in nomination as candidates for President were Thomas Francis Bayard, Del.; Joseph E. McDonald, Ind.; John G. Carlisle, Ky.; Stephen Grover Cleveland, N. Y.; Allen G. Thurman, Ohio; Samuel J. Randall, Penna.; George E. Hoadly, Ohio.

THE PLATFORM.—The following platform of sentiments, reported by the Committee on the 10th, was adopted with very few dissenting votes:

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES.—The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognize that as the nation grows older new issues are born of time and progress, and old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the united voices of the people, remain and will ever remain as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, the reserved rights of the States and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution, will ever form the true basis of our liberties and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government; but it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant re-

currence to the popular will. Otherwise abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country—hence a change is demanded.

REPUBLICAN PARTY.—The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence. In practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds and jobbery which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party. Yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt.

A CHANGE DEMANDED.—Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten nor condoned. Again, in 1880, the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high office. The Republican party during its legal, its stolen, and its bought tenures of power has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy; it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed; it imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holdings by actual settlers; it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas.

It professes a preference for free institutions; it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor; it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and imported contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in the war leaving widows and orphans; it left to a Democratic House of Representatives to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff; it created and has continued them. Its own tariff commission confessed the need of more than 20 per cent. reduction; its Congress gave a reduction of less than 4 per cent. It professes the protection of American manufactures; it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries; it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law; attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were overset by the decisions of its courts. It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform;" its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honeycombed with corruption, outbreaking exposures no longer shock its

moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its councils or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than $100,000,000, which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation. We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry, and deprived labor of employment and of just reward. The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law, and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the faith of the nation to its creditors and pensioners.

TARIFF AND TAXATION.—Knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demand, the Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests. But in making reduction in taxes, it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of the Government taxes collected at the custom-house have been the chief source of federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved, the process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice. All taxation shall be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interest and principal of the public debt, can be got, under our present system of taxation, from custom house taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity. We therefore denounce the abuses of the existing tariff, and, subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes, and shall not exceed the needs of the Government economically administered. The system of direct taxation known as the "internal revenues" is a war tax, and, so long as the law continues, the money derived therefrom should be sacredly devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war and be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers disabled in line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers—a like fund for the sailors having been already provided—and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

HOME POLICY.—We favor an American continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the fifteen sister republics of North, Central, and South America, but entangling alliances with none. We believe in honest money, the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible into such money without loss. Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the Government in its dealings with

the people, to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens, of whatever nativity, race, color, or persuasion, religious or political. We believe in a free ballot and a fair count. And we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congresses by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls, as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order. The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.—We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizens and interfere with individual liberty; we favor honest civil-service reform, and the compensation of all United States officers by fixed salaries; the separation of Church and State, and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship. While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuses, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the rights of property as defined by law.

LABOR AND PUBLIC LANDS.—We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should therefore be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor, and the enactment of laws by which labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relations of capital and labor. We believe that the public land ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain, and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations, or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees. We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

CITIZENSHIP AND PROTECTION.—In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which makes ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith, we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws confer. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores our gates be closed. The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this Government to protect with equal fidelity and vigilance the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization issued by Courts of competent jurisdiction must be respected by the executive and legislative departments of our own Government and by all foreign Powers. It is an imperative duty of this Government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and de-

mand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own Government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws; and no power exists in this Government to expatriate an American citizen to be tried in any foreign land for any such act. This country has never had a well-defined and executed foreign policy save under Democratic administration. That policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do not act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens, to let them alone; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican territory by purchase alone and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi river and other great waterways of the Republic, so as to secure for the interior States easy and cheap transportation to tidewater.

AN AMERICAN POLICY.—Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy our commerce has been left to British bottoms and the American flag has almost been swept off the high seas. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors flying the Stars and Stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry. Under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates, and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States; despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty, and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in Old World monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace, Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain along with our commerce the control of the markets of the world. Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand in behalf of the American Democracy an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretenses of friendship for American labor expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy freedom for American labor by reducing taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

TRIBUTE TO TILDEN.—With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman, through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics (acquiescence in the will of the majority), that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow-countrymen is united in the wish that wrong were righted in his person for the Democracy of the United States, we offer to him, in his withdrawal from public cares, not only

our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen, the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable in the history of the Republic from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

REFORM AND CHANGE.—With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.

BALLOTING.—The first ballot was had on the evening of the 10th. It showed a strong lead for Cleveland. It required 547 votes to nominate. The Convention adjourned till the 11th, when the balloting was resumed.

	First.	Second.
Cleveland	392	683
Randall	78	4
Thurman	88	4
Bayard	170	81½
McDonald	56	2
Hoadly	3	
Carlisle	27	
Tilden	1	
Hendricks	1	45½
Flower	4	
Total	820	820

The result of the second and successful ballot was announced at 1.10 P. M. on Friday, 11th. The ballot showed considerable gain for Cleveland, but not proportionally enough to nominate, till Pennsylvania was called. Up to this time there had been a considerable swing toward Hendricks, whose name came spontaneously before the Convention. He had reached a strength of 124½ votes, while Bayard had 150½, Thurman 60, and Cleveland 475. When Pennsylvania cast 42 of her votes for Cleveland the assurance of his nomination was such that the preceding States mostly changed their votes to him, with the result above indicated. A motion to make the nomination unanimous was triumphantly carried.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

HON. STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND.

PARENTAGE.—Governor Cleveland sprang from an old and distinguished New England ancestry. It is a line which is plentifully interspersed with specimens of thorough culture, high intellectual achievement, and true American instinct. His father, Richard F. Cleveland, was a Connecticut clergyman of the Presbyterian denomination, and different branches of the family held prominent pulpit places in the Presbyterian, Congregational and Episcopalian Churches. They were all alike public-spirited men, intensely loyal to their convictions, and firmly attached to our free institutions.

The Governor's immediate ancestors formed a Connecticut branch of the large family. His great-grandfather was Aaron Cleveland, who lived and died in or near the town of Norwich, though born in East Haddam. He was a clergyman of considerable power and reputation, but with a turn for political life. A large and admiring constituency gave him opportunity to indulge his inclination by sending him to the State Legislature.

The two sons of Aaron Cleveland who are most conspicuously mentioned were Charles and William. Charles Cleveland, great-uncle of the Governor, had a daughter who married Samuel Coxe. Their son, Alfred Cleveland Coxe, is now the Bishop of Western New York. The other son, William Cleveland, lived in Norwich most of his life, where he carried on the business of a silversmith. At a late period he went to Buffalo, N. Y., to live, that he might be near other members of his family who resided there. He died there in 1837.

William's son, Richard F. Cleveland, and father of the Governor, was born in Norwich, Jan. 19, 1804. He entered Yale College at the early age of sixteen years and graduated in 1824. He then went to Baltimore to teach school, in the meantime carrying on a series of studies designed to fit him for the ministry. In 1828 he was ordained a minister in the Presbyterian Church, and immediately took charge of the congregation at Haddam, Conn. While teaching in Baltimore he made the acquaintance of a Miss Neal, whom he married after he had been preaching about a year.

The Rev. Richard F. Cleveland was a man of high intellectual attainments, and a most devoted student. Study was a love beyond any thought of worldly advancement. In the course of his ministerial work, and soon after his marriage, he accepted a call at Caldwell, N. J., where he officiated for some years. Thence he removed to Fayetteville, Onondaga co., N. Y. After a time he moved to Clinton, Oneida co., and thence to Holland Patent, in the same county, where he died, Oct. 1, 1853. His wife, the Governor's mother, lived till July 19, 1882, almost long enough to see her illustrious son elected to the highest office in the gift of the citizens of the Empire State.

EARLY LIFE.—Governor Cleveland was born in Caldwell, Essex co., N. J., on March 18, 1837. He is therefore in the forty-eighth year of his age, and, if elected, will be among the youngest of our Presidents. He was named Stephen Grover Cleveland, though popularly known as Grover Cleveland, the first part of his Christian name having fallen into disuse.

He was the fifth in a family of nine children, the others being Mrs. Hastings, William N. Cleveland, Mrs. Wm. E. Hoyt, Richard C. Cleveland, Mrs. N. B. Bacon, Lewis F. Cleveland, Mrs. L. Youmans, and Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, the latter unmarried, a lady of strong intellectual capacity, and a prominent woman suffrage advocate.

The two-story-and-a-half white house in which the Governor was born is still standing. At the age of three years he left the scene of his birth to accompany the family to their new home in Fayetteville, N. Y. Here he grew to stout and active boyhood,

amid the advantages then common to village life, not the least of which was good common schooling.

At the age of fourteen he desired to supplement his common school education with an academic one. His father was somewhat averse to this step, on the score of expense, and because he desired his boys to become self-supporting as soon as possible. Accepting the parental verdict as final, the youth started out to earn his own living, and push his own way in life.

He entered the village store at a salary of fifty dollars for the first year, which sum was to be made one hundred for the second year, in case he proved efficient. The boy's pluck and energy did not fail him. His record in this humble position bespoke the coming man. It was one of simple, unswerving integrity and untiring loyalty to the interests of his employer. In public place, and in mature years, it has ever been one of faithful adherence to deep-rooted conviction and much-admired devotion to the interests of the people who honored him with their confidence and support. The testimony is unimpeachable that whatever the boy found to do in the capacity in which he was first called to serve he did with all his heart, and that in the earliest chapter of his history of self-helpfulness and business independence there is indelibly written down a reputation for bravery of spirit, fidelity to trust, and candor of character, which has outlived the intermediate years.

A STUDENT.—The quality of courage, inherent in his composition, and of ambition to acquire a broader education, were seconded by economic habits; so that after a year or two spent in the Fayetteville store, and when his father moved to Clinton, the youth rejoiced in a realization of his dreams by being permitted to attend the academy in the village. Here he made rapid progress in learning, for his purse was meagre, and opportunity long coveted was to be turned to speedy account. His father, with a large family to support, and only a limited income to rely upon, could not supplement his efforts to acquire a higher education. The path to success must be cut out of the hard rock of limited circumstances by the boy's own ingenious and persevering hand. Right well he held the chisel, and right well di-

rected the stroke. Acquisition with him was easy, and his academic career profitable, though brief. Education under such circumstances may not be so full as when plenty of time and money is at command, but it is better appreciated, and often far more practical. Moreover, it is an incentive to higher endeavor, for both youth and manhood are at their best when it is understood that the price of victory is hard blows with the weapons of one's own earning.

A TEACHER.—The breaking up of the paternal home in Clinton, by the removal of his father to Holland Patent, a village of some five or six hundred people, fifteen miles north of Utica, ended his academic career. In this new field the father preached but three Sundays, when death ended his pastorate. Grover first heard of his father's death while walking with his sister in the streets of Utica. The sad event was followed by the final break-up of a large family, which a loving hand had held together and inspired with a truly Christian spirit. The children all sought honorable walks in life, and even those who have not found renown are in possession of that independence, peace, and comfort which often count for more than fame.

As Rev. Richard F. Cleveland died Oct. 1, 1853, the son, Grover, must have been in his seventeenth year. Though young to brave life without a father's counsel, he struck eastward and found himself in the city of New York. Here he seems to have been fortunate in securing a situation as teacher in the New York City Blind Asylum, where he had a record as a devoted instructor and a great reader and student. His tastes, or ambitions, were not, however, satisfied in this confined situation. The world of the school-room was not large enough for him. There were other things in store, and he would seek them. Two years ended his teaching career, and he started for the West.

A LAW STUDENT.—This journey was without definite plan, and even without destination, except in so far as the persuasions of a friend had induced him to inspect the city of Cleveland, Ohio, and try his fortune in what was then regarded as one of the most growthy and promising cities of the West. The coincidence of the name with his own augured well, if boy-

ish fancy were to play a part in establishing his fortune. He therefore made that city his objective point. Fortunately, he stopped for a time in Buffalo, where he found a maternal uncle, Lewis F. Allen, a man held in high esteem in Erie county, one who had been honored by many public positions, and who in turn had honored them.

Mr. Allen was very favorably impressed with his nephew and young adventurer. He persuaded him that Buffalo offered as many opportunities for success as any more remote place, and kindly proffered him much good counsel and encouragement. Young Grover's predilections for the West were overcome. He resolved to stay with his uncle. Mr. Allen was then a noted breeder of blooded stock-cattle. His farms in the neighborhood of Buffalo were extensive, and his herds had a reputation for purity of quality which was not limited by State lines. Desiring to perfect his operations, he placed young Grover in charge of the herd-books, at the modest sum of fifty dollars a year and found, but with the understanding that he was to look around him for other occupation in case this proved irksome. The old uncle evidently knew that a young man with aspirations for Western life, and with ambitions to succeed, could not be abruptly switched off his line of intent, unless he himself largely acquiesced in the diversion.

Besides, the youth had already signified his intention to make himself a lawyer. This ambition he soon found means to gratify. The entry of herd varieties, the noting of pedigrees for Alderneys, short horns, Durhams, etc., was not such sleepy work as to close his eyes to chances for getting on, even though the location was two miles beyond the centre of the city. On the contrary, it was a work which gave him the control of much leisure. This he resolved to turn to account.

He made application to the law firm of Messrs. Rogers, Bowen & Rogers, in Buffalo, to be entered as a student. Success followed the application. He had now the double care of editing an important stock book and drinking in the lore of Blackstone and Coke upon Littleton. From farm to office, and back, he walked each day, winter and summer, till he passed his final examination and was admitted to the bar.

This period of acquisition, under difficulties which would have appalled a youth with less pluck, served as a training time for the qualities which were to round out the able practitioner and assure his professional success. The privations of the penniless novitiate were over. His receptive mind had made the labor of learning light, and this was the one joy which had pervaded the long, difficult and weary pupilage.

AS A LAWYER.—The date of his admission to the bar was 1859, he then being in his twenty-third year. Such was the confidence of the firm in his ability and integrity that he remained with it for three or four years after his admission. He thus added to previous training a large experience in active practice, and came to be noted for his close preparation of cases, his clear and forcible method of statement, and his untiring adherence to the cause he espoused. The elements of growth which bore him over the obstacles of previous years were now lifting him into honorable competition with the older lights of the bar. If these elements, as they now cropped out, were to be reduced to speech, they must be enumerated as exhaustive preparation, stern adhesion to purpose, avoidance of legal quirk, just and faithful representation, sterling honesty in details, loyal adhesion to clientage. Back of these were a commanding presence, a gracious demeanor, a fervid style of eloquence, which bespoke the confidence of courts and juries, and stamped him as one calculated to win as much through worth as energy. Says one of his early associates in Buffalo: "Grover Cleveland won our admiration by his three traits of indomitable industry, unpretentious courage and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook. Whatever the subject was he was reticent until he had mastered all its bearings and made up his own mind, and then nothing could swerve him from his convictions. It was this quality of intellectual integrity more than anything else perhaps, that made him afterwards listened to and respected when men with greater dash and brilliancy who were opposed to him were applauded and forgotten."

In 1863, the honors which could not long be withheld from a man of his solidity of character and pronounced professional

status, fell upon him in the shape of a call to the position of Assistant District Attorney of Erie County. The call came at the instance of his associates at the bar, who had united in a recommendation which was almost unanimous. This was the true beginning of his public career. It is significant that it had an origin in a confidence which was widely diffused, and untrammeled by creed or politics. It was an unquestioned, unlimited confidence, such as goes out only to those whose manhood is their guarantee of freedom from belittling influences and false actions. He was a Democrat, and had passed from boyhood to manhood as such. But while imbued with lively party convictions and given to earnest advocacy of vital party tenets, he never stooped to the use of questionable methods, and never forgot for a moment the proper attitude of parties toward the State, the nation, and the institutions which inlay and overshadow all. There was no asperity in his politics, and none of that narrow, intense partyism which estranges friends, sanctions corrupt practices, or refuses to see any good in men and things outside of clannish limits. In the hour of war he placed country before party. In the hour of peace he recognized the uses of party as legitimate and purifying, provided partyism did not run away with and pervert honorable and acceptable methods.

For all of the above reasons, his associates at the bar and the citizens of his town found it fitting to honor him with his first public trust. While serving in the capacity of Assistant District Attorney he was drafted, and promptly furnished a substitute. His career in this office extended over a period of three years. How acceptably he had served was shown by the fact that he received the nomination of his party for the position of District Attorney in 1865. His opponent on the Republican ticket, Lyman K. Bass, was successful, after a spirited contest, in which Mr. Cleveland showed himself much stronger than his party.

On the first of January, 1866, he formed a law partnership with the late J. V. Vanderpool, which continued till January, 1869. It then ended by the withdrawal of Mr. Vanderpool to fill the position of Police Justiceship to which he had been elected. After this dissolution a new law-firm was formed, known as

Laning, Cleveland and Folsom, the head of it being Hon. A. P. Laning, State Senator. While in this firm and in the enjoyment of a lucrative practice he was called upon to serve again in a public capacity. This time it was as Sheriff of Erie County. The office is not usually regarded as one requiring more than average ability to fill it, nor does it ordinarily open a field for the exercise of very high or commanding qualities. But in this instance, not only the Democratic, but a conspicuous factor in the Republican party, had an object to accomplish which could be done in no other way and through no other agency. Gross favoritism and glaring corruption had crept into the administration of the office. The management had become an offense to every element of justice and defiant of every reform remedy. The majority of the dominant party in the county was usually large, running from three to six thousand. Democracy alone had a poor show to correct crying evils. It was only by putting up a man for the place whose character was in itself a guarantee of the reforms demanded that they could hope to draw the Republican contingent necessary to secure his election. Their choice fell on Grover Cleveland as the man for the emergency. He would necessarily have to make a great personal and professional sacrifice if he succeeded, but he was a man who shrank from no consideration of expediency when a great public interest had to be subserved. The purification of a pest-house disturbs the stereotyped order of things and puts society and individuals to much present discomfort. But the general good must be consulted, and he is not a hero who refuses to second every effort to further the sanative and social welfare of his community.

Full of this laudably sacrificial spirit and with the determination to introduce marked and lasting reforms into a position whose status had been shamefully lowered, he stood for the election, and was flatteringly successful. His administration was what was expected of a man of his integrity and firmness. He broke up corrupt practices, wiped out the shame which clouded the office and gave to execution of county affairs a new direction and more significant meaning. He showed that dignity could be made to crown the actions of an official, even

though the office was that of sheriff. The object of his election was fully met by his vigor and straightforwardness. At the end of his term he returned the office to the majority party as a model piece of county machinery and an evidence of what reforms could be achieved if officials would only keep in view the best interests of those they are called upon to serve. His administration was not forgotten in Buffalo. The man for this emergency would prove the man for others, when the need should become equally great.

His election to the Sheriffalty occurred in the fall of 1869. His acceptance put an end to his partnership in the law-firm of Laning, Cleveland and Folsom. At the expiration of his official term he had to look around for other connections. Soon a partnership was formed with Lyman K. Bass, his old opponent in the race for District Attorney, and Wilson S. Bissell, the firm being known as that of Bass, Cleveland and Bissell.

He was now back on favorite professional ground, after a diversion which had brought into conspicuous view his masterly executive qualities and familiarized the Western end of the State with an administration whose vigor was only surpassed by its purity. In a short time Mr. Bass removed from Buffalo and the law-firm became Cleveland, Bissell and Sicard. It took rank at once as among the foremost, if not the foremost, in Western New York, a reputation which was secured and maintained by the large acquaintance, high standing, and recognized legal ability of the head of the firm. Their office was in spacious and prominent quarters on Main street, where each member had his own library, consulting room and other facilities for carrying on the different branches of their rapidly growing business. Cleveland and Bissell were both very large men physically, and they were often jokingly called the heavy weights of the firm. Both were dignified and affable in demeanor, and aside from their reputation as sound and successful lawyers, were calculated to attract a large clientage and inspire it with the utmost confidence.

In this partnership Mr. Cleveland regarded himself as settled for life. Success was crowning his efforts and gratifying his ambitions. He has been heard to say that he was content with his

partners and his practice. Had he been left with them, he need never have entertained a fear that his merits would have been overlooked by the great public, nor that all the rewards of industry, honesty, and ability would have failed to cluster in his path.

Says one who was well acquainted with him at this period: "It was while thus associated that Grover Cleveland achieved his distinction as a lawyer second to few in the Western part of the State for legal acumen and intellectual honesty. His jury and bench trials were distinguished by clear views, direct, simple logic, and a thorough mastery of all the intricacies of the cases, and his invariable avoidance of extrinsic issues and purely technical devices secured for him the respect of his own profession and the admiration of the public."

AS MAYOR.—Destiny forbade a long continuance of this smoothly running tide. Municipal politics in Buffalo had assumed a shape repugnant to the better citizens of both parties. Powerful rings existed which partitioned offices and their spoils and perpetuated themselves with autocratic certainty and audacity. Ingenious and corrupting cliques in both parties conspired to plunder and divide. Perhaps the city was not unlike others in this respect, except as to the enormity of the evil and the difficulty of a hopeful attack upon it. He must possess more than ordinary bravery and tenacity of purpose who ventured to deal the first blow at a situation turreted with power and manned by skilled political manipulators. Redemptory effort, to be effective, must come from a source above all suspicion, must be as persistent as a forge-hammer, and regardless of consequences so far as they affected persons, parties or questions of sheer expediency. All during the year 1881 the cry for local reform, which it was well understood could only come by political revolution, went up. Was there a man in the midst popular enough to place experiment beyond reach of failure? Was there one indomitable enough to venture into the dens where the lions of power divided and devoured their dark and secret conquests?

It seemed that there was one. His party singled him out, at least the true men of his party. The true men of the Republican party said he was the man of all others best calculated to

meet the requirements of the difficult situation. They heartily seconded his selection, and joined hands with a will to give him a triumph at the polls. In a Republican stronghold, and against combinations which reached far toward the centre of his own party, he was chosen Mayor by 5000 majority; running far in advance of the State ticket. If the election were a testimonial to his fortitude, integrity and popularity, unexampled in Buffalo history, or even in the history of the State, what must the net results of his administration stand for? November, 1881, was morning in a city whose politics had been a Cimmerian midnight.

His mayoralty was in the exact line of that pronounced sentiment to which he owed the honors of his election. It fully justified the expectations that were created by his well-known character and previous public record. The nomination had come to him unsought and undesired, the election by that spontaneity which ever marks a great popular and tidal resolve, and prints its meaning so that even he that runneth cannot mistake it.

The man and his methods were now to stand the test. He was happily untrammeled in his choice of the latter. His own good judgment was to be his criterion. This judgment had been greatly widened and strengthened by his practice at the bar, and his ample opportunities to study men and political ways and measures. As to aught else there was no fear, for his turn was executive, his nature sterling and invincible. He was his own counsellor. With characteristic industry he passed the first weeks after election in studying the details of every department of the city administration and mapping a programme from which there should be no departure either under vituperation or applause.

His inaugural address sounded the key-note of administration. "We hold," said he, "the money of the people in our hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality, and it is quite apparent that, when any part of the funds with which the taxpayers have thus intrusted us are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than

is necessary, we have to that extent violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is intrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the tax-payers than that which should regulate his conduct, when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbor."

Such was the great need of reform in the city, the desperation of the battle to be fought, the explicit character of his pledges, the firmness of the man, the curiosity to note the outcome of the administrative struggle, that both parties throughout the entire State looked on Buffalo and its mayoralty as a prime part of a political drama, whose further enactment in municipal high places for their purification and enlightenment should depend on its success where first introduced. The Buffalo reform movement was to be not only for Buffalo, but it was to be a criterion by which all municipal reforms were to be graduated, after which all should pattern, through which all should derive hope and encouragement.

It is not in stations of glittering magnitude that men are put to the severest tests. "The qualities," says Socrates, "that fit a man to rule a city, fit him to rule an empire." Indeed, it is true that public responsibility is deepest, and official worth most radically tested, the nearer the office lies to the people. This is what makes municipal government such a delicate and difficult thing. The fortitude, the knowledge of men and situations, the integrity, the statesmanlike grasp, which are necessary, in a municipal executive, to assure pure and acceptable administration, are no more largely required, and certainly never so constantly called into active requisition, where the executive is even that of a State or nation.

Scarcely had he launched his administration when it drew the concentrated fire of his political enemies. The City Council was against him, with its love of jobbery and adhesion to practices he would uproot and discard. The old rings encircled him, either to gather him into deceptive embrace or crush him in their deadening coils. A street-cleaning contract, as immense

as it was iniquitous, went through the Council. It was the grand opportunity of the pilfering politician to enrich himself and friends. It was a type of the jobs which had impoverished the city and brought its administration into discredit. It was, moreover, the kind of enactment which cemented municipal influence and made it hazardous to his popularity for an executive officer to crush it with his veto. But the veto came, and in this instance promptly and with telling effect. It was as if a bomb had suddenly burst in the midst of the plunderers. "This is a time," said he, in his veto message, "for plain speech, and my objection to your action shall be plainly stated. I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people and to worse than squander the public money. We are fast gaining positions in the grades of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. Those who are not for the people either in or out of your honorable body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly."

The people, who knew their man before, now knew him better. In fact, his political enemies knew him quite too well. His was not the stuff that tricksters and cowards are made of, but the sterling metal which enters into men coined and stamped for great occasions. His action was received with the greatest favor by his party friends, and by the friends of purity and decorum throughout the county and State. It was a harbinger of other victories far more significant, and an earnest that municipal reform was at last within reach of a long aggrieved people. He was heralded far and wide as the strong, incorruptible, invincible hero of an emergency before which others had quailed and fell. The results of this single veto to the city were of incalculable benefit. Its moral effect was felt in every department. The political atmosphere was freshened. From an economical standpoint, the saving was immense. Under a subsequent ordinance, and the contracts based on it, the work was done for $100,000 less money than at first proposed.

It is hardly necessary for the exemplification of Grover Cleveland's fortitude, integrity, and wonderful executive ability,

to go into painstaking and tedious details of his mayoralty. We understand why he was chosen and what was expected of him. A thousand instances of heroic and timely application of the power with which he was vested would not magnify the importance of the verdict of approval which awaited the closing hours of his administration. Nor would such serve to further illuminate those qualities of manhood he was now seen to possess in a degree which astounded and overawed his opponents. Yet mention must be made of his second struggle with the powerful and corrupting influences about him. This was a job to build a large connecting sewer. The issue was sharply joined, the contention bitter. The mayor's pluck and earnestness won, and his second victory was far more significant than the first. It saved $800,000 to the city. Altogether the first six months of his administration saved to the city an amount estimated at $1,000,000. This magnificent aggregate might be safely doubled, if the entire term of his mayoralty were to be considered. True, the rings were daunted and never rallied to other audacious attacks on the treasury, yet the mayor found frequent uses for his veto power in order to preserve the position he had won and drive home on his opponents the wholesome effects of his reformatory teaching. Not a single ordinance was ever passed over his veto. His veto messages were models of directness and exactness.

We search American political annals in vain for an example of municipal administration so vigorous, effective and productive of permanent good, as that which Grover Cleveland gave to Buffalo. His comprehension of a delicate and difficult situation, his mastery of details, his development of an executive policy, his firm yet dignified command of the powers at his disposal, his persistent following up of every advantage gained, and finally his turning of the government back to the people, washed as to its shame and purified as to its corruption, constitute a chapter in his life whose reading is inspiriting to both old and young, and whose contemplation ought to be a source of pride to any man, no matter with what high honors his after life was crowned. Let it not be forgotten that he had made no quest of the honors

of office. No election fanfaronade attended his candidacy. No single act of self-glorification or self-advancement entered into his ministrations. A good and true man found a trust to be executed in a plain, honest, faithful, industrious way. The way was that of the people, and they neither failed to remember nor to thank and honor. While a local constituency were ringing the plaudit, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant!" the people of an entire State were getting ready to say, "Come up unto higher places and honors."

While yet mayor, and in the spring of 1882, he had occasion to testify to the American spirit regnant within him as presiding officer of a mass-meeting called to take action on the case of Irish-Americans then aggrieved by English tyranny and actually suffering from imprisonment in Ireland. As is well known, our foreign policy was regarded as too feeble to reach these cases and to make American citizenship respected abroad. Our minister to England seemed to be indifferent to the fate of those naturalized Irishmen who, on a visit to their native land and on natural expression of sympathy with their long-suffering countrymen, had fallen into the category of suspects, and had been, without hearing, deprived of their liberty by incarceration in British bastiles. Neither did there seem to be a sentiment at home sufficiently pronounced to demand the rights indubitably attached to the name of American. The Buffalo meeting was one of protest against a policy of weakness and timidity on the part of our government. It was directly in the interest of our citizens of foreign birth. One who had not their cause at heart, a mere politician with selfish aims, or with fears for his popularity, a trimmer for place and without character or substantial convictions, might have remanded such a matter to the Secretary of State at Washington, or complacently declined to interfere with a question which concerned only a fraction of our populace. But Mayor Cleveland was as ready to stand as the representative of American citizenship in its broadest and fullest significance as to throttle corruption in his adopted city. As chairman of this meeting, he pointed out, from a strictly legal and constitutional standpoint, and with a clearness and precision which always

characterized his presentation of pleas, the common right of native-born and adopted citizens of this country to protection from the Government at Washington the world over. Then, proceeding in a strain of earnest and impassioned eloquence, which captured every hearer, he enunciated the following doctrine, which, if incorporated as an American citizen plank into a political platform, any candidate for even so high an office as President might be proud to stand upon:

It needed not the statute which is now the law of the land, declaring that "all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this Government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens," to voice the policy of our nation. In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested to a speedy accusation and trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law, as it is a rule of civilization. At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England. We do not claim to make laws for other countries, but we do insist that whatsoever those laws may be, they shall, in the interests of human freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination on trial is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned—ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute. We have met here to-night to consider this subject and to inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the Government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the Government. The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion, imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded, "Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?" So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization, "Is it lawful that these our fellows be imprisoned who are American citizens and uncondemned?"

AS GOVERNOR.—In 1882 the political situation in New York State was peculiar. The Republican managers had nominated a ticket from Governor down, which did not reflect the sentiment of their party. It was believed to be directly in the interest of President Arthur, and to be his attempt to assume, or rather retain, control of the party machinery in the State. Fur-

ther, the methods resorted to in convention, in order to secure the nomination of favorites, were regarded as unfair and dishonorable. They were tricks, whose results were bound to recoil on their perpetrators. There was a revolt all along the line, and a determination to rebuke a procedure which savored of corruption and punish the principals who expected to find preferment in a resort to it.

Democratic candidates were not wanting who were anxious to take advantage of the situation. They saw in Republican schism an opportunity for triumph which was tempting to every adventurer. But the wiser heads of the party saw further than this. And without disparagement to the older, it must be said that the younger elements of the party composed to a large extent these wiser heads. They saw that the Republican candidates—especially Mr. Folger, candidate for Governor—were personally unobjectionable, and that the protest was not so much against men as against the ring methods which secured their nomination and the objects to be gained by such nominations. They also saw that a weak and frivolous Democratic nomination, one made on the pretext that anybody could be elected, would only serve to drive back the protesting Republicans into the deserted ranks and endanger the entire situation. Again, they saw that in order to add emphasis to the protest they must present in their candidate an assurance that, if elected, a perfectly pure State administration would ensue. The opportunity they saw was not one for a mere man; but for their party, the people, the entire State. They knew full well the difficulties attending gubernatorial administration in New York, the traps and pitfalls laid for honest men, the temptations to go astray, the impossibilities, one may say, of a perfectly straight official career, unless the incumbent should come clad in tried armor.

In looking over the interesting situation, the eyes of the party naturally turned to Grover Cleveland. In many respects the State outlook was like that which preceded his call to the mayoralty of Buffalo. At any rate, they saw in the man who was winning the encomiums of both parties for his straightforward impartial, and business-like municipal administration, the

candidate they wanted for the highest office in the State. His was a character above suspicion at the start, and one which would bear closest scrutiny even under the calcium light of a campaign. He had been tried in the severest of crucial fires, and no element of a successful executive had been found wanting. He was known, too, within and without his party. All in all, Cleveland presented in himself and in his record the very guarantee the Democracy desired for themselves, and also to offer to the Republicans. So he was placed on their ticket as candidate for governor against Mr. Folger, one of the best known men in the State, and one of the ablest.

The campaign was an interesting one from the beginning. The missiles of the enemy flew thick and fast, but failed to wound or even hit the Democratic nominee. He grew stronger and stronger from the very day of his nomination. The enthusiasm his name kindled in his own party held it to a strict allegiance and drew an overflowing support. Study of his character by the protesting Republicans, and favorable knowledge of him, both as a man and official, attracted thousands directly to his standard and led other thousands to show their preference for him over their own nominee by silent acquiescence. Both parties, in the State and nation, were astounded at the result. It could hardly be called popular election—it was rather popular revolution. Never was the wisdom of a nomination so emphatically vindicated. Never did the American people voluntarily tender so lavish an ovation to one whom they honored and trusted. His vote was 535,318, as against 342,464 for his opponent, leaving him a plurality of 192,854, and a clear majority over all opposition of 155,097. The height of the wave which bore the new Governor from his home in the extreme western part of the State to the capital in the extreme eastern part, and which strewed hills and valleys with Republican wreckage, was unprecedented in political history.

The movement which made him governor, like that which had made him mayor, was not of his origination. The office had in both instances sought the man, as it should do in a republic, and as it ever will do where purely unselfish adminis-

tration is expected. Nor had he stooped to favor his chances of election. He was in the hands of the people, and his cause was their cause.

He was inaugurated, without any ostentatious display, on the first Tuesday of January, 1883. He thoroughly understood the political situation, and speedily addressed himself to the reforms which he knew were expected of him. His inaugural was brief, forcible and happy—the duplicate of the man in vigor and sincerity. It meant business. Touching the civil service of the State, he said:

> Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished and the cause of civil-service reform materially aided. The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is willful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations, when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

The first acts of an executive calculated to invite attention and criticism, as well as to foreshadow the policy of his administration, are his appointments to office. There is no public duty so delicate, none in which mistakes recoil so quickly. It is set down to Governor Cleveland's credit that his first appointments were made with rare good judgment. Political friend and foe indorsed them as the wisest selections possible, and saw at once in them an earnest of the kind of administration they had hoped for and been led to expect.

Two places were of peculiar importance—that of Superintendent of Public Works and Commissioner of the New Capitol. Public money had been running through these like water through a sieve. They were centres of immense patronage and power, and were consequently much coveted by those who would use them for political purposes. Both offices employed hundreds of men. For each of them Governor Cleveland selected a man fitted by practice and special knowledge to do the required work. They were both outspoken, square-dealing experts in the business they were called upon to conduct. Since their appointment the ugly rumors of corruption which used to centre about their places have ceased, and the people are satisfied that order and economy prevail where once all was confusion, extravagance and distrust.

All other appointments were characterized by the same independence and close discernment of fitness and character. In so far as these acts could contribute to energy and purity of administration, it was manifest that Governor Cleveland was bound to prove an exceptional executive, that he had within him a probity, fearlessness and business address before which the better sentiment of the State must bow with respect.

It must not be supposed that he escaped the vulgar criticism of those who could not use him for their ambitious and corrupt purposes. No great, unselfish, direct, single-purposed man can act either his business or political part without incurring the opposition, and even inviting the censure, of the smaller and narrower herd who delight in detraction and feed on enmities. The measure of admiration for Governor Cleveland, while a candidate before the Chicago Convention, was well expressed by a prominent delegate who said, "I love the man for the enemies he has made." It is not complimentary to our political society to feel that true greatness is often an invitation for envious discrimination and malignant attack. Yet we fear it must be accepted as true that those virtues which we most seek and prize in public men are the very ones whose persistent exercise provoke the bitterest hostility of the tricky and unconscionable few. Out of the million voters of the Empire State, only a modicum

of mere trading politicians chose to withhold their admiration for Governor Cleveland's energetic and business-like policy, as foreshadowed and proved by his executive appointments. He showed in them all a keen analysis of character and a knowledge of official fitness which were in the highest degree complimentary. In every instance the result proved the wisdom of his choice, and in no respect has his administration been more powerfully vindicated.

In attention to the details of legislation Governor Cleveland has proven himself constant, guarded and thoughtful. His messages, models of terseness and vigor, have abounded in clear-cut, practical advice, so that even the most wayward could not mistake his spirit and meaning. It may well be questioned whether any State administration ever crowded into so brief a space so many substantial and far-reaching reforms. And what is more worthy of note, this monumental work was marred in but few places by idle, irrelevant and impracticable legislation, owing to his watchfulness and free use of the veto power.

Perhaps his administration was expected to achieve most in the way of reforms in the government of New York city. If judged by their extent and importance, it has been signally successful, and too much credit cannot be given the executive through whose agency they were effected. In urging and fostering them he had to combat an element in his own party, which had all along been defiant of interference. But the seven reform bills relating to the city went through and received his approval all the same. The autocratic power of the old Board of Aldermen was smashed, the princely incomes of county officers were cut down to respectable salaries, the political atmosphere was purified, a freer and better ballot was promised. No more difficult task ever lay before an executive. He was compelled to brave an opposition at once political and personal, clamorous and slanderous, malignant and threatening. He never swerved for a moment, but went right on. Let it be written that what fifty years of effort on the part of a score of governors failed to achieve for New York city was accomplished by Governor Cleveland in a single year of energetic, fearless and consistent administration.

The general features of his administration have been no less acceptable to the people and creditable to the man and the official. The parts which have been most criticised are those which, on thoughtful examination, or left alone to be judged by their results, redound most to his honor. A few of the acts must be mentioned here because their merits are under discussion, and attempts are being made to turn them to political account. They should be understood lest, peradventure, some thoughtless person might jump at wrong conclusions respecting them.

The first one of moment was the Five-Cent Fare bill. It was deemed important as a blow of the laboring people of New York at the Elevated Railroad, or, as the cry was, at monopoly. This bill the Governor, with characteristic moral courage, and after an exhaustive examination of its provisions, vetoed. His action provoked the unreasonable hostility of those who thought themselves aggrieved. As to the merits of the bill the veto shows that it was clearly in violation of existing contracts, and unconstitutional. Approval would therefore have been a wrong. The bill would have righted nothing, but would have resulted in endless lawsuits and the expenditure of thousands of dollars of public money. Moreover it would have jeopardized the right the workingman already had, to ride, at the only hours possible for him to use the railways, at a five-cent fare. The veto was one wholly in his interest, as the sequel will prove. Referring to his message, the *Tribune* editorially said:

"The message containing his reasons for so doing is straightforward and forcible, and we believe will be pronounced sound by most of those who have been strenuous in their demands for a reduction of fares on the elevated roads. His objections to the measure are of a serious nature. He argues that to suffer it to become a law would mean the impairment of the obligation of a contract, involving a breach of faith and a betrayal of confidence by the State."

The second was a Mechanics' Lien bill, which was claimed to give workingmen greater security for their wages. It was a thoughtless and carelessly drawn act. The veto in this instance

showed that the bill was wholly in the interest of lawyers and hangers-on of courts; that it largely increased the fees and costs of entering and enforcing mechanics' liens; and that either through accident or design it repealed several existing mechanics' lien laws, including one specially applicable to the city of New York. The security of workingmen's wages was evidently the last thing thought of by the framers of the bill, and workingmen themselves are clearly indebted to the Governor, in this instance, for the measure of protection they enjoy. The Governor's memorandum, in which fatal objections are noticed, reads as follows:

"The bill repeals in distinct terms a number of mechanics' lien laws, including one specially applicable to the city of New York. I notice two features which I think objectionable enough to warrant me in declining to sign it. First, it gives all parties having claims four months after performance of work or furnishing of material to file a lien. Second, it allows on proceedings to enforce the lien the same costs as in foreclosure cases. This would be quite onerous, and, I think, should not be allowed."

A third was the Twelve Hour bill, limiting a day's work for employés on passenger railways to twelve hours. This bill was vetoed because it was a buncombe enactment, too loosely drawn to be effective, and violative of the sanctity of contracts made as well as the freedom of those to be made. Strict justice required the step he took. His reasons were cogently and clearly stated, and every lawyer recognized their force at the time. The Governor's memorandum, on which the veto message was based, reads as follows:

"It is distinctly and palpably class legislation, in that it only applies to conductors and drivers on horse railroads. It does not prohibit the making of a contract for any number of hours' work, I think, and if it does, it is an interference with the employés' as well as employers' rights. If the car-drivers and conductors work fewer hours they must receive less pay, and this bill does not prevent that. I cannot think that this bill is in the interest of the workingman."

The Public Worship bill was one granting permission to the

Catholic clergy to hold services at the House of Refuge, on Randall's Island. This bill he never vetoed. It only passed one branch of the Assembly, and therefore never reached the Governor. Of the Catholic Protectory bill, his failure to approve which is now being used against him, there can be but one opinion. It appropriated $30,000 to improve the sewerage of the Catholic Protectory, built by the church in Westchester county for the reception and reform of young men and women sent there by magistrates of the surrounding counties. The laws of the State prevent the use of public moneys for sectarian uses. The fate of the bill would have been the same had the institution been Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Episcopalian, or that of any other denomination. He was merely keeping his oath to observe and execute the laws.

The unseemly attempt to force a religious issue into a political campaign, based on the Governor's action respecting the above bill, has already been deprecated by leading spokesmen for the church.

Of this very bill, Mr. Henry L. Hoguet, president of the Protectory, says:

"We never doubted the sincerity of the motive which induced Governor Cleveland to withhold his signature to the appropriation to the Protectory. We thought then, and think now, that he was not actuated by any feeling of bigotry or of hostility to Catholics or the Catholic institutions. On the contrary, Governor Cleveland is liberal in the extreme, and we are of the firm belief that he was led to withholding his approval of the appropriation solely by a sense of public duty as he viewed it."

Ex-Senator Kernan has well said, "Is it to be supposed for a moment that the Catholic Church of this country is in the hands of a pack of politicians? Is its power and influence to be bartered away by any man or set of men? That sort of campaign bosh I consider malicious, and a direct insult to every Catholic in the country. During Mr. Cleveland's administration as Governor of New York he has acted judiciously in distributing his appointments. He has favored no class or creed. He has given a fair share of his patronage to Catholics."

And so the *Buffalo Catholic Union:*

"Catholics, as such, have asked nothing of Governor Cleveland, and they would be very foolish to do it. Catholics have no right to expect from Governor or from President anything as Catholics, or on the score of religion. But we have a right to be treated as citizens on a perfect equality with all other religious denominations, and that no discrimination shall be made against us because we are Catholics. Justice, fair play and equal rights are all we claim; and we were not worthy of the high privilege of American citizenship were we content with less.

"Catholic citizens should hold to strict account at the ballot box those who would refuse or deny them perfect equality and equal rights with all other denominations. In general we are proud to say that our fellow-citizens do recognize, practically acknowledge our equal rights before the law; and when 'Governor Cleveland treated Catholics and Catholic interests precisely as he did the members of other religious bodies and their interests,' he only acted as an honest American executive."

It has been loosely charged that he vetoed an important bill which prevented contract labor by children under a certain age. As to this we quote his own language:

"I am sometimes afraid that at least a few of those who pose as friends of the workingmen do not keep themselves fully informed as to what is done for them by way of legislation. As an illustration I see it stated in the papers as coming from one who professes to be especially the friend of the workingmen, and claiming to be a leader among them, that I vetoed a bill preventing contract labor by children in the reformatories and institutions of the State. In point of fact, this bill was promptly signed by me, and no other measure touching this question has been presented to me."

Much account has been made of his veto of the Tenure of Office bill. But his veto message in this as in all other instances comes to his rescue. The bill was glaringly defective, and the Governor gave his reasons for his course in a message which left no doubt of it at the time. The friends of the bill agreed with him in believing that the measure as it reached him was defec-

tive and ought not to become a law. Mr. Francis M. Scott, who drafted the bill and worked most earnestly for its passage, published a letter in which he said that the Governor was perfectly right in vetoing the measure, because as it reached him "it was a very shabby piece of legislation, quite unfit to find a place on the statute book."

Altogether his use of the veto power has been discreet and has met with almost unanimous popular approval. His messages have been well-studied, clear-cut papers, evidences of exhaustive analysis of measures and deep research respecting them, and assurances of the most impartial motive and deepest rectitude of intention. Judged by his vetoes alone, which have been necessarily frequent, his administration has not only drawn the widest approval but stands unparalleled for its vigor and consistency. A feeble man, one without the true executive instinct, would have quailed before corrupting pressure or unreasoning clamor, and often given sanction to measures which his inner conscience disapproved. But Grover Cleveland moved on a highly conscientious plane, regardless of partisan appeal, brutal threat or slanderous arrow, never counting the bearing his conduct might have on his personal or political fortune, apparently bound only to the discharge of a duty he owed to the whole people. There is observable at every turn of his executive career stern adhesion to the cardinal principles that preserved and honored his youth and gave him a firm foothold among his fellow-citizens as an humble attorney. His scrutiny of every bill was close, and attended with a sharp legal insight. As he had been his own counsellor while mayor, so he was really his own Attorney-General while Governor. His vetoes stood every test applied to them, and not one rejected bill was passed over his protest. Many bills were returned because improperly and loosely drawn. These, when amended so as to be no longer inconsequential or mere deadwood accumulations on the statute books, he afterwards approved. Whether in signing bills or rejecting them he has shown a diligence, patience, and competent inquiry which have elicited the warmest esteem of the fair-minded people of the State. They all look upon him as a strong, deter-

mined, unselfish man in whom, as executive, there is full security. It was this very sense of security that put him in the minds of the people as candidate for President, and will make him a formidable nominee.

It must not be imagined that his tenacity of principle and disregard of consequences make him indifferent or conservative. On the contrary he is keenly alive to what is going on, watchful of the movements of public sentiment, and at the front as a progressist, whether the column be political, social or moral. The Civil Service Act for the State of New York, a miniature of the system recently adopted by the General Government, received his unqualified sanction. Of the same spirit were the Reform bills for New York city, and numberless others to mention which would be tiresome.

EXECUTIVE HABITS.—The business of his office is conducted with the regularity of clock-work. Method prevails everywhere. He comes and goes at stated hours, if we except the long hours of evening when there is pressure of work; then he stays till far into the night in order to keep his executive business well in hand. His industry does not permit him to load others with responsibility. The burden which is his own he bears with alacrity. The judgment which is his own, and which always carries such convincing weight, is based on his personal examination of public acts, his actual inquiry into public affairs, his direct knowledge of public events. As to equipment for carrying on the business of State, perfectly modulated department machinery, systematic direction of energy and consumption of time, intelligent control of whatever concerns the common weal, his office is a model and its directorship a profitable study.

PERSONNEL.—Governor Cleveland is a bachelor, and not a rich one as some maliciously aver, and too many suppose. At his home in Buffalo, he boarded at the Tifft House, and lived in easy style amid a group of bachelor friends who enjoyed comfortable incomes. An examination of the assessor's books shows that he pays taxes on $5,000 of personal property, and owns no real estate.

His figure is tall, broad and commanding, with a tendency to

corpulency, which, as yet, does not interfere with great activity and incessant industry. His face is regular, clear-cut, and handsome. Notwithstanding the fact that he is a bachelor, it is what might be called a parental face, being reserved yet genial, firm yet kind, dignified yet not distant. His business manner is brusque and simple, precisely that required for despatch. His social mood is pleasant and assuring. He is, when not pressed with business care, open to all comers, and all, from the ragpicker to prince, find his hand extended, his hearing patient, his demeanor cordial. Though of nervous temperament he is easy in society, and reserved in emergency. His complexion is light, his hair brown and thin, his full, square and shapely head inclined to baldness. He delights in association with his own sex, but does not incline to ladies' society. The executive residence is a half mile distant from the capitol. This distance he always walks, both ways. His bosom is full of the milk of human kindness and his heart big enough to take in all mankind. An anecdote is apropos.

The crier in one of the courts of Albany is a blind man, who lives in the same part of the city as the Governor. He is somewhat aged and has become so familiar with the road from his home over to the court-house that he generally goes alone. But one morning, some months ago, he missed his way, and the Governor coming along took him by the arm and brought him along with him as far as the capitol building. As they were about to separate, the old gentleman asked the name of his considerate guide.

"My name is Cleveland," said the Governor.

"Are you in business in the city?"

"Yes. I have an office up here in the capitol."

"Oh, you are not the Governor?"

"Yes. I am the Governor."

The poor old fellow was almost beside himself, and went on his way with a story to tell as long as he lived.

A well-known correspondent, writing of an interview with the Governor since his nomination, says:

"When the Governor gets well settled in his chair, takes a good

long breath, and adjusts his glasses on the lower part of his nose, he looks as wise, as mellow, and as sunshiny as Benjamin Franklin. He looks as though it would take a very considerable shock to knock him off his balance. I asked him the other day if he read the papers that abused him.

"'Sometimes,' said he, with a smile that broke out all over his face.

"'Do you ever get disturbed over anything they say?'

"'Not much. Every man has a right to enjoy his own mind. I remember an old fellow who was a neighbor of my father and we would sometimes try to get him to come over to our church. He was a strong Baptist, and he would always say: "No; you folks are Presbyterians, and if I go over to your church I couldn't enjoy my mind." Of course, that was the end of the argument.'

"'What was the most annoying slander they have ever published about you, Governor?'

"'Well, I have been more surprised (and then he did twist just a little in his chair) at the way I have been misrepresented as to the laboring men than anything else. I don't see how the idea ever got out in the first place that I have been opposed to the interests of laboring men. I cannot remember one single act in my life that could be reasonably construed into anything inimical to their best interests. It has been just the other way with me. I have always taken particular pains, whenever it was in my power, to see their interests well guarded. But I have no fear as to the outcome. I have observed that laboring men have minds of their own as well as political principles, and when there has been a full investigation of my official life the facts will be made known, and I am not uneasy as to the result. They talk about the workingmen as if they were a lot of sheep to be corralled or scattered by this man or that. Most workingmen are natural Democrats. Democracy means the rule of the people, and the Democratic party has always been the natural friend of the workingmen. I do not think any great number of those who are in my party will fail to vote for me, first, because they are naturally disposed to go with their party, and second, because they will learn long before election day that my attitude toward them has been misrepresented.'

"The Governor had grown serious enough to lay his glasses on the desk and wipe his face with an immense white handkerchief."

THE TAMMANY QUESTION.—The Tammany attitude has been and is so much commented upon, that it is well to know Governor Cleveland's status respecting it. It will be seen, it is not one of hostility, except in so far as Tammany chooses to make it such; and it is to be doubted if the intention to do so can be carried out, even if it exists. That organization undertook to wrestle with the Governor through its senatorial spokesman, who made the mistake of forcing the measures of a society rather than honestly representing the people of a district. Feeling that he was agent for a clique, and responsible to its head, by whom he was selected, the Governor sent a missive directly to headquarters, which, in a fearless, straightforward way, made known his sentiments. It ran thus:

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, October 20, 1883.—Hon. John Kelly—My dear Sir: It is not without hesitation that I write this. I have determined to do so, however, because I see no reason why I should not be entirely frank with you. I am anxious that Mr. Grady should not be returned to the next Senate. I do not wish to conceal the fact that my personal comfort and satisfaction are involved in this matter. But I know that good legislation, based upon a pure desire to promote the interests of the people, and the improvement of legislative methods are also deeply involved. I forbear to write in detail of the other considerations having relation to the welfare of the party and the approval to be secured by a change for the better in the character of its representatives. These things will occur to you without suggestion from me. Yours very truly, GROVER CLEVELAND.

No comment on this is needed, except that somebody mistook Governor Cleveland's unalterable purpose to have "good legislation" and "improvement of legislative methods" in New York city as well as elsewhere.

IN CONVENTION.—Long before the meeting of the Chicago Convention indications pointed to Governor Cleveland as the proper Democratic nominee for President. The political situation was such as to make New York a pivotal State in the Presidential contest. His fame as an executive had gone abroad in the land. He had the prestige of unprecedented majority in

his favor when he carried off the honors of Governor. He, more than any other man spoken of, was the embodiment of all the great qualities which combined in the formation of an ideal leader. He typed the instincts and sentiments of a younger Democracy who loved his independence of character, his sterling methods, his sublime mastery of circumstances. He stood for what the older Democracy most cherished, adherence to patriotic tradition, plain, common sense devotion to principle, economic and business-like execution of high official trust. There was only one ripple in the current running toward his nomination. That was occasioned by the Tammany pebble at the bottom of the stream. There the stream murmured, but ran rapidly on, its murmur a laugh.

The Convention was thoroughly representative of the Democratic party. As the presiding officer, Col. William F. Vilas, said, "The Convention was the greatest and most magnificent council of freemen ever assembled on the face of God's round globe. For three days it listened to a 'profound debate from the greatest speakers in the country' upon the various candidates, and the point of order was justly raised that it was contrary to the rules governing the Convention to thus discuss the candidates, but it was unanimously voted by the Convention that the freest discussion should be permitted, in order to develop all the facts obtainable. The debate of three days left no doubt in the minds of the delegates as to whom the choice of the Convention should be."

It was particularly noteworthy that amid all the caucusing for rival candidates, amid the arguments educed for favorites from respective States and sections, amid the formal presentation of names to the Convention, no Democratic orator of high and unquestioned standing in his party ever spoke a derogatory word of Governor Cleveland or expressed a doubt of the propriety and fitness of his nomination. It is equally noteworthy that the magic of his name was such as to hold his State delegation as a unit and turn every malignant attempt to break it into an argument and inspiration in his behalf.

At 3.55 P. M. of July 9th, Mr. Lockwood, of New York, took

the platform to place in nomination the name of Grover Cleveland. He did this in an eloquent speech, in which he said:

The responsibility which he felt was made greater when he remembered that the richest pages of American history had been made up from the records of Democratic administrations, and remembered that the outrage of 1876 was still unavenged. No man had a greater respect than he for the honored names presented to the Convention, but the world was moving, and new men, who had participated but little in politics, were coming to the front. Three years ago he had the honor in the city of Buffalo to present the name of the same gentleman for the office of mayor. Without hesitation the name of Grover Cleveland had been accepted as the candidate. [Applause in the galleries and delegations.]

The result of that election and of the holding of that office was that in less than nine months the State of New York found itself in a position to want such a candidate, and when in the Convention of 1882 his name was presented for the office of Governor of the State of New York the same class of people knew that that meant honest government; that it meant pure government; that it meant Democratic government, and it was ratified. Now the State of New York came and asked that there be given to the Independent and Democratic voters of the country —the young men of the country, the new blood of the country—the name of Grover Cleveland.

The nomination was eloquently seconded by Harrison of Illinois and Jones of Minnesota.

The first ballot was had on the night of the 10th. The friends of Governor Cleveland had computed his strength at 397 votes. Their count proved to be exceedingly close. To show how his strength was diversified as well as its chief sources a view must be taken of the ballot itself:

THE FIRST BALLOT.

States and Territories.	Cleveland.	Randall.	Thurman.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Hoadly.	Carlisle.
Alabama	4	..	1	14	1	..	..
Arkansas	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
California	..	..	16	..	..	..	..
Colorado	..	..	1	..	5	..	..
Connecticut	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	..	..	..	6	..	..	..
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	10	2	..	12	..	..	..
Illinois	28	1	1	2	11	..	..
Indiana	..	..	..	..	30	..	..
Iowa	23	..	1	1	1	..	..
Kansas	11	..	2	5	..	..	..
Kentucky	..	..	..	..	..	..	26

THE FIRST BALLOT—*Continued.*

States and Territories.	Cleveland.	Randall.	Thurman.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Hoadly.	Carlisle.
Louisiana	13	..	..	1	..	1	..
Maine	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	6	..	..	10	..	..	..
Massachusetts	3	..	2	23	..	..	..
Michigan	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
Minnesota	14	..	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi	1	1	1	15	..	..	..
Missouri	15	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Nevada	..	..	6	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	4	11	..	3	..	..	..
New York	72	..	..	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	..	..	..	22	..	..	..
*Ohio	1	..	24	..	..	21	..
Oregon	2	..	..	4	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	5	55	..	..	..	..	..
Rhode Island	6	..	..	2	..	..	..
South Carolina	8	..	..	10	..	..	..
Tennessee	2	..	9	8	3	..	..
Texas	11	..	4	10	1	..	..
Vermont	8	..	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	13	..	1	9	1	..	..
*West Virginia	4	3	2	3	..	..	..
Wisconsin	12	..	2	1	2	..	1
Total	392	78	88	170	56	3	27

* Before the announcement of the result Ohio's vote was changed to following: Thurman, 23; Hoadly, 2; Cleveland, 21. West Virginia: Randall, 1; Bayard, 2; Cleveland, 7; Thurman, 2.

SCATTERING.—Tilden received 1 vote in Tennessee, Hendricks 1 in Illinois, Flower 4 in Wisconsin.

At 11.20 A. M. of the 11th, the second ballot began, and ended at 1 P. M. Every face and movement in the vast assemblage betrayed the nervous anxiety with which the result was looked forward to. The withdrawal of Mr. Randall's name was attended with great excitement, as it seemed to be clearing the Pennsylvania delegation for determined action in some new direction. The withdrawal of McDonald's name was to make way for that of Mr. Hendricks, upon whom all the opposition to Mr. Cleveland thought they could consolidate. The balloting proceeded amid intense suspense, and with satisfactory gains for Cleveland until Pennsylvania was called. Forty-two of her votes went to Cleveland. This broke the spell that held the Convention. Amid exciting cheers and enthusiastic bustle the States began to rearrange their votes as if on final ballot. The

result was Cleveland's nomination by 683 votes, or 136 more than the necessary two-thirds.

THE SECOND BALLOT.

States and Territories.	Cleveland.	Bayard.	McDonald.	Thurman.	Randall.	Hendricks.
Alabama	5	14	1	..	..	..
Arkansas	14	..	..	..	..	..
California	16	..	..	..	..	..
Colorado	6	..	..	..	..	..
Connecticut	12	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware	..	6	..	..	..	..
Florida	8	..	..	..	..	..
Georgia	22	2	..	..	..	..
Illinois	43	..	1	..	..	..
Indiana	30	..	..	..	..	..
Iowa	26	..	..	..	..	..
Kansas	17	1	..	..	..	..
Kentucky	4	21	..	1	..	..
Louisiana	15	..	..	1	..	..
Maine	12	..	..	..	..	..
Maryland	16	..	..	..	..	..
Massachusetts	8	7½	..	..	..	12½
Michigan	23	..	..	..	..	3
Minnesota	14	..	..	..	..	..
Mississippi	2	14	..	..	..	2
Missouri	32	..	..	..	..	..
Nebraska	9	1	..	..	..	..
Nevada	..	..	..	1	..	5
New Hampshire	8	..	..	..	..	..
New Jersey	5	2	..	..	..	11
New York	72	..	..	..	..	..
North Carolina	22	..	..	..	..	..
Ohio	46	..	..	..	..	..
Oregon	6	..	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania	42	2	..	1	4	11
Rhode Island	7	1	..	..	..	..
South Carolina	10	8	..	..	..	..
Tennessee	24	..	..	..	..	..
Texas	26	..	..	..	..	..
Vermont	8	..	..	..	..	..
Virginia	23	..	..	..	..	1
West Virginia	10	2	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin	22	..	..	..	..	..
Arizona	2	..	..	..	..	..
Dakota	2	..	..	..	..	..
Idaho	2	..	..	..	..	..
Montana	2	..	..	..	..	..
New Mexico	2	..	..	..	..	..
Utah	2	..	..	..	..	..
Washington Territory	2	..	..	..	..	..
Wyoming	2	..	..	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia	2	..	..	..	..	..
Total	683	81½	2	4	4	45½

Necessary for choice, 547.

The general result was announced as follows: Whole number of votes cast, 820; necessary to a choice, 547. Cleveland received 683; Hendricks, 45½; Bayard, 81½; McDonald, 2; Randall, 4; Thurman, 4. The question was then put on Mr. Menzies' motion to make the nomination unanimous, and it was carried triumphantly.

It may be profitable at this point to glance at the Democratic conventions of the past. The nominations made therein for the last fifty years are as follows:

1836, Martin Van Buren, 1st ballot.
1840, Martin Van Buren, unanimously.
1844, James K. Polk, 9th ballot.
1848, Lewis Cass, 4th ballot.
1852, Franklin Pierce, 49th ballot.
1856, James Buchanan, 17th ballot.
1860, John C. Breckinridge, 56th ballot.
1864, George B. McClellan, 1st ballot.
1868, Horatio Seymour, 23d ballot.
1872, Horace Greeley, endorsed.
1876, Samuel J. Tilden, 2d ballot.
1880, Winfield S. Hancock, 2d ballot.
1884, Grover Cleveland, 2d ballot.

The 1860 convention that nominated Breckinridge balloted fifty-five times at Charleston, S. C., then adjourned to Baltimore, June 18, when Breckinridge was unanimously nominated on the first ballot. The "bolters" met the same day and nominated Stephen A. Douglas on the first ballot. In 1852 Franklin Pierce's name first appeared on the thirty-fifth ballot, when Virginia gave him her fifteen votes. Lewis Cass and James Buchanan were the leading candidates on forty-five ballots, but at no time did either have a majority of the convention, while a two-thirds vote was required to nominate.

RECEPTION OF THE NEWS.—The news of Governor Cleveland's nomination was received with demonstrations of delight by the Democratic party and by the independent element of the Republican party. Party newspapers in general spoke of it as a hopeful and proper political step. Large ratification

meetings were improvised in city and village, at which great enthusiasm prevailed, and from which proceeded hearty endorsement of the Convention's action. What is known as the independent, or bolting Republican press, was, if anything, more encomiastic than the regular Democratic press. The sentiments of a few of these will type the whole:

Governor Cleveland will be supported by a united and aggressive Democratic party. He will have the votes of tens of thousands of Independent Republicans. He will have the support of the larger part of successful newspapers of the country, both secular and religious. He will have the confidence and votes of the business men of the land. It will be shown that this poor boy who has worked his way up to the proud position which he now holds knows what it is to work day in and day out, and that he is a true friend of the toiling masses.—Boston *Globe* (Butler's organ).

The nomination of Governor Cleveland defines sharply the actual issue of the Presidential election of this year. He is a man whose absolute official integrity has never been questioned, who has no laborious and doubtful explanations to undertake, and who is universally known as the Governor of New York elected by an unprecedented majority which was not partisan, and represented both the votes and the consent of an enormous body of Republicans, and who as the Chief Executive of the State has steadily withstood the blandishments and the threats of the worst elements of his party, and has justly earned the reputation of a courageous, independent, and efficient friend and promoter of administrative reform. His name has become that of the especial representative among our public men of the integrity, purity, and economy of administration which are the objects of the most intelligent and patriotic citizens.—*Harper's Weekly*.

It is not only in what he clearly represents but in what he distinctly opposes that Grover Cleveland is strong before the American people. His career has made him the exponent of clean and honest politics. In the administration of public trusts he has shown that he is superior to partisan bias, indifferent to such party nterests as are in contact with official probity and the public welfare. He has been severely tried in the important and responsible post he now occupies. He has resisted the importunities of designing politicians, he has defeated the purposes of selfish schemers. All those members of his own party who are not absorbed in private aims which are in conflict with the public good are outspoken in his praise; and he has won the good opinion of all Republicans who are not so far gone in partisanship as to have lost the power to commend upright conduct in a political adversary.—N. Y. *Times*.

Of the kind of experience which the present situation in national affairs most imperatively calls for, experience in administration, Cleveland has more than any one who has entered the White House since 1860, more than any man whom either party has nominated within that period, except Seymour and Tilden—more than Lincoln more than Grant, more than Hayes, more than Garfield, more than Arthur.

He laid at the start that best of all foundations for American statesmanship by becoming a good lawyer. He began his executive career by being a good county sheriff. He was next intrusted with the administration of a great city—as severe a test of a man's capacity in dealing with men and affairs as any American in our time can undergo. In both offices he gave boundless satisfaction to his fellow-citizens of both parties. His nomination for the Governorship of this State came in due course, and at a crisis in State affairs which very closely resembled that which we are now witnessing in national affairs. His election by an unprecedented majority is now an old story. It was the beginning of a revolution. It was the first thorough fright the tricky and jobbing element in politics ever received here. It for the first time in their experience gave reform an air of reality. But it might, had Cleveland proved a weak or incompetent man, have turned out a very bad blow for pure politics.

Luckily, he justified all the expectations and even all the hopes of those who voted for him. No friend of good government, who, in disregard of party ties, cast his vote for him, has had reason to regret it for one moment. We owe to his vigorous support a large number of reformatory measures, which people in this State for forty years had sighed for with little more expectation of seeing them enacted than of seeing the Millennium. In other words, he has arrested the growth of political despair among large numbers both of young and old voters in this State. His messages, too, have been models of sound common sense and penetrating sagacity, clothed in the terse and vigorous English which shows that there is a man and not a windy phrasemonger behind the pen. Though last not least, his best work has been done in utter disregard of the hostility of that element in his own party which for so many years has made it an object of mingled hate and fear to the best part of the American people. He is, in truth, a Democrat of the better age of the Democratic party, when it was a party of simplicity and economy, and might almost have put its platform into the golden rule of giving every man his due, minding your own business, and asking nothing of government but light taxes, and security in the field and by the fireside. No one who has entered the White House for half a century, except Lincoln in his second term, has offered reformers such solid guarantees that as President he will do his own thinking, and be his own master in the things which pertain to the Presidency.—N. Y. *Evening Post.*

Governor Cleveland has shown through the whole of his life, private and public, from boyhood to his present distinction, that he has the sterling qualities befitting the exalted office of Chief Executive of the United States. It is the highest function of that office to administer the laws with an eye single to the public welfare. Our Government has been tersely described as "of the people, by the people, and for the people." No eminent public man has exhibited a better understanding of that definition of the American government than Grover Cleveland; none has exemplified it better than he has in his performance of public duty, and but few, very few indeed, have exemplified it so well. His guiding characteristics have been loyalty to duty; courage in the discharge of it, and the best and most faithful performance of it within his power. These are strong words; strong because they are true. —Philadelphia *Ledger.*

The Governor himself received the news of the nomination

with entire equanimity. He had not shown himself ambitious of the honors, had done nothing directly to secure them. They came as a free-will offering, and by virtue of a record made in the path of duty. He would not have been disappointed had the Convention in its wisdom seen fit to similarly honor some one else. Yet he did not shirk the responsibilities which he knew were inseparable from candidacy, nor fail to announce himself as gratified with his political preference. During a serenade at the Executive mansion on the evening after his nomination he delivered the following tasteful and timely speech:

Fellow-citizens—I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow-citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors. On this occasion I am of course aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted. The American people are about to exercise in its highest sense their power and right of sovereignty. They are to call in review before them their public servants and the representatives of political parties, and demand of them an account of their stewardship. Parties may be so long in power and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people as to grow heedless of their responsibility to their masters. But the time comes as certainly as death when the people weigh them in the balance. The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted. We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party which for nearly twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation the full benefits to which they are entitled—pure, just and economical rule, and we believe that the ascendency of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better Government and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people. To reach the sober thought of the nation and to dislodge an enemy entrenched behind spoils and patronage involves a struggle which, if we underestimate, we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in this contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause, and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts. Let us, then, enter upon the campaign now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready with solid front to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people.

The issue now joined before, among, and by the people, is happily one of peace and good-will. It invites fair and intelligent discussion of measures bearing on industry, matters of state and good morals. If this were all of a campaign, it would

be well. But men, especially those at the forefront of the respective parties, cannot hope to escape analysis and controversy. Few will stand the test so well as Governor Cleveland. His character is a hard rock against which the waves of campaign criticism will dash in vain. Again, his public life and political record will tower above all envious misrepresentation and slanderous detraction, if these unseemly and brutal methods should be resorted to, as the white wall of a harbor light towers above the surf that angrily lashes its base and sinks into sullen retreat.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

HON. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

THOMAS ANDREW HENDRICKS, ex-Governor of Indiana, unanimously nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the Democratic ticket in the Convention at Chicago, was born in Muskingum county, Ohio, September 7th, 1819. His father was Major John Hendricks, who was the member of a family quite distinguished in Western annals. A brother of John, who had preceded him to Indiana and was prominent in the convention which framed the constitution of that State, was its second governor, and served two terms in the United States Senate.

The father, John Hendricks, was a well-to-do gentleman, much noted for his graces and hospitality. He was conspicuous in the Presbyterian Church and circles of his locality. Soon after the birth of his son Thomas he moved to Indiana and settled in Madison, then regarded as one of the most promising towns of the State. His circumstances enabled him to give his son a complete education. He was placed at Hanover College, where he graduated in 1841, at the age of twenty-two. From there he was sent to Chambersburg, Pa., where he completed a course of law studies and was admitted to the bar in 1843.

In that year he returned to Indiana and at once entered upon his professional career. Such was the completeness of his preparation, native ability, personal popularity and family influence, that he speedily acquired a lucrative practice, and grew into great prominence. His legal learning was broad and profound. His eloquence gave him great power with courts and juries. His management of cases was always skilful. But the profes-

sional man cannot be best judged by the qualities which distinguished him at the bar of his own county. He was greatest in those cases which involved grave constitutional points. His mind was organized and disciplined for the grasp of problems which concerned the State and nation, or which, if of a personal kind, usually lay beyond the reach of the ordinary practitioner. He was an orderly and profound thinker, always in command of full learning and excellent speech, and ever earnest and convincing. The characteristics of his early success at the bar were those of his political life. But the latter field gave them fuller play and their possessor grander opportunity. It was readily seen after his entry into public life that he was a natural statesman as well as a finished lawyer.

The year after his admission to the bar (1844) he distinguished himself in the Polk campaign as an effective stump orator and efficient champion of Democratic principles. The mark thus made in political circles was lasting. He was booked for early honors.

In 1845 he married Miss Eliza C. Morgan. After three more years of successful practice, he was elected to the State Legislature, and served one term. He declined a re-election, preferring at that particular juncture to further advance his professional fortunes. But he had proved so useful to his constituents, and had evinced such power in debate and knowledge of leading questions, that a gratified people were not content to let him remain long in the seclusion of his office.

In 1850 a convention sat for the purpose of remodelling the constitution of the State. He was elected a member of this deliberative body. Here he proved a brilliant champion of the prominent features of the present State Constitution. In a body which was composed of the best minds in the State it was no easy matter for one so young to win laurels. But he proved himself the equal of the best in learned and elaborate discussion. His amplification of constitutional subjects, his fullness of information, his readiness, his ease and grace of speech, gave him a vantage ground occupied by but few of the older members. This may be regarded as the real beginning of a public

career which has extended over thirty-five years, and has always been useful, honorable and successful.

HIS RIPENED CHARACTER.—It was now clearly manifest that he was fitted by native talent and thorough legal training for a wider field of usefulness and higher honors. His popularity in his party, his identity with the people of the State, most of whom were of the stock of his fathers, and his interest in their prosperity and institutions were complete. It may be said, then as now, that no man was more generally loved without regard to party, and certainly no one was less hated. Whether at the bar, in political debate, or in the social circle, there was always a charm about him which won him hosts of friends. His character had rounded into exceptional completeness. His morals were pure and his uprightness of that cast which made him solicitous to avoid even the appearance of doubtful action. In money matters he was prudent. He approached competency by economic habits and slow and natural accretions, and this though his legal practice was often broken in upon by calls to political service, and his expenses increased to meet the social requirements of official station. His temperament was even and amiable, and as life was going well with him, it seemed like the breaking of a drift or dream to tear him away from a calling for which he had affinities and from associations fast becoming cemented. It must not be inferred from this that he lacked ambition, or that the elements of greatness, born in him, were at all slumberous. He could always rise to the height of a great occasion. Indeed it required great occasion to bring to the surface his hidden resources, his native powers. Spurred by opposition, inspired by the importance of a cause, whetted by emergency, he could cast aside his habitual courtesy and caution and give full rein to impulses and powers as ripe for attack as they were for defense. On such occasions he was a finished combatant and dangerous opponent. His resource was as wonderful as his aggressive vigor. All through his legal career, it has been common to institute a comparison between him and his great rival, Oliver P. Morton, by saying that Hendricks was apt to be worsted before a jury and his rival had no chance before a judge.

IN CONGRESS.—In 1851 he was nominated on the 53d ballot and elected on the Democratic ticket, a member of the Thirty-second Congress for the Fifth Indiana District. This Congress opened Dec. 1, 1851, and closed March 3, 1853. It saw the close of Fillmore's administration. The elections had turned on the Compromise measures of 1850, and the people had endorsed them as a happy quietus to the slavery agitation by returning a majority of prudent-minded and conservative Democrats. The Senate contained a Democratic majority of 8 and the House 50. The measure of greatest political moment before this Congress was the organization of the Platte country, which afterwards took shape as the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Its enlarged discussion was not regarded as timely, and during the first session debate was shut off before it took acrimonious turn. The Democratic majority did not even antagonize the Fillmore administration.

A SECOND TERM.—Mr. Hendricks was re-elected to the Thirty-third Congress to represent the Sixth Congressional District. This Congress sat from Dec. 5, 1853, to March 3, 1855. It was the first Congress of Pierce's administration. The country had ratified the Compromise measures of 1850, which were largely involved in the campaign. Both the Democratic and Whig parties had been committed to them in their platforms. The Whigs recoiled from the situation and went to pieces. In the House the Democrats had a majority of 74, and in the Senate of 14. They were rather too confident of the situation. Their pro-slavery members forced the fighting on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, and at the same time forced a division in their own ranks which never closed. The first session of the Thirty-third Congress was characterized by long, bitter debates, and by the celebrated amendment to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which brought Mr. Douglas and the doctrine of Squatter Sovereignty into prominent view. It cemented the Southern Democrats and Whigs, but divided the Northern Democrats into two even factions consisting, in the House, of 44 members each. During these debates Mr. Hendricks sided with the majority of his party, but he did not fail to deprecate the acrimonious turn given to discussion, nor to warn his friends and the country of the con-

sequences likely to result from the partisanship which seemed to be inseparable from this class of questions. His position was that of the patriotic counsellor and adviser. The Second Session of the Thirty-third Congress was a quiet one, from a political standpoint, and there was no opportunity for great debate or party display.

This closed the career of Mr. Hendricks as a member of the lower House. It had been highly creditable to him as a debater and statesman. While not a leader his opinions had great weight, and his advice was often sought in matters involving delicate party action. His discussion of public measures was clear, high-toned and forcible. It may be doubted whether any of his compeers, used as they were to political debate, and schooled as they were by long practice in parliamentary methods, outweighed him in the practical presentation of measures or in lucid disquisition of public questions. He retired a trusted and conspicuous member of his party and the National House.

He was again placed in nomination as a candidate for member of the Thirty-fourth Congress, in the fall of 1854. He had for his opponent Lucian Barbour, a Republican, who united the entire anti-Nebraska sentiment of his district. After an earnest campaign in which Mr. Hendricks was forced to combat serious divisions in his own party ranks, he was defeated by 538 votes, the total vote being Barbour, 9,824; Hendricks, 9,286.

LAND COMMISSIONER.—Defeat did not mean retiracy from public position. He was appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office in 1855 by President Pierce. His administration of this responsible office had proved so acceptable that he was reappointed by President Buchanan in 1857. He retained his place till 1859, when he resigned in order that he might be free to conduct his campaign for Governor of Indiana, for which place he received the nomination of his party. Those who are acquainted with the difficulties in the way of a perfectly pure and satisfactory administration of the General Land Office will appreciate Mr. Hendricks all the more as an official, when it is said of him that from the beginning to the end of his term

his management was characterized by honest business principles which met the approval of all parties and all classes of men. He was methodical, direct, impartial, exact. Things moved like clock-work under his care. He enjoyed the unbounded faith of employés and the business public in his integrity and honor. He retired having added the laurels of pure administration to those won in the national halls of legislation.

FOR GOVERNOR.—In what afterwards became known as the celebrated campaign of 1860, the nominees of the Democratic party in Indiana were for Governor Thomas A. Hendricks, Lieutenant-Governor David Turpie. The nominees of the Republican party were Col. Lane for Governor, and Oliver P. Morton for Lieutenant-Governor. Never in the history of the State had the two dominant parties pitted against each other, for their chief offices, men of greater brilliancy and force. It was to be a notable contest, and the best material must be found in the front. The Republican candidates were aggressive, enthusiastic and popular. The Democratic candidates were not less aggressive and popular, but their fight was to be carried on under the disparagement which division had inflicted. What they lacked in fervor, they, however, hoped to make up in logical appeal to the judgment of their people. Feeling that they were better fortified with solid arguments than their opponents, and that they were, moreover, better qualified to make convincing presentation of them, a challenge to joint debate, to be carried on at designated points in the State, was given and accepted. These debates were carried on in a spirited but friendly manner, and with varied opinion as to their merits, till Evansville was reached. There Col. Lane withdrew temporarily to attend the Chicago Convention which nominated Lincoln. On his return they were resumed and continued till all the arrangements had been fulfilled. Not yet done with them, the challenge was re-extended, but the Republican candidate declined the overture, preferring, as he said, to finish his campaign in his own way. His declination was regarded as wise, for while he was recognized as the most popular orator of the two, he was no match for Mr. Hendricks in deliberate disputation, and that marshaling of argu-

ments, which is called debate. The result of the campaign was the election of Lane and Morton. The former was almost immediately elected U. S. Senator, and Morton took his place as Governor.

U. S. SENATOR.—In 1862 there was a political revolution in many of the Northern States. The Democratic party had recovered from the shock to its organization occasioned by the Kansas agitation and the breaking out of actual hostilities, and, finding in its opposition to the return of fugitive slaves, to the repeal of Habeas Corpus, to the imposition of an "iron-clad oath," and to other Republican measures it regarded as extreme or uncalled for, a common rallying-ground, had again become both coherent and formidable. The result of the elections that year in Indiana was a Democratic Legislature. This gave to Mr. Hendricks an opportunity for merited advancement. A United States Senator was to be chosen. His party friends naturally turned to him as the proper man for the place. He was accordingly chosen for the term beginning March 4, 1863, and ending March 3, 1869.

He entered the upper House at the opening of the Thirty-eighth Congress, December 7, 1863, at a time when the parties there stood 36 Republicans to 14 Democrats, and when the majority were bent on only measures of war. There was, therefore, but little opportunity for the display of positive statesmanship. The utmost that could be done by so small a minority was to make itself respected, and to so manage as to afford the best check possible to arbitrary, useless or offensive legislation. In this mission Mr. Hendricks was from the start a potent factor. His legal learning, systematic methods, fairness in disputation, sterling integrity, and gentlemanly bearing, were known before his entry, and he not only found himself high up in the councils of his own party, but an honored representative on such important committees as those of Claims, the Judiciary, Public Buildings and Grounds, Public Lands, for which his previous experience especially fitted him, and Naval Affairs.

His protests, which were those of his party, were ably recorded against a multitude of measures deemed undemocratic and dan-

gerous. They were not idly presented nor factiously maintained, but, made as they were in the face of a strong popular prejudice throughout the country and a powerful opposition in the Senate, had to be deliberately and earnestly urged in order to command the degree of respect they were justly entitled to. In their preparation and advocacy Mr. Hendricks was a leader of his party. His mastery of constitutional law, his conception of political situations, his integrity of conviction, the sound conservatism of his nature at a time when radicalism was running wild and theoretic legislation was overstepping the bounds of prudence, conspired to give him a prominence enjoyed by few men of that exciting era. His reputation became national. Even those who did not agree with his opinions respected the man, for he was sincere in his views, frank in his statements, courageous in his arguments.

Some have thought he lacked aggressiveness. Such do not understand the situation in which he was placed during his career as Senator. He dared not be offensively bold. That would have destroyed the moral effect of all minority protest and appeal. He was diplomatic, cautious, and even shrewd, in his debates and parliamentary methods. If for boldness and aggressiveness, we substitute firmness and consistency of opposition we more truthfully paint the attitude and measure the manner of the man.

The leading measures were those which directly or remotely concerned reconstruction. Nearly every one remembers the relation of parties on these novel and delicate measures. They were wide apart as to the power of Congress over the matter of reconstruction, as to the position the government should assume toward the belligerent States, as to the methods best calculated to assure peace and perfect restoration of the Union. The policy of the minority could not be as definitely shaped as that of the majority, and ofttimes it was misunderstood, for that is a fate inseparable from opposition, especially when minorities are hopelessly small. But that policy, in the hands of men like Mr. Hendricks, was sturdily, consistently and respectfully urged. His debates are singularly free from acrimony, considering the pas-

sions of the hour. If his arguments did not weigh in the Senate Chamber so as to defeat measures, they told before the country and served to strengthen him as well as to encourage his party friends.

It would hardly add to the lustre of his fame to enter upon tedious recital of the Acts he opposed, or to spread his speeches at length upon these pages. But a few may be mentioned as an index to the whole. The Thirteenth Amendment passed the Senate, April 8, 1863, by a vote of 38 to 6. Mr. Hendricks voted with the minority. He spoke and voted against the bill passed in 1864, conferring the right of suffrage on negroes in the District of Columbia. During the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress he opposed the Charter of the Washington City passenger railway company, or rather the amendment to it, permitting negroes to ride in the cars. On June 6, 1864, he voted against the bill to increase the Internal Revenue, the vote being, yeas 22, nays 3—the latter were Davis, Hendricks and Powell. On June 17, 1864, he voted against the amended Tariff act. The vote stood, yeas 22, nays 5—the latter being Buckalew, Hendricks, McDougall, Powell and Richardson. He actively opposed all the Republican measures overturning the old State governments, the imposition of test oaths, the bills known as Civil Rights Bills, the Freedmen's Bureau Bill, and kindred enactments.

Let it not be understood that his opposition was to the letter of all these bills. With that he often concurred, but he saw in their spirit a dangerous tendency and this he opposed. His political conduct was shaped on the theory that the peace, prosperity and happiness of the white people of the South, even though they had been offenders, were matters of more pressing moment than the care and advancement of the uneducated and irresponsible freedmen. He deprecated race distinctions, but since Republican legislation drew a line, he thought that if either race had to go to the wall, it should be the black race rather than the white. Over and above all, he held that the natural supremacy of the white race was a guarantee of the very safety to the colored race which was then sought through legislation. Exalting

the unprepared freedmen into a governing class and at the same time disfranchising their former masters, or disparaging them by contrast, he held to be as much of an evil as the old system of slavery itself. The arguments educed in support of his views have been generally adopted in the Summaries of Congressional debates as the authoritative embodiment of Democratic opinion on the reconstruction and other measures, then conspicuous before Congress and the country.

On the impeachment of President Johnson in 1867, Mr. Hendricks was of course a member of the Court, under the Constitutional clause, "The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments." He was one of the nineteen Senators who voted not guilty, and saved the President from disgrace. It is said that his arguments in support of his position, in this instance, were so ably and convincingly put, that they drew praise from those of opposite opinion, and may have served to snatch from the majority the two-thirds necessary for conviction. At any rate, his reputation as a juris-consult was largely augmented by his membership of this unusual and august court.

It is a sufficient proof of his ability and success as a Senator, that at the end of a single term he had won the confidence of his opponents, and had placed himself among the foremost men in his party, as a statesman and leader. Henceforth he was to stand out in bold relief as one upon whose brow higher honors might readily fall—even the honors of the Chief Magistracy.

AS EULOGIST.—And it must not be forgotten that during these years he was receiving distinction in civic capacity. Few occasions, especially in his own State, requiring learned disquisition or touching oratory, failed to command his presence. His address before the Indiana Law School on the "Character of Oliver P. Morton" is regarded as the best and truest analysis of the deceased ex-Governor extant. This is all the more creditable, considering the fact that they were life-long legal and political rivals, and so evenly balanced in learning and reputation, that the weight of a single feather might have changed the popular verdict respecting their merits. The eulogies of Mr. Hendricks upon ex-Governors Lane, Whitcomb and Williams, are models

of elocution, analysis and pathos. At such times he could sink the man in the occasion, and let the intellect go forth in just and elegant tribute, and the heart testify to the worth it found and the sorrow it felt. Few public men are thus endowed. Only the unselfishly great can strip themselves of their personalism and rise to the dignity of an occasion requiring exact justice to opposing character and profound respect for rival reputation. The warmest friend of those whose names are mentioned above could not ask for better historic perpetuation of their fame than that found in the eulogiums of Mr. Hendricks.

In pursuit of his policy of reconciliation and peace between the two sections of the country, Mr. Hendricks endorsed the call for a National Union Convention, to be held in Philadelphia, August 14, 1866. Its object was to protest against the further unconstitutional war measures on the part of the Republican party, and to inspire a better feeling and bring about closer relations, political and otherwise, between the North and South. He also signed the address of the Democratic Congressmen to the people of the United States, whose sentiments furnished the key to the proceedings of the Convention.

AGAIN FOR GOVERNOR.—While yet in the Senate, and in 1868, Mr. Hendricks permitted the use of his name as the candidate of his party for Governor of Indiana. His opponent was Conrad Baker. Though not as memorable as the campaign of 1860, this was a warmly-contested canvass, in which the Senator's personal popularity and great forensic ability gave him especial advantage. He turned a situation decidedly adverse at the start into one which bore strong resemblance to a Democratic victory. The result was so close that it was in doubt for a long time. The majority for Baker turned out to be only 961, and not a few were of the opinion that it was manufactured after the ballots were cast. If defeat it can be called, it was one of that kind which is often more disastrous to the victor than the vanquished. It certainly left Mr. Hendricks in possession of the laurels which should have found a place on the brow of his opponent.

A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE.—As already intimated,

Mr. Hendricks stood before his party as one upon whom its highest honors were at any time likely to fall. Not that he was ever solicitous for place, but as one whose ability, force of character and trusted national advisorship clearly marked him as worthy of more exalted station and confidence. He therefore came spontaneously and conspicuously forward in the Democratic Convention which met in New York city, July 4, 1868, as a candidate for the Presidency. This Convention was made memorable by the defiant attitude of Ohio, after the State had been compelled to abandon her own candidate, in the person of Mr. Pendleton, who started on the first ballot with 105, which was increased to 156½ on the 8th ballot, and gradually waned to 56½ on the 18th ballot, when he was withdrawn. Mr. Hendricks had but 2½ votes on the first ballot, which gradually increased to 132, as against 135½ for General Hancock on the 21st ballot. He had succeeded in securing the solid vote of New York State and the entire Northwest, and his friends looked hopefully for his nomination on the next ballot. But Ohio, by her stubborn resistance to any Western man, after the honors had once passed from her grasp, succeeded in stampeding the Convention by throwing her strength to Horatio Seymour, of New York, who received the entire 317 votes on the 22d ballot.

The friends of Mr. Hendricks were naturally chagrined at this hostile conduct of their Ohio brethren, as well as at that of certain New York politicians who connived at the plan to spring Mr. Seymour's name upon the Convention as a last resort. It cannot be said that the end justified the means. Mr. Hendricks would certainly have proved a more felicitous and formidable candidate at that particular juncture. He was closer to his party, had its confidence to a greater degree, and would have infused the campaign with greater tact and vigor. True, he lost his own State as candidate for Governor in October, and that has been used as an argument to vindicate the choice of Seymour, but it must be remembered that he fought that battle under the cloud of defeat in the National Convention, entered it more to hold his party together for the November contest than

with a hope of winning, yet came out of the fight with all the moral results of a victory.

On his retiracy from the Senate, in 1869, he returned to his law practice at Indianapolis. He did not, however, dwarf his inclination for politics. His services were ever at the call of his party, whether in council or in debate. He was too well established before the country to be secure in retiracy, and too available as a party leader to be unthought of when honors were at its disposal. His conduct during this interval was characterized by cautious good sense and manly desire to keep his record clean and acceptable.

In the National Democratic Convention which met at Baltimore, June 9, 1872, for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President, Mr. Hendricks had an undoubted majority of the delegates pledged to his support. But the managers of the Liberal Republican Convention, which had met at Cincinnati, May 1, 1872, and placed Horace Greeley in nomination, swarmed in the Baltimore meeting and captured it entirely. The result was an endorsement of the Cincinnati platform and nominations, amid loud protest from the straight-out Democrats. The deed once done, submission seemed to be the wiser part. It was sullen and half-hearted, to be sure, but sufficient to permit the State organizations to live and in some instances to thrive.

AS GOVERNOR.—Mr. Hendricks took this turn of affairs very philosophically. He did not allow it to interfere with his candidacy for the Governorship of his own State, which had now fallen to him for the third time, although against his earnest protest. The campaign was a bitter one in every respect. Nationally it proved almost the death-knell of the Democratic party. In the States it was particularly disastrous. But for such a champion as Mr. Hendricks in Indiana, whose wonderful campaign powers were supplemented by irresistible personal popularity, that State would have been entirely swept from its political moorings. As it was, the Republicans carried the Legislature and all of the State ticket except the Governor and Superintendent of Public Instruction. The majorities were small, but in the end undisputed. Some regard this result as due more

to Mr. Hendricks' clean character than to the principles he espoused. Let such be the verdict of all who choose to have it so. It only adds to the credit of a man seeking official place that his character is above suspicion, socially and morally. What if Mr. Hendricks drew in this instance the influence due to his high standing in a leading denomination? What if he drew from the temperance element the support due to a sober, conscientious life? What if, with a personally objectionable opponent, he drew a strength from every source which was non-political? They were all so many testimonials to his private worth, which are, in the end, stronger than those of partisan color.

The result was so close and complicated that its final determination was postponed many anxious days. Many of the Governor's friends gave his cause up as lost. At the Democratic headquarters the most experienced arithmetic men figured over returns which were as so many baffling puzzles. But one, the editor of the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, adhered to his prediction of victroy from the beginning. During the long suspense Mr. Hendricks listened placidly to the varying opinions of his friends, till a last count defeated him by some half-dozen votes. Then breaking into a laugh he observed, "I wonder if I am always to just miss being Governor of Indiana?" His question was soon answered satisfactorily by an official majority of 1,148 votes. It may be said of his administration that it was in entire keeping with the established character of the man. Indiana never had an abler, more conscientious or higher-minded executive. He aimed to do his whole duty, and his official conduct was really beyond criticism. His term began January, 1873, and ended January, 1877.

Some endeavored to hold him to hostile account for signing a local option bill, passed by the Republican Legislature. As Chairman of the Democratic Convention in 1874, he took occasion to explain his action at length. The obnoxious bill was clearly a demand of the State. He acted in obedience to this demand and with the knowledge that a veto could be readily overridden in the Legislature. His personal conviction was in

favor of a license system, but this he withheld in order to test the desired legislation. Sentiment soon veered to his position. In the next Legislature a majority of both Houses voted to substitute a License Law for Local Option.

The Legislative session of 1875 was a struggle between a Republican Senate and Democratic House for party advantage. The session was limited by law to sixty days. Its end was approaching and the Senate hoped to defeat certain objectionable House measures by withholding concurrence till after midnight of the day on which the session legally ended, or, otherwise, force the Democrats into the odium of a long and expensive extra session. The session closed on Saturday night. On Monday morning, and before the members could leave the capital, the Governor issued his proclamation for an extra session, to meet on Tuesday. At the same time he informed them that though they could legally stay for forty days, they might find it greatly conducive to their political and personal comforts to speedily despatch the business before them and go home. They took the hint good-naturedly, broke the dead lock quickly, attended to their duty, and were off inside of a week.

Mr. Hendricks has been criticised on account of his supposed leaning toward currency inflation and Greenbackism at a time when they were a craze in most of the States. The truth is he never gave adhesion to the Greenback theory, *per se.* The Greenback doctrine was nearing its height of popularity in 1873. It was sweeping States and carrying party leaders with it. Whatever may be said of its arguments there was sympathy among men of all parties with the hardships which contraction of the currency entailed. Mr. Hendricks had no opportunity nor call to do more than join in such sympathy. But being a public and exponential man, he was wrongly credited with convictions he did not share, such is the jealousy of American politics, and such the anxiety to make a target of those in prominent place. Feeling this, he took advantage of the first opportunity presented to set himself right. This occurred when he was made presiding officer of the Democratic State Convention in 1874. He then argued specifically and at length that gold and

silver were the true basis of currency, and that the proper method of returning to specie payments was through the growing up process, the development of all parts of the country and especially the South, the general increase of production, the retrenchment of public and private expenditure.

While it was true that the State platform of that year catered to the Greenback idea, it did not therein represent the views of Mr. Hendricks. So much was it away from his sturdy convictions that he took pains during the fall canvass to define in public speech the difference between his views and those found in the platform. This was not only honest, but, in a strictly political sense, may be regarded as fearless and even bold, for it was diametrically opposite to an intensity of sentiment before which the leaders of both parties were quailing.

His studied and matured thoughts upon the question are best conveyed in his own language. After speaking against hasty and undue contraction of the currency as tending to check labor and paralyze enterprise, on the one hand, and against unseemly inflation as tending to depreciation of values and suicidal adventure on the other, he continued in his address thus:

"We desire a return to specie payments. It is a serious evil when there are commercial mediums of different values; when one description of money is for one class and purpose and another for a different class and purpose. We cannot too strongly impress the importance of the policy that shall restore uniformity of values to all the money of the country, so that it shall always and readily be convertible. That gold and silver are the real standards of value is a cherished Democratic doctrine not now nor hereafter to be abandoned. But I do not look to any arbitrary act of Congress for a restoration of specie payments. Such an effort now would probably produce widespread commercial disaster. A Congressional declaration cannot make the paper currency equal to gold in value. It cannot make a bank note equal to a dollar. The business of the country alone can do that. When we find the coin of the country increasing, then we may know we are moving in the direction of specie payments. The important financial question is, 'how can

we increase and make permanent our supply of gold?' The reliable solution is, by increasing our productions and thereby reducing our purchases and increasing our sales abroad. He can readily obtain money who produces more than he consumes of articles that are wanted in the market, and I suppose that is also true of communities and nations. How can the Republican party atone to the people for its evil policies which have driven gold from the country, rendered a return to specie payment more difficult, and made its postponement more inevitable?" This sounds like something quite the opposite of Greenbackism. It was just probable that Mr. Hendricks, during the entire Greenback agitation, was as much of a hard-money man as any of those who glibly took him to task for departing from the old Democratic traditions.

In 1875 Mr. Hendricks, forgetting the blow which Ohio had dealt him in 1868, went actively into the campaign in that State for Mr. Allen, who was running for Governor. His object was to aid in a Democratic victory there in order that the State might be found securely in the party columns during the Presidential canvass of the succeeding year.

It must be set down to Mr. Hendricks' enduring credit that he has always been a steadfast friend of the Common School system of the State of Indiana. As a member of the Constitutional Convention he brought all his energy and talent to bear on the various questions which had for their object the securing of ample provisions for popular education, and the placing of its support beyond the vicissitudes of politics. Fully impressed with the importance of a work then achieved he has since, both as an official and citizen, repeatedly insisted on the most anxious watchfulness over the growth and final perfection of the system. In this quest he has agreed to lay aside all party prejudices and all rigid constructions and join heartily with the friends of education, no matter what their political proclivities. His views in this respect are those of the large-hearted educator and philanthropist, and not those of the narrow partisan.

CONVENTION OF 1876.—In the Democratic National Convention which met at St. Louis, June 28, 1876, Mr. Hen-

dricks was the chief competitor of Mr. Tilden as candidate for the Presidency. On the first ballot his strength was measured by 140 votes. On the second ballot, which decided Mr. Tilden's candidacy, he had 60 votes. The position of second place on the ticket therefore fell naturally to him. The country still remembers the nature of that campaign and its outcome. Mr. Hendricks suffered, along with his illustrious companion on the ticket, the mortification of defeat at the hands of the Electoral Commission, after having carried the country by a decided majority of votes, and as many thought at the time, and still think, by a majority of the Electoral College, had there been an honest return.

Though most of the political questions paramount in that campaign are now *res adjudicatæ*, a few remain open, and are even now pressing for solution. It may be interesttng to refer to his standing on one or two of these, as found in his letter of acceptance. Two of them are now prominent, being referred to in the platform of both parties. On each Mr. Hendricks then took decided ground, though in advance of sentiment in his party and sentiment in general. He was a civil service reformer when to be such was to court a certain degree of unpopularity, and as to that pronounced Americanism which has lately become a passport to popular favor, he was far in advance of its present ardent advocates.

As to an American system, he said, "Our treaties with foreign powers should be revised and amended in so far as they leave citizens of foreign birth in any particular less secure in any country on earth than they would be if they had been born upon our own soil; and the iniquitous coolie system which, through the agency of wealthy companies, imports Chinese bondsmen, establishes a species of slavery, and interferes with the just rewards of labor on our Pacific coast, should be utterly abolished."

As to Civil Service reform he said, "In the reform of our Civil Service I heartily endorse that section of the platform which declares that the civil service ought not to be 'subject to change at every election,' and that it ought not to be made 'the brief reward of party zeal, but ought to be awarded for proved com-

petency and held for fidelity in the public employ.' I hope never again to see the cruel and remorseless proscription for political opinions which has disgraced the administration of the last eight years. Bad as the civil service now is, as all know, it has some men of tried integrity and proved ability. Such men, and such only, should be retained in office; but no man should be retained, on any consideration, who has prostituted his office to the purposes of partisan intimidation and compulsion, or who has furnished money to corrupt the elections. This is done, and it has been done, in almost every county of the land. It is a blight upon the morals of the country, and it ought to be reformed."

In the National Democratic Convention which met at Cincinnati, June 22, 1880, Mr. Hendricks was again a conspicuous candidate, having had on the first ballot 46½ votes. On the second ballot, which nominated General Hancock, his friends stuck to him and he had 30 votes, Hancock having 705, Bayard 2 and Tilden 1.

Ever since the retiracy of Mr. Hendricks from the gubernatorial chair of his State, he has conducted a large law business and attended to those civic and political calls which are constantly made on a man of his ability and prominence. Latterly he has travelled abroad as a quiet and intelligent observer of men and institutions, and has thus added to his well-stored mind and to the enjoyment of his mature years. In the Chicago Convention of 1884 he was not a candidate. But on the second ballot, when there was hope of a combination against Mr. Cleveland, he secured a strength of 45½ votes. His name was brought forward amid the utmost enthusiasm, and having failed to make the first place on the ticket, the second fell to him by acclamation.

PERSONAL.—Ex-Governor Hendricks is a finely preserved man of medium height and symmetrical figure, being erect, active and vigorous. His features are large and clear cut; his face manly and expressive. In younger years he must have passed as a decidedly handsome man. He has large blue eyes which bespeak kindness; firmly set jaws, indicative of resolution; a full, large forehead, declarative of wisdom. His complexion tends to

a florid cast, and his hair and side-whiskers incline to gray, though not to the extent expected in a man of sixty-five. He has led a pleasant social life, and shows no traces of either hard work or disappointment. His disposition is sunny, his conversation easy and fluent. With friends he is frank and cordial; with those not so near he is courteous but cautious. He does not hold grudges and would do as much to conciliate an enemy as to oblige a friend. He is guarded and methodical in his habits, and as to money, of economic turn, though disposed to charity where the cause is worthy. In fortune he is now independent, but it is the result of conserving what he honestly earned, and not speculation or manipulation. His voice is clear and musical and can be heard at a great distance. He has always been a hard worker, and effort has been so put forth as to bring the surest results. If these did not come in material shape, they came in the shape of commendations and honors. Though a favorite as a social companion, he appears to greatest advantage before an audience, or where occasion operates as a spur to his latent powers. When kindled by opposition he loses his habitual cast of thought and becomes aggressive and even dashing in action and argument. He is a prominent member of the Episcopalian church, and noted for his good works. His wife is a woman of fine education and sterling force of character. They have no children. All in all Mr. Hendricks is one of the purest-minded and ablest men now before the American public, and the mantle of the Vice-Presidency could not fall on worthier shoulders.

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